

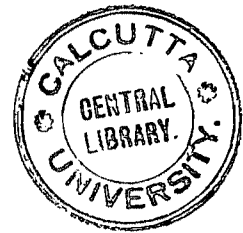
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Prime Minister Nehru and President Eisenhower meet after a period of three years. Sri Nehru visited the United States in December 1954 when this picture was taken



WHEN THE CLOUDS CAME
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NOTES

Legacies of the Past Year

The principal event in the year that is coming to a close at the time of writing was that which was styled by our erstwhile friend, Mr. Chou En-lai, as an "Episode in an age-long friendship between China and India." It was the culmination to a chain of events, marked by futile communications, between our Premier and the self-same Mr. Chou En-lai, carried on in secret where the people of India were concerned. Indeed we believe that those incidents would have gone on, while Red China was biting off chunks of our Himalayan territory and our Premier and his advisors were floating about in the clouds of neutralistic and non-violent speculation. It is plain for all to see how ineffective, androgynous and unrealistic was the attitude of our Ministry of External affairs and that of our Defence. No wonder that Red China took the truculent and contemptuous attitude that is plainly apparent in all the replies, prior to the stiffening of Mr. Nehru's attitude.

It took this last murderous attack on our police patrol in Ladakh to bring home to Mr. Nehru the bleak realities of the situation. Even then he reacted with "spates of words" and but for public clamour—and perhaps a belated sense of his duties as the Chief Executive of the Union of India—perhaps he would have continued on the same course, until a major belligerent move brought him to halt.

But even now there does not seem to be any clear indication as to which way he and his colleagues are leading us. There does not seem to be any doubt that

short of a major armed move, Red China will not retrace her steps. Chinese agents are busy on our borders and inside India her fifth column is active.

The *Statesman* gave on December 27. the details of a Press Conference at Lucknow, where one "Dr. K. I. Singh, a former Prime Minister of Nepal, frankly admitted that he was conducting a campaign against India in his country." There does not seem to be any reason assigned by him as to why he has favoured this country with a visit, or who called the Press Conference.

We do not know if he is the same communist worthy who fled from Nepal into Tibet in an attempt to induce Chinese forces to help him "liberate" Nepal. In any case the brazen statements alleged to have been made by him show that he has come on a mission that bodes nothing good either to Nepal or to us. Who else has come with him and what exactly is he? An agent provocateur or a plain indoctrinated and dehumanised Communist come here to bolster up our own dehumanised specimens?

To go back to the "Episode" we have to consider the effect of the last letter of Mr. Chou En-lai, in reply to Mr. Nehru's letter of November 16. The position is as tangled as it has been since the Ladakh incident, and Mr. Nehru has rightly summed it up as "complete disagreement on facts" in expressing his inability to meet Mr. Chou En-lai on Dec. 26, at Rangoon. We have given a summary of the 3000-word letter elsewhere in these notes.

Mr. Nehru's announcement in the Lok Sabha caused an exchange between Acharya Kripalani, who wanted a debate, and Mr. Nehru, who has reverted back to his single track thinking, without any idea as to where it was likely to lead us. We are inclined to agree with Acharya Kripalani regarding Chinese intentions for prolonging the talks, and we think this Dr. K. I. Singh Press Conference is a clear pointer. We are sure the Chinese are going on with their plans for systematic encroachment while on our side there is an endless and profitless stream of unplanned "negotiations." "Muddle along" seems to be the order of the day at New Delhi.

In contrast to the Indo-Chinese tangle has been the visit of a real friend namely that of President Eisenhower. Elsewhere in these notes we have given the full text of the address, given by him before the two Houses of our Parliament, as a matter of record. This visit was part of a plan, formulated by the Chief Executive of the U.S.A. for the clarification of issues before the "Summit" talks.

The address was on general lines, as was only to be expected, but it had some heartening aspects which opened before us a vista of lessening tensions and hatred over the major part of the World. Coming as it did while our country was seething with a sense of being treacherously assailed and injured by those whom we not only regarded as our friends of long standing but whose cause we had actively advocated before the United Nations, it was particularly welcome.

So this is how we enter the New Year, with grave forebodings where our neighbours are concerned, while in the West they are trying to plan for Peace on Earth. The arena for the play of new hatreds and for the destruction of amity and peace between neighbours has been laid on our borders. And let us confess that we have called upon ourselves this curse by insisting on wrong priorities, by letting loose, without any attempt at restraint, corruption, lust for illicit gain, parochialism and provincialism, as the inevitable corollaries of Party politics.

There is no place in a free World for a nation of inefficients, we should remember, excepting as a matter of grace and charity from the Efficient. We have to make up our mind as to which way we shall proceed, now that there are challenges to our freedom and the integrity of the Union, from across the North as well as from our Western and Eastern marches.

The *Time* news magazine has remarked that the reason why President Eisenhower's address was not cheered more vociferously by our Parliamentarians, was because they expected him to declare that Americans would rush in their millions in India to defend us against our foes. That was undoubtedly a characteristic crack from the *Time* news-hounds, but we cannot deny that those who judge us merely from the utterances of our mouthpieces, may jump to such conclusions.

Amendment to the Constitution

The Constitution Eight Amendment Bill which seeks to extend the Constitutional provision for reservation of seats in legislatures for Scheduled Castes and Tribes for another ten years from January 1960 was passed by both Houses of Parliament in December. There was a unique incident in the Lok Sabha during the voting on the Bill which failed to secure the necessary majority at the first counting of votes. Amidst confusion the Speaker had to postpone the voting to the following day when the Bill was again put to the vote and passed. But through the opposition of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha the provision to limit the number and manner of nomination of Anglo-Indian members to State Legislatures failed to receive the qualifying vote and was rejected. The Communists had however generally endorsed the Bill. The Bill will now go before the State Legislatures and will be presented to the President for his signature when at last it has received the approval of seven State Legislatures.

There was strong criticism of the Bill from a section of the legislators. The weight of the arguments of the critics could

not be dismissed lightly. They pointed out the psychological implications of a prolongation of the period of this vested interest which tended to create a vested interest in backwardness. The dominant feeling was that while the Bill was being approved this should be the last extension of the privileges. Prof. A. R. Wadia (nominated member in the Rajya Sabha), for example, said that he supported the measure as a matter of duty. It did not give him pleasure to do it as it was not flattering to believe that vast number of people like the Scheduled Castes still existed with all their disabilities. It was distressing to find that in some places they had threatened with violence when they had claimed enforcement of the rights given them by law. Dr. Raj Bahadur Gaur (Communist) described the measure as "painful phenomena breeding a sense of dependence and opportunism at the cost of merit and standards."

As a matter of fact, however, this extension was unavoidable in view of the deplorably slow progress in the improvement of the lot of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Untouchability was still a fact in several parts of the country and it was natural that there should be a demand for extension of the period of reservation contemplated by the Constitution. Dwelling upon the Government's responsibility Dr. H. N. Kunzru stressed the fact that the purpose behind the Bill would not be achieved unless the State Governments took more interest in executing schemes for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He said that Ministers themselves did not recognize the national importance of the problem of uplifting these people and, therefore, officials who took their cue from ministers could not be blamed for deficiencies in the execution of schemes. In order to bring about a speedier implementation of these schemes, he suggested that the Union Home Minister should call a Conference of State Ministers every year so that the latter realized their responsibility better than they did now.

In his reply to the debate on the Bill in the Rajya Sabha, the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, refuted a suggestion that it

had been brought forward because no progress had been made in the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He said that if there was no progress there would be no justification for the Bill. It was expected to give momentum to the advancement already registered.

Explaining the need for the extension of this privilege beyond January, 1960 (when under the Constitution as at present it expires) the Home Minister, Pandit Pant, said that the reasons which had weighed with the Constituent Assembly in making the provision did not cease to exist. Of course, since the advent of freedom, there had been an appreciable improvement in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. But still the task was of enormous magnitude and whatever had been done was but a fraction of what still remained to be done. There was still a wide gap separating them from the rest of the community. Some progress made by them was largely due to their special representation in the legislature. If this were to cease, there would be a setback. If the nation's solidarity was to be invulnerable, all elements in society should coalesce.

Pandit Pant then stressed the importance of fostering a sense of emotional integration among the Scheduled Tribes. He said that since they were isolated in far-off places, their bonds with others should be strengthened. They must be made to feel that they were a respected section of the Indian people.

Prof. N. R. Malkani (Nom.), supporting the Bill, said that the tendency of looking at the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes from merely a political standpoint was to be regretted. Treating the matter in this way might help a few but the difficulties remained. It was only if the whole question was looked at from the social and religious point of view that it would be easy of solution.

Mr. Pant said that a number of suggestions had been made in the course of the discussion and it would be his endeavour to examine them and benefit by them. As suggested by Dr. Kunzru, he proposed to

convene a conference of Ministers dealing with this problem in the various States. He would also request them to be vigilant so that before the expiry of this period of ten years they would be able to say that they discharged their duties by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and that they were now able to stand on their own legs, shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the community.

The Home Minister said that he had himself been giving some thought to the question of re-organization of the department. So far, at the Centre they had only a Secretariat and no executive machinery. The Scheduled Castes Commissioner had on the whole to deal with the question of evaluation. Some time ago a number of Assistant Commissioners had been appointed. "But I feel that still the staff is not adequate and perhaps it may be desirable to have an executive section which will keep in close touch with the States and also with the Centre and see that the schemes for development and for removal of disabilities are pushed through as speedily and vigorously as possible. I am giving thought to it but I cannot say more about it," he stated.

The Home Minister said that some time ago they had appointed a special team to see the progress made in this field and the difficulties that had to be faced in the execution of the plans. The report of the team had been received. He had also appointed a committee under Dr. Verrier Elwin for examining the working of multipurpose blocks in the tribal areas. They had to be treated in a different way. The common pattern would not suit them. Another committee had also been set up to go into the question of nomadic tribes, and its report was expected within this week.

As regards the question of sweepers and scavengers, Mr. Pant continued, he would endorse every word of what Dr. Kunzru had said. Ultimately, the measure of their success in this field would be determined by the progress that was made by sweepers and scavengers. They had been subject to ignominious treatment and the way this state of affairs had been tolerated

was not conducive to their good reputation of the country humane outlook. The problem was merely political and social but humanitarian too.

To fulfil the Constitutional requirement the Rajya Sabha divided during all the three stages of the Bill and adopted it unanimously with all the 169 members present voting in favour, with none against or abstaining. It had already received the endorsement of the Lok Sabha.

What we have failed to find in all the reports regarding the passage of this Amendment Bill, in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, is a categorical answer to the main question regarding the doubtful benefits of this measure in the past. Is this measure conducive to progress or does it merely help political adventure?

S. S.

Problems of Calcutta Port

The general feeling in the country is that the question of the development of ports in India has not received proper attention in the hands of the authorities concerned. The economic importance of the ports has hitherto been looked upon as mere subsidiary to the importance of the other sectors of the economy, namely, agriculture and industry. The point is much overlooked that unless the ports are well developed, the developments in other sectors of the economy are bound to be impeded. The fast deterioration in the conditions of navigability of the river Hooghly has affected the Calcutta port so much so that vessels of deeper draughts which even fifteen years ago could easily touch at the port of Calcutta, cannot today come up to Calcutta. At the last National Harbour Board's meeting held in Calcutta in October last the problems of the Calcutta port were discussed. Haldia has been developed as a subsidiary port of anchorage to Calcutta on account of the extreme congestion in the Calcutta port and its inability to receive deeper-draughted ships. Subsequently, at the National Shipping Board's meeting held in New Delhi in the last week of November, 1959, the need for immediate steps to save the Calcutta port.

was emphasised. It was pointed out at the meeting that unless further deterioration of the navigable depths of the Hooghly was stopped immediately, it would endanger the economy of the eastern region. It is needless to say that the eastern region may be regarded as the "industrial heart" of the country.

At the last annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the problems of port developments in India were fully discussed. In the opinion of the Chambers, the improvement of port facilities has not kept pace with the overall expansion of the national economy. The inadequate facilities at most ports imposed increasingly severe limitations on the present efficiency and the progress of trade and industry in the future. Under the Second Plan a sum of Rs. 78 crore was allotted for the development of the major ports in the country. Out of this only Rs. 24 crore have been spent so far. This shows that there is a great difference between making decisions and their execution. The allotment of financial resources is not enough unless it is pushed through execution. For the development of the Calcutta port, a sum of Rs. 31 crore was allotted and out of this only Rs. 6 crore have so far been spent on development projects. These projects do not come under the purview of the Second Plan, but are those which have been carried over from the First Plan.

While moving the resolution on the Calcutta port, Mr. M. R. Das warned about the progressive deterioration of the Hooghly and the alarming situation of the Balari and the Rangafalla Channels. He said that the minimum depth of water at the Balari Bar was now seven feet only as compared to about 17 feet in 1944. The Balari Bar at present is the only approach channel to Calcutta, the Rangafalla Channel being no longer navigable. Several vessels had recently touched bottom at the Balari Bar. This is no doubt an alarming condition and this requires immediate steps for deeper dredging.

In the Hooghly, there has been fast deterioration of drafts as well sailing

opportunities. In January 1957, the maximum drafts were 27 feet and in January 1959, the maximum drafts fell to 24 feet. The number of sailing opportunities has also been seriously affected. For instance, in November 1957, there are 15 days when deep laden vessels of 12 knots or over could sail. But during November 1959, there were only two such days. Bore tides of increased frequency and intensity have further worsened the situation.

As a result, Mr. Das said that the use of riverside berths was restricted and vessels could not load freely in the river. Rapid siltation is taking place within the Kidderpore Docks owing to the absence of an adequate water supply from Tolly's Nullah. It is the responsibility of the West Bengal Government to dredge Tolly's Nullah properly but adequate measures have not been taken by the West Bengal Government for keeping the Tolly's Nullah silt-free. Siltation in docks is restricting accommodation for deep-laden vessels. Many Committees were appointed in the past, like, the Lakur Committee, the Vasist Committee, the Chaudhuri Committee, the Jeejeebhoy Committee and the Customs Reorganisation Committee. Many local and foreign experts were appointed in these committees, but their recommendations were not given effect to.

The main drawback of our administrative machinery is that with a view to evading any issue and its solution, the Government appoints a committee, but takes no action in most of the cases. The reports are shelved into the cold storage. This mentality is most deplorable, especially now that we are independent and can feel the urgent necessity of nation-building projects. The anchorage at Haldia should not be taken to substitute the Calcutta port. The anchorage at Haldia can be operated only during the fair season from November to February.

Mr. Das made the following remarks: "The tendency of administrations in Indian ports today is towards a rigid monolithic structure, with increasing control being exercised by the Government. Ever since 1951, when the Port Trust Acts were

amended with the object of ensuring a greater degree of uniformity and more control by the Government, this tendency has been predominant. While a certain degree of uniformity and centralization is undoubtedly necessary in the interests of planning, this must not unnecessarily be carried to a length which negates all flexibility and efficiency. Individual ports have their local peculiarities and planning tends to become ineffective and wasteful without some degree of decentralization."

The delay in execution of policies may be attributed to the condition of over-centralization in port administration. As for example, the financial powers of the Chairman of the Calcutta port are limited to Rs. 5,000 only and the Calcutta Port Authorities cannot incur any capital expenditure without the prior approval of the Union Transport Ministry. These regulations now appear to have become obsolete in view of the changing needs of the country. While the authorities talk much of decentralization in administration, it is the least achieved where it is needed most. All foreign experts that recently examined the working conditions of the Calcutta port have advised better and deeper dredging of the Hooghly. In order to prevent the port of Calcutta from being dead three effective steps are needed, namely, intensified dredging operations, river training works and restoration of adequate headwater supply. The last measure may be regarded as a step towards permanent prevention of siltation. But that depends on the proposed Farakka barrage the execution of which lies shelved in official red-tapism and indifference.

Without the early building of the Farakka barrage, all other steps will be in the nature of stop-gap arrangements having temporary effectiveness. The indifference of the Union Government to the rapid deterioration of the Calcutta port has affected the entire economy of the eastern region. A new dredger is expected to come early and then adequate dredging operations can be undertaken. But may we ask why this step was not taken much earlier? Had resort to deeper dredging operations been

taken some years back, then Calcutta would not have faced the problem of siltation which she is now facing. Moreover, while so many river projects could be undertaken, it is a mystery why the Farakka barrage scheme could not have been executed much earlier to maintain the adequate supply of headwater to the Hooghly.

The Second Five-Year Plan laid down the target of increasing the port facility to 40 million tons. But in view of the slow progress towards modernization and improvement, this target will not be achieved. Therefore the Third Plan will have a substantial carry-over from the Second Plan. The Calcutta Port Commissioners have at present four dredgers, of which two are extremely old, having been built 38 years and 46 years ago. They are frequently laid up for repair for long periods and in consequence the dredging operations have become inadequate.

N. R.

Developments in Co-operative Credit

During the first week of December, 1959, the all-India conference of State Central Co-operative banks were held at Bangalore. Different problems connected with co-operative credit were discussed at the conference and some conclusions were arrived at. The State Co-operative Banks have come to the conclusion that both the Central Government and the State Governments should bear risks for a more liberalised credit programme which is soon going to be put into operation for augmenting the supply of rural credit. The conference has made the recommendation that 15 per cent of the total loan advanced to farmers should be treated as bad debt and a provision needs be made as a "bad debt reserve fund." The conference suggests that for the apex co-operative banks, the present credit limits should be raised to thirty times of the owned funds from the fifteen times as at present. For the district co-operative banks, the limits should be raised to twenty times from the present limit of twelve times. And as regards the

primary societies, the conference has suggested that they should get credit up to fifteen times of their owned funds. At present they get credit up to eight times of their owned funds from the States.

The conclusions of the conference would now be examined by the V. L. Mehta Committee on Co-operative Credit. The conference has recommended liberalisation of credit terms for the farmers as well as for the co-operative banks. In its view, the period of repayment of medium-term loans should be extended to five years from the three years as at present. This extension of time will particularly benefit the agriculturists who want to improve their land. The conference also favours the Government participation in the share capital of primary societies and service co-operatives. But the Government participation in the management has been sought to be limited to one-sixth of the total strength of the managing committee of a co-operative society, or three nominees, whichever is higher. The conference is in favour of advancing loans for agricultural production on a family basis. This was recently suggested by the Central Government. It is proper that the needs of every family should be assessed on an individual basis, although the loans will be made on a family basis.

The conference has suggested a new step in the field of co-operative credit and it is that exchange of business among the State Co-operative Banks should be promoted on the inter-State basis. This measure, if put into operation, will bring the State co-operative banks into a chain system and this will remove a long-felt want. The inter-State exchange of business will have further advantage in so far as it will help revolving the rural credit all over the country. The surplus funds will move to deficit areas and the scope of co-operative credit will thus receive an extension. India needs a Central Co-operative Bank on the lines of Farm Credit Organization in the USA. Not only the USA, but most other countries have set up a central rural credit bank to facilitate the expansion of rural credit.

But the conference did not discuss this issue. Notwithstanding all pious wishes on the part of the authorities, the scope of co-operative credit in the field of agriculture is very limited. Unless there is an apex co-operative bank over all the State co-operative banks, the co-operative credit shall continue to play a limited role as at present. Unless there is a lender in the last resort in the field of rural credit, both in respect of short-term and long-term accommodations, the prospects of rural credit will not improve much. The farmers shall be compelled to borrow on a large scale either from the village money-lenders or in the alternative shall have to go without the much-needed credit for production purposes.

The working of the co-operative societies are still subject to several criticisms. As for instance, there is undue delay in granting loans, unnecessary red-tapism, political leanings of the members of the managing committees, and the like. Recently, there has been a crop of criticisms against the co-operative societies in Madras, Andhra, Kerala and Mysore. The recent rise in the prices of foodgrains was attributed to the liberal grant of credit to the farmers in these States and this resulted in speculative hoardings.

In granting short-term and long-term loans to the State Co-operative Banks and long-term loans to State Governments, the Reserve Bank of India takes into account their actual needs. In the case of the Apex Co-operative Banks, the Reserve Bank takes into consideration their financial position and extent of the unutilised credit limits. Since April 1, 1959, loans specifically for participation in the share capital of large-sized co-operative societies have not been sanctioned by the Reserve Bank. The short-term loans granted by the Reserve Bank are repayable within a period of fifteen months or twelve months as the case might be, depending on whether the loans were sanctioned for agricultural purposes or for the development of cottage or small-scale industries. Medium-term loans are repayable to the Reserve Bank in instalments after the expiry of fifteen months

from the drawal of each loan but before the end of five years from that date. The long-term loans granted by the Reserve Bank are repayable within a maximum period of twenty years.

N. R.

Karnal Verdict Aftermath

The verdict on the Karnal murder case to which a reference was made in these columns last month has created a furore in press, Parliament and the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Indeed the judge's remarks upon the officials could not be ignored by any Government. The interest of the members of Parliament was called for by the further fact that the conduct of several members of the All-India Services was also involved in the affair and the maintenance of administrative integrity in a border State was at stake.

The Special Judge's reference to the conduct of the Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, was for obvious reasons not relished by many Congressmen who also saw the dangers inherent in any unnecessary delay in clearing even the least possible iota of doubt about the conduct of the Chief Executive of a State Government belonging to the party. There were many other reasons for anxiety. A few months ago, the former Union Finance Minister had levelled serious charges against people in authority whom he offered to name before an independent Commission of Enquiry. The accusation by Shri V. P. Menon, the Swatantra leader, that certain cases of corruption involving Congress Ministers had also not been refuted. Under such circumstances it might have been thought highly desirable for the Congress High Command to take serious notice: but it did not take up the matter, leaving it to be dealt with at the State level, as the Union Home Minister told his questioners in the Lok Sabha on December 5—which increased their misgivings. That explains why the Congress members took a leading part in confronting Shri Pant with a number of very uncomfortable questions.

An idea of the feelings of some of the Congress Parliamentarians and of the

nature of the replies the Union Home Minister could offer can be formed from the questions and answers in the Lok Sabha on December 4. The questioner was Shri Feroze Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not want to go into the question of the judgment and the strictures that have been passed. Pending this case the officer concerned was under suspension and he is still under suspension. I would like to know whether after the sessions court has passed these strictures it is proper for the Chief Minister to continue in office or not and whether the Government have considered the question of suspending him from Chief Ministership pending appeal.

The Home Minister: The Chief Minister is elected by the party. If because of any particular action or development the party loses confidence in him it is open to the party to pass a vote of no-confidence. The Union Government have no authority to appoint a Chief Minister or to dismiss him.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not agree with the Home Minister because I think the President has the powers. If a court of law passes strictures of this kind on the Chief Minister and the party continues to hold confidence in him will the Government of India tolerate such a situation?

Pandit Pant: The question is a constitutional one. First, as to the character of the strictures there may be a difference of opinion. I have not seen the judgment in full but I remember having seen in one of the reports the remarks of the court that the Chief Minister was not directly or indirectly responsible for the false evidence that has been led in the case.

The Union Home Minister's roundabout replies to very simple questions, read with the Prime Minister's comment on the Punjab police the day before in his monthly press conference, do not suggest that the Union Government or even Shri Pant is quite sure of the adequacy of the reply given. If this reserve is the outcome of the operation of any process of review of the matter, it should be welcome. Nothing can be more unfortunate—even from the limited party point of view, as the evident

uneasiness among a fairly good number of Congressmen shows—however, if the matter is sought to be allowed to rest there without further action being taken.

For the issues involved go far beyond the interest of a Chief Minister or a police officer. Even the question of justice being done to the contenders becomes a little irrelevant. It is certainly not a question pertaining to the relationship between a minister and a police officer—the latter should undoubtedly be subordinate to the former in all cases and talks of greater independence for officers should stop—but it is one of integrity of the administrative process which permits such gross violations of liberty under the cloak of law and order as the murder of the three citizens by the accused (which was alleged by the prosecution) or the formulation of trumped-up charges against dutiful police officials (as the verdict implied). One or the other of these must have been the case, there being no third way of interpreting the charges and counter-charges. Either way it is the administrative process that stands self-condemned and that primarily is the question upon which attention has to be concentrated; it need not, and cannot, brook the delay attendant upon waiting for the appeal to be heard.

The Government's attitude to this matter was made quite clear in Shri Datar's refusal to consider Shri D. C. Sharma's proposal for the appointment of a high-power commission to suggest ways for re-organising the administration which also came up before the Lok Sabha on the same day (December 4). The nation can hardly afford to let the matter rest there. Even the President of India is understood to have felt impelled to endorse, with particular reference to the Karnal case, the popular demand for a high-level commission of enquiry to inquire into and, if necessary, to initiate investigations into charges against people in high positions, including Ministers.

The Punjab Government has since reinstated all the accused in the Karnal murder case with the exception of Shri D. S. Grewal, former Superintendent of the Karnal

district against whom certain other charges are reported to be pending. There has been heated discussion in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha over this matter and at the time of writing a motion for breach of privileges by the Government is pending in both Houses of the State Legislature against the Government.

S. S.

Trial By Jury to Stay

The Union Home Minister, Sri Govind Ballabh Pant, said in a written reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on December 9, that the Government did not propose to abolish trial by jury. He added that the system existed at present in Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and West Bengal.

The Government of India's decision was in direct opposition to the Law Commission which reported that "opinions expressed in the answers to our questionnaire and by the witnesses examined by us were preponderantly in favour of the abolition of trial by jury even to the extent to which it exists in certain parts of the country" and recommended for its actual abolition having been "convinced that the jury system in India which has had such a long trial has been a failure" (pp. 864, 873 of the *Fourteenth Report of the Law Commission of India, Vol. II, Chapter 42*).

The jury trial is not universal in India and is restricted to certain specified parts. Unlike under the Constitution of the United States of America, there is no fundamental right of the citizens in India to demand trial by a jury and it depends entirely on the Government of each State to decide in what areas and in respect of what offences trial by jury should be introduced. Trial by jury in India to the extent it exists today is but a transplantation of a practice prevalent in England which has failed to grow and take root in the country. In a recent case in Bombay where Commander K. M. Nanavati of the Indian Navy was facing trial for the alleged murder of one Shri Prem Ahju who had committed adultery with Mrs. Nanavati, the trial judge had to reject the findings of the jury, who had declared

Nanavati as not guilty, as perverse. It was perhaps that incident which had prompted the member to raise the question in Parliament.

Trial by jury is on the decline even in England where jury trials now take place only in two to three per cent of the volume of litigation. The expert Law Commission of India has also recommended for its abolition. The Government therefore owed an explanation for its decision to stick to jury trial in places where it is in vogue.

S. S.

Developments in Ceylon

Developments in Ceylon took an unexpected turn with the dissolution of Parliament on December 5, by the Prime Minister Mr. Wijayananda Dahanayake. The coalition Government had been shaky even during the life-time of the late Premier Mr. Bandaranaike and that instability grew much more acute under his successor-in-office, Mr. Dahanayake. The Bandaranaike murder investigation provided a focal point for the internal pushes and pulls to come to the fore. The ministry could survive two motions on no-confidence only with the help of the six nominated members. Its moral defeat was, however, beyond question. The dissolution of the House of Representatives would not have been in itself extraordinary but for other developments. The Prime Minister advised the Governor-General to dissolve the House without consulting his Cabinet colleagues—an extraordinary Act on the part of a head of a Democratic Government. He then resigned from the ruling party though his resignation was not accepted and he was “expelled” from the party. On December 8, the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, removed five ministers of the ruling “Sri Lanka Freedom” party from the Cabinet and took back Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, who had to resign as Finance Minister some time ago because of strong public criticism of his association with people suspected of participation in the Bandaranaike murder plot. This was done on the advice of Mr. Dahanayake. The five ministers—Mr. T. B. Illangaratne (Home Affairs), Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya (Health), Mr. Maitripala Senanayake (Transport and Power), Mr. M. P. de Zoysa

(Labour) and Mr. P.B.G. Kalugalle (Cultural Affairs), and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport and Power, Mr. Hugh Fernando—who were dismissed from office—represented the hard core of the rebel group in the Cabinet which had challenged the decisions and the leadership of Mr. Dahanayake particularly over the method of investigation of the Bandaranaike murder. The dramatic expulsion of these Ministers who held half of the key Cabinet portfolios and reinstatement of Mr. Stanley de Zoysa to the caretaker Cabinet with wider powers were interpreted in Ceylonese political quarters as part of a “master plan” of the Premier, Mr. Dahanayake, to establish a dictatorship of the extreme Right in Ceylon.

No doubt Mr. Dahanayake also announced the date of next elections which is March 19, 1960 but there was general fear that the elections might not be held. Reporting the reaction to the dissolution of Parliament and the dismissal of ministers the *Statesman's* Colombo correspondent wrote on December 9:

The Ministers who were sacked from the Cabinet last night, leaders of Marxist parties and newspapers today expressed alarm that shocking events of the past one week may be a planned attempt to disrupt democracy. There is hardly one politician in Ceylon today who is prepared to allay fears in public minds that the general elections scheduled for March next year may not be held. Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, who resigned from the Cabinet recently following the arrest of his brother, Mr. Dickie de Zoysa, was last night brought back to the Cabinet as Minister of Home Affairs and Health. As Home Minister, Mr. de Zoysa will be in charge of preparation for the general elections and prison affairs.

S. S.

Penicillin Enquiry

The Government of India have announced the appointment of a Four-man Committee to report on the procedure of quality control in the Pimpri Penicillin Factory and the general working of the Hindustan Anti-Biotics Limited which is a State undertaking. The Committee will be headed by the well-known scientist, Dr.

H. J. Bhaba and will include Dr. P. N. Chopra, Director of the Drug Research Laboratory, Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. J. C. Ray of the Calcutta Laboratory, and Dr. G. C. Pandit, Director of the Indian Medical Council. This announcement was made in the Rajya Sabha on December 22, by the Union Minister for Industries, Shri Manubhai Shah. It followed widespread speculation about the quality of penicillin being manufactured in India which had its origin in the sudden death of Shri V. D. Tripathi, a Member of Parliament from Uttar Pradesh in New Delhi on November 29 immediately after the administration of an injection of Penicillin.

The matter first came up before the Rajya Sabha on December 2, when Dewan Chamanlal raised a question. He suggested that Shri Tripathi's death had been caused by the sub-standard quality of the drug and hinted that the fall in the standard had been due to the removal of a senior official in charge of quality control by the administrative officer who held the position of the factory's managing director. The Union Health Minister, Shri D. P. Karmarkar, denied the validity of those accusations but Shri Chamanlal countered the denial by further alleging that the factory was keeping back information from the Government. He further said that he had come to know that of the four tests of the vials in question the first three had shown "positive" toxic results. The factory had suppressed this information and furnished the results of the fourth test. Shri Karmarkar could not deny that allegation and assured that an enquiry would be made into the matter. The Union Minister for Industries disclosed that some vials of procaine penicillin, manufactured by the Government factory at Pimpri had been sent to Washington, London, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi for scientific analysis.

Shri V. K. Dhage (Democratic) raised the matter again in the Rajya Sabha on December 22, repeating the allegation of Shri Chamanlal that the factory had passed the batch of penicillin (one of which had been used for the late Shri Tripathi M.P.) after a fourth test in contravention of the

Drug Rules which required the rejection of the batch as the first three tests had been unfavourable. Even the junior scientist employees of the factory, Shri Dhage, alleged, had protested against the unusual procedure for testing of quality. He testified this charge by producing a photostat copy of the observations made by the junior scientists.

The Ministers of Health and Industries persisted in their denial of the charges though the denials were not very satisfactorily supported by objective data. The results of laboratory tests of the penicillin vials are yet to be received from abroad. It is good that the Government has ultimately seen the wisdom of having a thorough probe into the matter. A Sub-committee of five experts most of whom were attached to research institutes had been appointed by the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Anti-Biotics Ltd., to make a report on the working of the factory. The Committee appointed by the Government will begin work after the Sub-Committee's report is received.

S. S.

Producing Enough Food

Producing enough food for the people is by common consent the key to the future prosperity of the nation. Unless we are able to produce food sufficient to meet the needs of our growing population all our plans for economic development are bound to suffer serious setback, as the lesson of the first two Five-Year Plans has so clearly demonstrated. Food again holds the key to price stabilization in the absence of which run-away inflation is eating into the vitals of the national economy. That there are possibilities for a great increase in our food production is not seriously disputed by any. The differences arise only over the method to be adopted for achieving this end. Some hold that the system of land tenure has got nothing to do with it while others hold that it certainly has much to do with it. The Congress Party has agreed upon the imposition of a ceiling on land holding by an individual. The programme is yet to be

implemented in a great majority of States notwithstanding in fact that the Congress Party is in power there. If the opposition within the Congress Party has tended to hinder progress in the implementation of a policy of imposing a ceiling, the disagreement over the disposal of the surplus land that would be available after the placing of a ceiling on land holdings is still more likely to act as an inhibiting factor.

Speaking before a symposium on problems of food production in an underdeveloped economy in New Delhi on December 20 Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, said that while he was sympathetic to the suggestion for giving land to the landless he did not think that such a policy could augment agricultural production. He endorsed a suggestion made in course of discussions in the symposium that the surplus land obtained after the enforcement of ceilings should be handed over not to the landless but to the owners of uneconomic holdings. He voiced his disappointment at the fact that the Government of India and the Planning Commission had not accepted this policy. There is evidently much that can be said in favour of Dr. Deshmukh's proposal, but it is nevertheless difficult to see how the distribution of surplus lands to landless labourers could retard food production. Apart from the physical difficulty of integrating the surplus land with that of the uneconomic holdings which is likely to occur in many places no realistic policy for agriculture can disregard the psychological factors in the countryside. The national movement has for such a long time been led with slogan of "land to the tillers" that a going back on this policy now is simply inconceivable. On the other hand there is the hope that once they are given a plot of their own land hungry tiller would put the best of their effort in getting the maximum product out of it.

S. S.

Food Situation

The food situation in the country has remained a constant source of worry not

only to the authorities, but also to the people. The earlier hope that India would be self-supporting in food production before the end of the Second Plan seems now to have receded into a situation of uncertainty. It is now certain that there is little prospect of attaining self-sufficiency in food production in the near future. With 1949 as base, the index of agricultural production was at 117 in 1959. This indicates that the average annual increase in food production has been less than two per cent. While the rate of population growth is now placed at 2.1 per cent per year, the production of food crops is lagging behind. The target of food production for the Third Plan has been placed at 110 million tons. But it is doubtful whether India will be able to achieve this target unless India adopts mechanised farming. Both the USA and the USSR have discarded small-scale farming and have adopted large-scale farming on mechanized basis. In the USA, 55 million acres have produced nearly 1,182 million bushels of wheat in 1959 and this quantity not only meets the domestic need of the country, it also creates a huge surplus for exports abroad.

Inadequate attention to agriculture will mean retardation to balanced economic development of a country, particularly a backward country. The Food and Agricultural Organisation in its latest annual report makes the following observation: "Balanced development does not preclude selecting some key sectors, e.g., steel, chemicals, for special attention in the expectation that if these develop, progress in other sectors will follow. Agriculture, itself, however, appears to be a key sector. It is especially important in less developed countries, where food is the largest item (more than half and up to three-fourths) of expenditure in family budgets and the cost of food is a prime factor in the production cost of all industries. If agriculture has not always been accorded such high priority it is perhaps because it has always been there, and tends to be regarded as a reserve of finance and manpower rather than a key sector in its own right." Thus agriculture is a key sector in its own right

and should form the basis of any balanced economic development, particularly under planned economy.

On account of higher expenditures in the public sector of the economy, the consumption of food has been progressively rising at an accelerated rate and as a result India cannot get herself rid of the persistent food shortage. The authorities are trying to import more foodgrains and also to raise the internal production. The bottlenecks in internal distribution also cause regional scarcity. With a view to removing the barriers in internal distribution, the Government of India decided that there would be State trading in foodgrains through the State Trading Corporation. But this scheme proved a failure owing to the difficulties in procurement through private agents. During the recent discussion on food in the Indian Parliament, the Government admitted that in deficit States there was no proper procurement, particularly in the States of West Bengal and Bihar. Procurement in these States resulted in the closure of rice mills and this made it difficult for the authorities to control the prices of foodgrains. Further, procurement prices were floor prices and the market prices were much higher.

With the help of cheap bank credit, the cultivators hoarded their stocks in expectation that during the off season the prices would go up. That shows that the cultivators expect a higher price than the procurement price. The ban on inter-zonal movements of foodgrains also kept down the price at a lower level in the surplus States. The new food policy of the Government of India envisages that ultimately zonal divisions must cease to exist and the country would be regarded as one unit for the purposes of movements of foodgrains. Pending that ultimate realisation, there will be different zones for the present consisting of a deficit and a surplus State. As for example, Orissa and West Bengal have been formed into a zone within which there will be free movement of foodgrains. Orissa is a surplus State, while West Bengal is a deficit State. Similarly, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay will make another

zone for the purpose of distribution of wheat. It is now admitted by the authorities that the Reserve Bank's directives to commercial banks to restrict their advances against foodgrains went unheeded and as a result speculative hoardings increased. This situation was greatly responsible for creating the shortfall in supply. It is, however, uncertain whether Orissa will have so much surplus production as to meet the deficit of West Bengal.

The decision of the Union Government to create a food reserve of about 5 million tons follows the recommendation of the Food Grains Enquiry Committee. This step was long overdue. This is essential to maintain normal conditions in the supply position and also to prevent conditions of artificial scarcity created by the hoarders. The estimates of crop production in this country is far from accurate and the wide publicity that the country had a bumper crop made the cultivators panicky as regards the price and consequently they withheld stocks from the markets in fear that larger supply would bring down the prices. This much is certain that in the near future India cannot hope to be self-supporting in domestic production of foodgrains. Therefore, the authorities should be cautious not to make any over-estimates of crop production so as to discourage large productions during the next crop year.

The Union Food Minister announced in the Lok Sabha on November 23 that a statutory price fixation board would be set up in a month or two. The main function of the board would be to fix from time to time prices of foodgrains, sugar, sugarcane and all other crops on the basis of a comparative study of prices, soil conditions and production costs. The representation of the farmers will constitute a majority on the board. The formation of the board is designed to prevent attempts by producers of any single commodity from earning unnatural profits by arbitrarily fixing the prices of their produce. It is expected to stop profiteering, because any rise or fall in prices would be common to all commodities. In the opinion of the Union Food

Minister, traders in future would not be able to raise the price of any commodity which was temporarily or locally scarce. As agricultural products rule the price structure of the entire economy, the formation of the board will also act as an effective brake against "runaway" inflations.

While we do not discourage the formation of such a board, we confess, we fail to understand how the board can really control the price structure of farm products. There is a great difference between the fixation of prices of agricultural commodities and their enforcement. At least the history of price control in this country ever since the beginning of the Second World War definitely shows that in an underdeveloped economy price control cannot be effective unless and until the authorities are in a position to exercise control over the entire stock of production. The recent failure of price control of paddy in West Bengal is one more proof of our contention that mere declaration of prices of agricultural commodities will not be able to pin down the prices at the declared rates, while the stock shall continue to be controlled by private dealers and producers. The proposal of the Union Minister of Food also indicates that the authorities have learnt nothing from past experience that such a step would further worsen the situation and will encourage speculation and generate a condition of artificial scarcity. The economy of the country in relation to farm production is so diversified and decentralised that a board sitting in Delhi may declare the prices, but will not be able to enforce them. How it would prevent profiteering in particular commodities? The speculators in this country always reap unnatural profits in the short period by creating shortage in supply. That has been the case in the recent food scarcity in West Bengal. That is also the case with present abnormal rise in sugar prices. With all the forces at their command, the authorities could not stop the profiteering in paddy transactions in West Bengal nor are they in a position to check the present abnormal rise in sugar prices.

N. R.

Address to the Parliaments

Following is the text of President Eisenhower's speech to both the Houses of Parliament:

"With a sense of high distinction I accepted the invitation to address you. I deem this a great personal honour, and a bright symbol of the genuine friendship between the two peoples you and I represent.

"I bring to this nation of 400 million assurance from my own people that they feel the welfare of America is bound up with the welfare of India. America shares with India the deep desire to live in freedom, human dignity and peace with justice.

"A new and great opportunity for that sort of life has been opened up to all men by the startling achievement of men of science during recent decades. The issue placed squarely before us today is the purpose for which we use science.

"Before us we see long years of what can be a new era; mankind in each year reaping a richer harvest from the fields of earth—gaining a more sure mastery of elemental power for human benefit, sharing an expanding commerce in goods and in knowledge and wisdom—dwelling together in peace.

"But history portrays a world too often tragically divided by misgivings and mistrust. Time and again, governments have abused the fields of earth by staining them with blood and scarring them with the weapons of war. They have used a scientific mastery over nature to win a dominance over others—even made commerce an instrument of exploitation.

"One blunt question I put to you and to all everywhere who, like myself, share responsibility assigned us by our people: Must we continue to live with prejudices, practices and policies that will condemn our children, our children's children, to live helplessly in the pattern of the past—awaiting, possibly, a time of warborne obliteration?

"We all fervently pray not. Indeed, there can be no statesmanship in any person of responsibility who does not concur in this world-wide prayer.

"Over most of the earth, men and women are determined that the conference table shall

replace the propaganda mill; international exchange of knowledge shall succeed the international trade in threats and accusations; and the fertile works of peace shall supplant the frenzied race in armaments on war.

"Our hope is that we are moving into a better era. For my part, I shall do all I can, as one human working with other humans, to push toward peace, toward freedom, toward dignity and a worthy future for every man and woman and child in the world.

"If we give all that is within us to this cause, the generations that follow us will call us blessed. Should we shirk the task or pursue the ways of war—now become ways to annihilation and race suicide—there may be no generations to follow us.

"I come here representing a nation that wants not an acre of another people's land; that seeks no control of another people's Government; that pursues no programme of expansion in commerce or politics or power of any sort at another people's expense. It is a nation ready to share its substance in assisting toward achievement of mankind's deep, eternal aspirations for peace and freedom.

"I come here as a friend of India, speaking for 180 million friends of India. In fulfilling a desire of many years, I pay in person America's tribute to the Indian people, to their culture, to their progress, and to their strength among the independent nations.

"All humanity is in debt to this land. But we Americans have, with you, a special community of interests.

"You and we from our first days have sought, by national policy, the expansion of democracy. You and we, peopled by many strains and races speaking many tongues, worshipping in many ways, have each achieved national strength out of diversity. You and we never boast that ours is the only way. We both are conscious of our weakness and failings. We both seek the improvement and betterment of all our citizens by assuring that the State will serve, not master, its own people or any other people. Above all, our basic goals are the same.

"Ten years ago, your distinguished Prime Minister, when I was his host at Columbia University in New York, said: 'Political subjection, racial inequality, economic misery—these are the evils we have to remove if we would assure peace'.

"Our Republic, since its founding, has been committed to a relentless, ceaseless fight against those same three evils: political subjection; racial inequality; economic misery.

"Not always has America enjoyed instant success in a particular attack on them. By no means has victory been won over them and, indeed, complete victory can never be won so long as human nature is not transformed. But in my country, through almost 200 years, our most revered leaders have exhorted us to give our lives and our fortunes to the vanquishment of these evils. And, in this effort for the good of all our people, we shall not tire or desist.

"Ten years have passed since Mr. Nehru spoke his words. The pessimist might say that not only do the three evils still infest the world—entrenched and manifold—but that they will never lose their virulence. And the future, he might conclude, will be a repetition of the past; the world stumbling from crisis in one place to crisis in another; given no respite from anxiety and tension; forever fearful that inevitably some aggression will blaze into global war.

"Thus might the pessimist speak. And, were we to examine only the record of failure and frustration, we all would be compelled to agree with him.

"We Americans have known anxiety and suffering and tragedy, even in the decade just past. Tens of thousands of our families paid a heavy price that the U.N. and the rule of law might be sustained in the Republic of Korea. In millions of our homes there has been, in each, the vacant chair of an absent son who gave some of the years of his youth that successful aggression might not come to pass. The news, that through these 10 years has reached us in America, from near and distant places, has been marked by a long series of harsh alarms.

"These alarms invariably had their source in the aggressive intentions of an alien philosophy backed by great military might. Faced with this fact, we in America have felt it necessary to make clear our own determination to resist aggression through the provision of adequate armed forces. They serve, not only ourselves, but those of our friends and allies who, like us, have perceived this danger. But they so serve for defensive purposes only. In producing this strength we believe we have made a necessary contribution to a stable peace, for the present and for the future as well.

"Historically, and by instinct, the U.S.A. has always repudiated and still repudiates the settlement by force of international issues and quarrels. Though we will do our best to provide for free world security, we continue to urge the reduction of armaments on the basis of effective reciprocal verification.

"Contrasting with some of our disappointments of the past decade, and the negative purposes of security establishments, Americans have participated also in triumphant works of world progress—political, technical and material. We believe these works support the concept of the dignity and freedom of man. These hearten America that the years ahead will be marked by like and greater works. And America watches, with friendly concern, the valiant efforts of other nations for a better life, particularly those who have newly achieved their independence.

"Ten years ago, India had just achieved independence; wealthy in courage and determination, but beset with problems of a scale and depth and number scarcely paralleled in modern history. Not even the most optimistic of onlookers would then have predicted the success you have enjoyed.

"Today, India speaks to the other nations of the world with greatness of conviction and is heard with greatness of respect. The near conclusion of her second five-year programme is a proof that the difficulty of a problem is only the measure of its challenge to men and women of deter-

mined will. India is a triumph that offsets any world failure of the past decade; a triumph that, as men read our history a decade from now, may offset them all.

"India has paced and spurred and inspired men on other continents. Let anyone take a map of the earth and place on it a flag wherever political subjection has ended, racial prejudice been reduced, economic misery at least partially relieved—in the past ten years. He will find evidence in the cluster of these flags that the 10 years past may well have been the 10 most fruitful in the age-old fight against the three evils.

"Because of these 10 years, today our feet are set on the road leading to a better life for all men. What blocks us that we do not move forward instantly into an era of plenty and peace?

"The answer is obvious. We have not yet solved the problem of fear among the nations. The consequence is that not one Government can exploit the resources of its own territory solely for the good of its people.

"Governments are burdened with sterile expenditures—preoccupied with attainment of a defensive military posture that grows less meaningful against today's weapon-carriers.

"Much of the world is trapped in the same vicious circle. Weakness in arms often invites aggression or subversion or externally manipulated revolution. Fear inspired in others by the increasing military strength of one nation spurs them to concentrate still more of their resources on weapons and warlike measures. The arms race becomes more universal. Doubt as to the true purpose of these weapons intensifies tension. Peoples are robbed of opportunity for their own peaceful development. The hunger for a peace, of justice and good will inevitably become more intense.

"Controlled, universal disarmament is the imperative of our time. The demand for it by the hundreds of millions whose chief concern in the long future of themselves and their children will, I hope, become so universal and insistent that no man, no Government can withstand it.

"My nation is committed to a ceaseless search for ways through which genuine disarmament can be reached. And my Government, even as I said more than six years ago, in April of 1953, still 'is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction'.

"But armaments of themselves do not cause wars. Wars are caused by men.

"And, men are influenced by a fixation on the past, the dead past, with all its abuses of power, and its misuses of responsibility, all its futile convictions that force can solve any problem.

"In the name of humanity, can we not join in a five-year or a fifty-year plan against mistrust and misgivings and fixation on the wrongs of the past? Can we not apply ourselves to the removal or reduction of the causes of tension that exist in the world? All these are the creations of Governments, cherished and nourished by Governments. Nations would never feel them if they were given freedom from propaganda and pressure.

"My own experience in the past 10 years convinces me that much of the world's fear, suspicion, prejudice can be obliterated. Men and women everywhere need only to lift up their eyes to the heights that can be achieved together, and ignoring what has been, push together for what can be.

"Not one wrong of years ago that still rankles, not one problem that confronts us today, not one transitory profit that might be taken from another's weakness, should distract us from the pursuit of a goal that dwarfs every problem and wrong.

"We have the strength and the means and the knowledge. May God inspire us to strive for the worldwide will and wisdom that are now our first needs.

"In this great crusade, from the history of your own nation, I know India will ever be a leader."

Towards the end of his speech, Mr. Eisenhower departed from the prepared text to give his personal experiences in Hawaii and in Columbia University to

underscore his point that "the world's fear, suspicion, prejudice, can be obliterated."

Mr. Eisenhower said that Hawaii, which had emerged last year as a new State of the U.S.A., had peoples whose ancestral homes were in Asia, Africa, Europe and the two Americas. There were men and women of varied creeds and colour. "Yet they live in complete friendliness and in mutual trust, each choosing his own good by helping to achieve the good of all."

In Columbia University, Mr. Eisenhower added, as president of the university every year he welcomed boys and girls from almost every nation, from territories and colonies not yet free. There were hundreds of young people from India, China, Japan and other Asian countries. They were completely detached from prejudices, and suspicious of the past. "Indeed these vices are not easily discernible among the young of any people."

Dr. Radhakrishnan greeted President Eisenhower as "a servant of a new and nobler world" and assured him of India's wholehearted co-operation in his attempts to secure peace.

Stressing the common bonds and ideals between India and the U.S.A. the Vice-President, amidst loud and repeated cheers, told Mr. Eisenhower, "the bond of shared ideals is stronger than military pacts, Mr. President."

"Our relations with the U.S.A. have been friendly all these years. The U.S.A. herself emerged from colonial status to independence after a struggle. So, she had sympathy for all nations who struggle for independence. During our struggle for independence we had the moral sympathy and support of the people of America and the Government of America.

"After independence, in our attempts to build the economy—an economy suited to the new expectations of our people—we have received assistance from them also.

"Even as social disparities resulting from inequalities of wealth and opportunity affect the stability of a nation, the gaps between the advanced nations, which are rich, and the desperately poor nations are an obstacle to the security and stability of

the world. We have to look upon the world as a single unit for economic affairs. This is admitted in theory but not implemented always in practice. We, in our country, have been attempting to raise the standards of living, increase employment opportunities by the encouragement of business, agriculture and industry. We do so within the framework of free institutions.

"If you look at our Constitution, Mr. President, you will see there echoes of your Constitution, equality of opportunity, respect for law, individual dignity, social justice and progress. The bond of shared ideals is stronger than military pacts, Mr. President.

"As a great general with all knowledge of the nature of war and the knowledge of the modern weapons of destruction you know the unintelligence, futility, stupidity and the waste of war as a method of settling international disputes.

"You are now, therefore, attempting with all your wisdom and great authority to reduce international tension and bring about disarmament. Recent events in the East as well as the West may not encourage optimism; but they do not forbid hope. It is with that hope that you have undertaken this long journey, visiting distant countries and explaining to our people, the peoples of different countries you visit, the passionate interest which you and your country have in peace and human welfare."

Chou En-lai's Reply

The Hindu of December 20, gives the following summary of Chou En-lai's reply:

The Chinese Premier's reply dated December 18, was handed over to the Indian Ambassador in Peking, Mr. G. Parthasarathi, and received by the External Affairs Ministry, at New Delhi today. The text was released by the Chinese Embassy here.

Prime Minister Nehru, it may be recalled, had, in his letter dated November 16, while expressing his willingness to meet Mr. Chou En-lai for talks, insisted that there should be some "interim understanding" which help to ease the present tension. The Chinese Premier says that holding of

talks is necessary to reach "some agreement on principles as a guidance to concrete discussion and settlement of the boundary question by the two sides."

In his 3,000-word letter, the Chinese Premier's main contention is that the entire border between the two countries has never been delimited and that it is impossible to deny this. Therefore it has to be settled by talks. Before dealing with Mr. Nehru's counter proposals in regard to the McMahon Line in the north-east and the creation of a no-man's land in Ladakh, the Chinese Premier hastens to assure that China will not take unilateral action pending settlement of the dispute.

Dealing with the counter-proposals made by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter dated November 16, the Chinese Premier says that the Chinese Government "is prepared to agree first to reach a partial solution by applying the proposal you have made in your letter for the non-stationing of armed forces of both sides at Longju to the other disputed places on the border as well." It claims Longju as Chinese territory by saying that Indian armed personnel once occupied it and mentions Khinzemane, Shipki Pass, Parigas, Sang, Taungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Chuva, Chuje, Sangcha and Lathpal and asserts that most of these places belong to China. It says that they were successively occupied by Indian personnel after the signing of the 1954 agreement. It welcomes the Indian Government's proposals for the frontier outposts of the two sides to stop sending out patrols, and says that this principle should apply to the entire Sino-Indian border and no different measure should be adopted in the Ladakh side.

The note expresses what it calls Chinese Government's perplexity that India had put forward a separate proposal for the prevention of clashes in the sector of the border between China and India's Ladakh. Citing the Chinese map of 1956 as the final authority of the border, it says "that except for the Parigas area by the Shangatsangpu river, India has not occupied any Chinese territory east of this section of the traditional boundary." It

thinks India's proposal unfair because it demands "a change in the state actually existing on the border." Even the withdrawal of Indian troops too, to create "a no-man's land," the note says would only be a "theoretical concession" because it contends that the area is Chinese and India has no personnel to withdraw.

As for the historical data concerning the Sino-Indian boundary produced by the Indian side the Chinese Premier says that his Government thought the matter could be discussed by the two Prime Ministers in their talks when the Chinese could put their case. Since the talks between the two Prime Ministers have not yet taken place, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs will give a reply to Mr. Nehru's letter dated September 26 and Indian Ministry of External Affairs' communication dated November 4 in the near future.

The Chinese Government have, so far as the Ladakh area is concerned, rejected India's proposal to have a "no-man's land" by withdrawal of both the Chinese and the Indian armed forces asserting that the area belongs to China and the proof for it is that it has been under Chinese jurisdiction and not under India's jurisdiction. If the Indian Government insists on its demand, the note says, the Chinese Government would like to know whether the India Government would apply "the same principle to the eastern sector, that is to say, to require both the Chinese and Indian sides to withdraw all their personnel from the area between the so-called McMahon Line and the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary as shown in Chinese maps."

In one part of the letter the Chinese Government say that both the Ladakh incidents were provoked by India. They refer to the treatment given to the Indian personnel taken as prisoners by them. It says that India saying that China maltreated the captured personnel and that she provoked the incident is "a serious state of affairs."

The Summit Problems

The New York Times of December 6, gives the following editorial on the "East and West" issues:

The diplomatic traffic between Western

capitals was heavy last week as the Allies grappled with the problems that have been threatening their unity. Chancellor Adenauer went to Paris for talks with President de Gaulle. Italian Premier Antonio Segni and Foreign Minister Giuseppe Pella went to London for talks with Prime Minister Macmillan and other British officials. The talks in both capitals proceeded against a steady refrain from Budapest where Premier Khrushchev gave voice to the Soviet position on a number of East-West issues.

The Western Big Four have reached tentative agreement that the summit agenda should have four points. They would be: Berlin, disarmament, non-interference in the affairs of other nations, and aid to under-developed countries. This is where matters stood in relation to the four points last week, and some of the things Premier Khrushchev had to say on them:

On *Berlin*, Dr. Adenauer and President de Gaulle confirmed in their Paris talks that the Berlin issue should not be taken up at an East-West summit conference except as part of the larger issue of Germany. The British have been arguing that an interim settlement on Berlin is possible only if it is divorced from the over-all German problem, since the Russians clearly are not willing to settle the German issue except on their own terms.

Premier Khrushchev said of a Berlin settlement last week:

If we try by all means and they do not lead to the desired results, we shall have no other way except signing a peace treaty with that of the two German states which will want to. . . . A peace treaty must be signed and the status of a free city introduced for West Berlin.

On *disarmament*, there is general agreement among the Western powers that summit talks should take up a step-by-step disarmament program with effective controls at each step. The West Germans, however, have been concerned that a limited disarmament agreement on Europe might have the effect of disarming and neutralizing them.

In Rome yesterday, President Eisen-

however and President Gronchi issued a joint communique expressing the determination of their Governments to ensure "an acceptable solution to the problem of disarmament" within the framework of a specific system of controls, inspection and safeguards.

Premier Khrushchev said last week that he agreed that disarmament was a major topic for summit talks. But while talking of disarmament, he brandished Soviet weapons. He said:

We have stockpiled such a quantity of rockets, so many atomic and hydrogen warheads, that if attacked we shall be able to raze to the ground all our potential enemies. We are ready to destroy immediately all these stockpiles if a program for universal disarmament is adopted.

By "universal disarmament" Mr. Khrushchev clearly meant his own four-year disarmament plan in which controls would go into effect only after the program had been completed.

Non-interference: This is a delicate issue for the Allies since the Russians invariably attempt to interpret "non-interference" as meaning that the status quo in Eastern Europe must be accepted. It is precisely Soviet interference in Eastern Europe and attempted subversion elsewhere that the Allies seek to halt.

Aid to under-developed countries: This question has yet to be clearly defined as a topic for summit negotiation. President Eisenhower and General de Gaulle have both spoken of a program for aid to under-developed areas as a task for joint efforts by the great powers. Premier Khrushchev also has referred to the subject. But the Russians have always used aid to under-developed countries as a major weapon in their propaganda arsenal. Thus the difficulties in the way of a joint East-West aid program are immense.

The Neutral Antarctica

The New York Times of December 6, gives the following editorial on the question of the Antarctica claims.

Captain James Cook, master of the vessel *Resolution*, and the first man to penetrate south of the Antarctic Circle, wrote in 1774 of a continent "of horrid aspect doomed by nature never once

to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to be buried in everlasting snow and ice."

The continent was Antarctica. In the years since Captain Cook's epic voyage, man's ambition has led to the conquest of the South Pole and to repeated explorations of the 5,000,000-square-mile continent. The most intensive period of Antarctic exploration came during the International Geophysical Year of 1957-1958 when eight nations, including the United States and Russia, sent expeditions there.

Out of the IGY explorations came efforts to write an international treaty establishing Antarctica as a preserve for scientific research. One of the complications was the fact that seven nations—Argentina, Australia, Britain, Chile, France, New Zealand and Norway—had claims to Antarctic territory, some of them overlapping.

Last week, after a year of negotiation, twelve nations signed an Antarctic treaty. In addition to the seven nations that have made territorial claims, the twelve include the United States, Russia, Japan, South Africa and Belgium. These are the main provisions of the treaty:

(1) The claims question is "frozen." No new claims may be made while the treaty is in force, and no activity in Antarctica can be used as a basis for strengthening present or potential claims.

(2) Antarctica is to be "used for peaceful purposes only." No military installations of any kind are to be established there. The area is not to be used either for the testing or stockpiling of nuclear weapons, nor for the disposal of radioactive waste.

(3) Any one of the signatories may inspect any area of Antarctica, including the activities and installations of other signatories, at will. This provision for unlimited, unilateral inspection is unique in international agreements.

The Antarctic treaty must be ratified by the signatory governments before it can go into effect. Last week President Eisenhower called the treaty a "significant advance toward the goal of a peaceful world." Others expressed the hope that the Antarctic treaty might provide a model for an agreement on outer space and possibly other international accords.

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year of contract came to expire he was prevailed upon to stay at least till when the Natal Government abandoned its intention to pass a bill, of which it had just notified, denying Indians their right to vote. They offered to compensate him monetarily, but he declined to accept any money for his service to the community. To make both ends meet, he, therefore, settled at Durban for practice and from there he would fight out the disabilities, which were being imposed upon Indians in devastating succession.

The Natal Indian Congress was founded in 1894 with Gandhi as Secretary. Instantly he proved its life and soul. Since now, the Indians took heart and began to assert themselves. It was obvious that the struggle was going to be long and arduous. Gandhi, therefore, came back to India to take his wife and two sons to make their home with him in South Africa. On their way back, as the ship neared the port, deafening shouts of 'Gandhi go back' greeted them from a vast crowd of white people. It was so menacing that the Captain did not let them get down the ship. In fact, Mrs. Gandhi and her sons were escorted home under cover of night. And then as it looked that the hostile crowd had dispersed, Gandhi made for his residence. Some one must have recognised him and raised the cry 'Gandhi, Gandhi.' Immediately, as though some infernal spirits were let loose, white people gathered round him thick and fast. He was punched, kicked, beaten black and blue. But for the intervention of the wife of the Superintendent of Police, as she happened to pass by, Gandhi would have fared far worse.

Gandhi, barely twenty-eight, had by the time changed a tremendous lot and would not yield to the Superintendent of Police pressing him to help arrest the miscreants for trial. Punishment, said Gandhi with disarming candour, was no cure for the ills of the kind. Such a mental frame-up was wrought in him, amongst other things, by a devout study of Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. They made for simple living, hard work and the eschewing of violence

in acts and utterances. His honest square deal attracted all and sundry. Those who sought justice with clean hands in a Court of Law flocked to him and he picked up a good practice. But all the same, he devoted quite good hours each day in furtherance of the cause, for which he had agreed to stay in South Africa.

The crucial test came as the Boer War broke out. His innate sympathy was with the Boers. But as he was demanding the rights of a British citizen, he felt it was morally incumbent upon him to help the British. A vast section resented this and would not easily yield. He took great pains to conquer their apathy and an Ambulance Corps over one thousand strong was organised. The Indian stretcher-bearers never fought shy of the fire line, from which they carried the wounded to the hospital. On occasions they marched twenty to twenty-five miles with their precious load of the wounded. Their courage and the spirit of service elicited the admiration of even those who had hitherto viewed Indians with an insuperable aversion. Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, told a Sheffield audience that 'of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal'. It, however, evaporated as the victory was won.

As a result of British victory, the Boer countries of Orange Free State and the Transvaal came under British rule. Things for the Indians, Gandhi hoped, would now change for the better. He left South Africa after eight years of hard devoted labours for the Indian cause to stay home. Before, however, he left South Africa he made over by a trust-deed all gifts in silver, gold and diamond to be deposited with a bank to help achieve the goal of equal rights for Indians. He also gave them the promise that if they needed him badly enough he would be by their side.

Gandhi came back to India and took up practice at Bombay. Things prospered for him but the quiet tenor of a personal life was not in his line. By the end of 1902, i.e., when he had been in India for

only a year, he received a telegram from South Africa needing him desperately in view of the British Colonial Secretary Chamberlain's impending visit. Gandhi broke up his establishment at a moment's notice and went back to South Africa. Chamberlain gave a cold shoulder to the Indian Deputation and admonished Indians to placate the Europeans. Gandhi realised that Philip sober or Philip drunk made no difference and the Indian question was not to resolve in months. He called for his wife and family and plunged headlong into the task he had set for himself. Along with the practice of law, he conducted a paper called *The Indian Opinion* and ran a farm, named after Tolstoy. His family and many other co-workers lived there on the principle of absolute equality and no personal wealth.

His first head-on-clash with the Government was over the Registration Ordinance making it compulsory for every Indian above eight to register his or her name and carry the card just as the license of automobiles—females were later on excluded. A long struggle of Passive Resistance—*Satyagraha* as Gandhi called it—ensued. Gandhi suffered imprisonment and so did thousand other Indians. They suffered all kinds of privations not excluding starvation at times. A good many succumbed to the ordeal. What held his followers so mightily is their loyalty to Gandhi. He never shirked or excused himself doing things he asked others to do. The epic struggle was at last crowned with success by the passing of the Asiatic Relief Bill. It repealed the poll tax and the Registration Ordinance, and accepted the validity of Indian marriage. In July 1914, Gandhi sailed for home with the tale of his unique dedication running ahead of him to inspire love and faith.

II

Gopal Krishna Gokhale amongst leaders of India was in vital affectionate touch with Gandhi in South Africa. As Gandhi came back to India, he referred to Gokhale, whom he called 'a sure pilot', regarding his future activities. Gokhale enjoined on

him to do nothing of politics for one year and spend it as a year of probation travelling throughout the country to gain first-hand knowledge of things. Gandhi travelled third class; and here was the real India revealed to him—incredibly poor, steeped in prejudice and superstition but sensitively mobile. What possibly struck him most was that even if so rugged she is inordinately tender to the ethical value of asceticism. As the C.I.D. people invariably bothered him with questions of all kinds, the fellow passengers, though utterly lacking in a sense of collective life, resented their intrusion upon a *Sadhu*, they took him to be.

In May 1915, Gandhi founded an *Ashram*, some five miles away from Ahmedabad. It came to be known as the *Sabarmati Ashram* from the name of the river flowing close by. Almost immediately after he was put to test, inasmuch as a family of 'untouchables' applied to be enrolled as members desiring to live in the *Ashram*. In so far as Gandhis were concerned, there could be no flicker of objection. Other inmates followed their example and did not object. In fact, they accepted to help remove untouchability from Hindu society as their creed. Gradually as Gandhi gained in weight and importance, the *Sabarmati Ashram* became the nerve-centre of India.

In the 1916 Lucknow Congress, a few peasants of Champaran (Bihar) came all the way to meet him to apprise him of the low degrading conditions in which they had to cultivate indigo for Europeans. One condition of their tenancy was that a tenant could not walk with an open umbrella in the vicinity of a planter's bungalow. Some Bihar leaders rose equal to the occasion and with their active co-operation Gandhi offered *Satyagraha*. The Government intervened with a suitable legislation to redress their grievances. But alongside, Gandhi initiated the villagers into lessons of self-help. They started schools, opened medical centres, practised sanitation and took to a cleaner standard of life. He was next requisitioned to rescue the peasants of Khaira, district Gujrat.

They were in the grip of a terrible famine and had defaulted to pay Government tax; as a result of which their properties were being confiscated. He started a no-tax campaign with the inevitable consequence of imprisonment and forfeiture of properties. Buyers, however, were not forthcoming and the labour refused to obey the orders to execute the decree. The Government gave in.

In the meantime The First Great War was in full swing and not without some reverses for England. Lord Chelmsford, the Governor General, invited Gandhi, amongst some other Indian leaders, to a conference to work out ways and means how best to help England. Gandhi agreed to raise recruits. What inspired Gandhi is what he gave vent to in his letter to Chelmsford. "I recognise," he wrote, "that in the hour of its danger, we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas." What blind faith Gandhi had in the ethics of the Empire—and in it is discernible the influence of Gokhale—is clear from the following in his letter to Surendranath Banerjea, "We must perceive that if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home Rule." It sounds fantastic; but that it was his *bonafide* conviction is also clear from what he said in April 1915 at the Madras Law Dinner. "It gives me," he said, "the greatest pleasure to redeclare my loyalty to the British Empire. . . . I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love." In his exacting campaign for recruits he penetrated into far-off villages and very nearly ravaged himself. He was, in his words, at 'death's door' from an attack of dysentery. It is significant that in one of the leaflets, Gandhi issued from time to time asking people to enlist as recruits, he said much to the annoyance of the bureaucracy, "Among the many misdeeds of British rule in India, history will look upon the Act depriving a whole nation of arms as the blackest." Here, Gandhi summed up his

stand-point, was the opportunity to learn the use of arms.

While yet pinned to bed, he got the news that the War had ended in a victory for England. But he was hardly on the way to his normal health, when he was taken aback to read the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, appointed to investigate the causes and cure of Indian unrest, depriving Indians of the semblance of civil liberty they had. They were such, said Gandhi, that no self-respecting people would submit to them—mere possession of a seditious document was punishable with imprisonment. And, was not promoting disaffection against the Government the gist of sedition? To what extent it would go was anticipated when 'disaffection' could be judicially interpreted, as in Tilak's case, as 'absence of affection.' Ballavbhai Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Anasuya Behn, Umar Sobhani and a few others pressed Gandhi to do something immediately. They all signed the *Satyagraha* pledge to undo the great insult that was being done to India, which had just bled herself white for England.

We would better pause to consider the ruling power's primary reaction to Gandhi. There can hardly be a better authenticated document for this than *India 1919*: "Since his stand in South Africa," to quote a few lines of this Blue Book, "he has commanded among his countrymen all the traditional reverence with which the East envelopes a religious leader of acknowledged asceticism. . . . His admirers are not confined to any religious sect. His readiness to take up the cudgels on behalf of any individual or class whom he regards as being oppressed has endeared him to the mass of his countrymen He is regarded with a reverence for which adoration is scarcely too strong a word." When such a man sounded the clarion call it passed for the fiat of a Messiah and echoed throughout the nook and corner of India. She was called upon to observe 6th of April 1919 as a national day. Bombay celebrated it by a congregational bath in the sea, by a mammoth protest meeting and selling literature, proscribed on national grounds.

Gandhi, on his way to Amritsar, was arrested at an intermediary station, because, Sir Michael O'Dyer had banned his entry into the Punjab. He was taken back to Delhi and released. The excited millions formed into a procession in his honour. This was obstructed by the mounted Police piercing through the seething mass and trampling under foot a good many. There was also for him disturbing news from other parts of India. In Calcutta there was a clash between the people and the police firing six of them dead and many others wounded. At Ahmedabad, the mill-hands had struck work and broke into violence and the city was put under martial law. Immediately as Gandhi reached Ahmedabad, he was taken to the house of the Dy. Commissioner, who listened to his advice and allowed him to hold a public meeting, where Gandhi counselled peace and order. On that very day the martial law was withdrawn and quiet restored.

Here now was to Gandhi a dilemma of singular complexity. There was the appeal of a section of the people to suspend *Satyagraha*, which, they said, would lead the country to anarchy, confusion, misery and ruin. There was the other section pleading with as much plausibility that if uniform peace throughout the length and breadth of India was a condition precedent to mass *Satyagraha*, he would have to wait for eternity and better not talk of it in future. With cool deliberation Gandhi confessed to having made a 'Himalayan miscalculation' and suspended the *Satyagraha*. He said it was wrong of him to have asked the people to work up to the potentials of civil disobedience without being sure that they had understood its deep ethical import. Such an unwary step at the very start would have finished any other man but Gandhi, who had, by reason of his character, anchored deep into the heart of million Indians. He was, Tagore assessed him, 'Truth itself as distinguished from quotations.'

In tune with Sir Michael banning Gandhi's entry into the Punjab, the Dy.

Commissioner of Amritsar summoned Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew—they were organising the Congress session, due to be held at Amritsar in the ensuing December—to his bungalow and from there drafted them to an unknown destination. It was too severe a strain on the imagination running apace of the people. A large crowd made for the Dy. Commissioner's residence to ascertain their whereabouts. They were rolled back under volleys of buckshots. The victims were then carried in procession and the infuriated mob set fire to some buildings tenanted by Englishmen and killed five of them. The city was handed over to the military.

Winston Churchill denounced in the House of Commons some of the acts committed by the military, as standing in 'sinister isolation.' One of these to tower head and shoulders over the rest is what General Dyer did on the 13th of April 1919. He shot down unarmed men, women and children, who had gathered at the annual religious fair at Jallianwallabag after having barred the exits. His plea was, that they had disobeyed his order under section 114 of the Criminal Procedure Code forbidding the assemblage of more than five persons without permission. He admitted before the Hunter Committee that it was quite possible that most of these people had come from villages and were not aware of the order. Even then, as the crowd broke pell-mell on the first shot, he kept up, as Valentine Chirol says, a relentless fusillade for ten consecutive minutes.² Major Carbury bombed and strafed Gurjanwalla by machine guns from airplanes. Colonel O'Brien said that he fired at the crowd 'wherever found'

2. There was a body of evidence for which C. R. Das, M. R. Jayakar and others were for incorporating into the Congress Report that Dyer had trapped the unwary crowd into the park for an exemplary punishment. Gandhi, who was in charge of the Report, set his face against it, because, the evidence, he argued, could be assailed in one respect or the other. This is how the world is spared a still more shocking version of Jallianwallabag.

People were publicly flogged;³ women, made to stand in rows and spat upon. Boys of sixteen to twenty were made to march under the boiling sun of May up to sixteen miles in some cases, in order to salute the British flag. Indians passing by a particular thoroughfare, where an English woman was done to death despite some Indians running to her rescue at the risk of their lives, were made to crawl up and down the whole length of it on their belly. Quarter Master General Hudson in the cool, composed astomosphere of the Indian Legislative Council gave a demonstration of the feat to the amusement of the English members breaking into laughter. An imbecile Governor General sat by in the presidential chair in statuesque immobility.

All reports were gagged. The Punjab episode, however, trickled out in gruesome details, as the ban on the egress and regress of the people was partly lifted. Rabindranath Tagore stepped forward renouncing his Knighthood as 'the very least,' he said, he could do in giving voice to the protest of his million countrymen, 'surprised into a dumb terror of anguish.' Rev. C. F. Andrews hurried to the lacerated Punjab, where, he said, Britain had in cold blood committed a crime, 'much blacker than the massacre of Glencoe.' Pundit Madanmohan Malavya, Swami Shraddhananda, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Gandhi were amongst those to hurry up to Amritsar. They examined the position and declared that Hunter Committee was not justifying of confidence. A Congress Committee was formed with Gandhi to organise an Enquiry. It was during the on-the-spot

study of the situation that Gandhi first realised that the fear of the loss of India would make Britain abandon the basic principle of civilized being and in no time cast to the wind all canons of justice and fair play.

And yet at the Amritsar Congress, Gandhi 'begged loyally to respond,' as he said, 'to the sentiments of the Royal Proclamation,' ushering in the Montford Reforms. He went so far as to move to delete the word 'disappointing' from the Resolution of C. R. Das, who was originally for rejecting the Reforms. In five months' time the Report of the Hunter Committee exasperated India to a man. The observation of the level-headed Montagu that General Dyer had committed an 'error of judgement' but 'acted to the best of his light and sincerity of purpose' was a rude shock to India. The House of Lords would not even suffer the halting denunciation of this crime against humanity. The wife of a Calcutta Barrister raised funds to cover with silver the blood-stained hands of General Dyer. All these smacked of race hauteur and were like rubbing Indian wounds with salt. India was up to the neck with a revulsion of feeling. Gandhi took to exercising himself in terms of Non-cooperation.

The Non-co-operation Resolution was first passed in the Khilafat Conference at Meerut and then at the Gujrat Provincial Conference, Gandhi taking the lead in either. Then in September 1920, Gandhi led India launch Non-co-operation at a special session of the Congress in Calcutta, Lala Lajpat Rai presiding.

3. On the point, M. R. Jayakar says in his *The Story of My Life*—"One of them, a small boy became senseless after the fourth stripe but after some water was poured into his mouth he regained consciousness. Flogging was then resumed. He lost consciousness for a second time, but the flogging was not stopped till he was given thirty stripes. He was then taken off the flogging post bleeding and quite unconscious."

Were it the Punjab wrong, perpetrated and condoned with a headlong wantonness, which abruptly changed Gandhi from what he was vis-a-vis Britain to what he now became, smelling 'insidious poison' in everything of her 'satanic Government' in India, the swift, decisive measure, he proposed, is understandable. The mystery deepens as he says that it was England's betrayal in the matter of Khilafat, that made him make 'the final

choice.⁴ A new-born Turkey dropped Khilafat, the symbol of stone-dead theocracy as a clog in the wheel of progress. "England," says H. C. Armstrong in his *Grey Wolf: Mustafa Kemal*,⁵ "the crafty, subtle enemy, who failed to destroy the Turks by the Greeks, was at her intrigues again using the Indian Moslems and Aga Khan to split the Turks into two camps." To have seized the precipitate Khilafat at the time gave a new fillip to pan-Islamism,⁶ British rule had avidly nursed to prevent a national merger of the Hindus and Moslems. The inexorable destiny was that as the Khilafat died a natural death, the Moslem frustration revenged itself by a blind communalism. Some of the top rank Khilafat leaders, who swore by Gandhi and ran into hysterics over his name, had now no scruples whatsoever to call him a *Kafir*—the hateful unbeliever. But back to our theme.

It was accepted that to make the Non-co-operation Resolution finally operative, they would wait for the Nagpur Congress in the following December, when by the time the country would have fully considered it in all aspects. The Nagpur President Vijayragavachari was instrumental in making Non-co-operation hinge on the issue of the greatest of wrongs, the denial of Swaraj to India. At Nagpur, C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai and others, who were not wholly in its favour in Calcutta, gave Gandhi an unqualified support. He was acclaimed as the leader long awaited.

III

The Non-co-operation spelt a complete rout of the old school leaders. They now seceded from the Congress, they had untiringly built up, and took to spoon-feeding the Montford Reforms, which yielded for a good many of them a rich harvest. Surendranath Banerjea, Provash C. Mitter, C. Y.

Chintamani, Lala Harkissen Lall were amongst those to be ministers; Lord Sinha was made Governor of Bihar and Orissa; B. N. Sarma and Tejbahadur Sapru were made Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council; C. C. Ghose was made a judge of the Calcutta High Court; Sreenivas Sastry was made a British Agent for the Dominions; and Bhupendranath Bose was taken over as Member to the Secretary of State's India Council. The old stalwarts, now absorbed into the bureaucracy, left the field open to Gandhi and a new set of leaders. They attacked the Montford Reforms from a pointblank range.

The Non-co-operation swept past India with the rapidity of a hurricane. Some over thirty thousand souls were clapped in jail for offering civil disobedience. Gandhi resolved to start a no-tax campaign at Bardoli. There were, however, sporadic riots and other acts of lawlessness. What happened at Chaurichaura was sufficient by itself to make Gandhi scan and reflect. Angry peasants broke open the jail and set fire to the Police Station burning to death some policemen. This was reminiscent of the storming of the Bastille. Gandhi called off the Civil Disobedience.⁷ But he was put to trial to answer the charge of sedition.

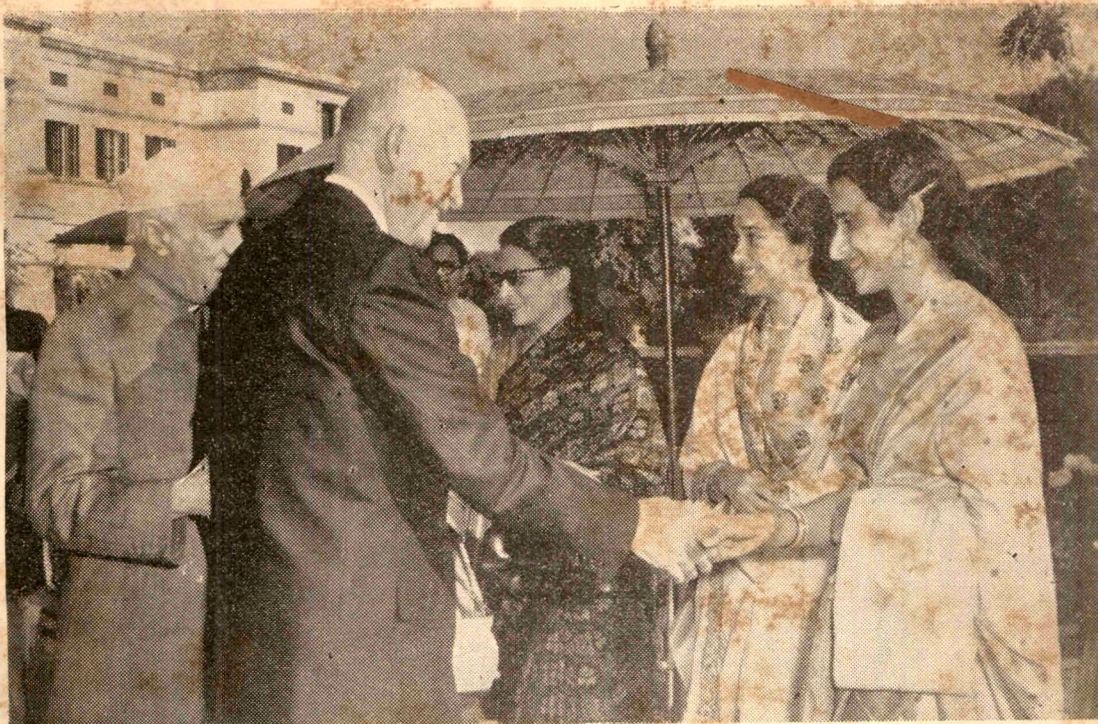
Three articles of Gandhi's *Young India* "The Puzzle and its Solution," "Tampering with Loyalty" and "Shaking the Manes" were cited as tokens of his guilt. In pleading guilty Gandhi declared, "I am here to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in Law is a deliberate crime but what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen." Gandhi was given a sentence of six years. After two years he was operated for appendicitis—no easy operation in those days—and released. Eight months after, he went on a fast for twenty-one days in order to expiate the sin of the Hindus and the Moslems breaking each other's head

4. Gandhi: *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*—Part V, Chapter XXXVI.

5. This book inspired Mr. Jinnah to dream of a new role in life.

6. Bipin Chandra Pal warned against pan-Islamism in the first decade of this century.

7. "To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching boiling point, was nothing short of a national calamity."—Subhas Bose in *The Indian Struggle*.



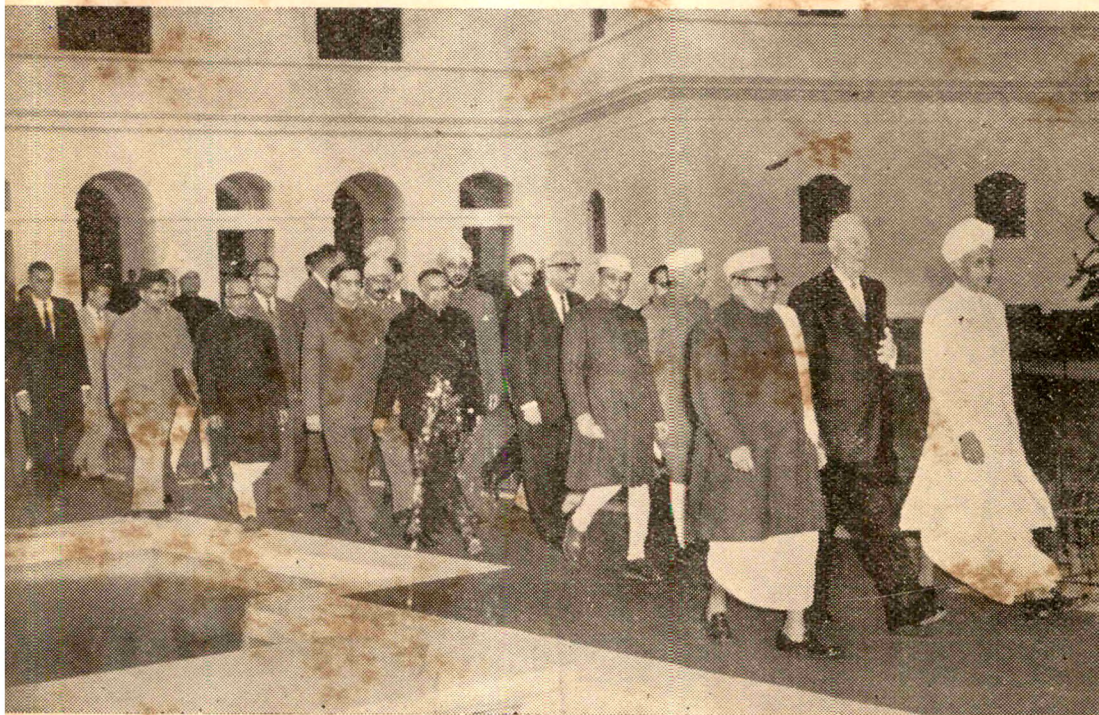
Some honoured guests in a launch held recently in New Delhi in honour of the U.S. President are being presented to him by the Prime Minister



• Group photo taken at the Palam Airport on the occasion of President Eisenhower's five-day State visit in India



President Eisenhower is seen arriving with distinguished visitors at a special Convocation of the Delhi University



The U. S. President proceeding to the Central Hall of the Indian Parliament

over the question of music before mosque, cow-slaughter and other causes as flimsy. As Gandhi crossed the ordeal, he was back to the old schedule and accepted the presidentship of the Congress at Belgaum, December 1924.

Fast as time ran out, England sent a Commission in 1928, headed by Sir John Simon, of which Clement Attlee was a member, to consult Indian leaders and work out a scheme as the next change in the governance of India. There was not a single Indian on the Commission and the Congress boycotted it. The demonstrators sustained a barrage of 'Simon go back.' They were beaten up, such as to prompt Jawaharlal Nehru, 'half blinded with dull anger,' as he says, to retaliate, but deterred from a course like that by his loyalty to Gandhi. Lala Lajput Rai slumped under a stinging blow and died a few days after. The result of all these was that the 1929 Lahore Congress declared that the word Swaraj in Article I of the Congress Constitution meant complete independence; and January 26 was marked as the Independence Day for national observance.

Gandhi renewed his campaign of Civil Disobedience. On 12th March 1930, he and seventy eight others started on foot for the sea at village Dandi, some two hundred miles away from Ahmedabad, to make salt in violation of Law. There was an unprecedented upheaval in the country and people everywhere celebrated the occasion in whatever manner they deemed expedient in local conditions. Gandhi, erect with grim resoluteness, writ large on every step of his, was India on her pilgrimage to Freedom. He reached the destination, prepared salt and was confined in Yervada jail. Britain in the meantime tried one Round Table Conference in London without Gandhi. It proved dismally certain that no one else could deliver the goods. So at last the Governor General Lord Irwin came to terms with Gandhi. The Civil Disobedience was called off. The *Satyagraha* prisoners were released. The poor were given the right to make salt on their own account. Picketing of liquor and opium shops was pronounced legal. People

got back the lands, which were confiscated for Civil Disobedience. Gandhi agreed to attend the Second Round Table Conference. To Winston Churchill it was 'a humiliating, nauseating spectacle' that Gandhi, whom he called in one of his obstreperous moments 'a half naked, seditious fakir,'⁸ should be striding up the steps of the Viceregal house to settle terms with Lord Irwin, as between plenipotentiaries.

London turned out in her thousands to receive Gandhi. He put up with Miss Muriel Lester, who was living in the service of the poor in their humble surroundings of East End. It was the year of acute economic depression and, furthermore, a good many of the working class were hit by Gandhi's campaign of boycott and Khadi. All the same, they would wait on the wayside and keep running in and out just for a glimpse of this great Indian.

Gandhi in his loin cloth and hand-stitched wrapper was an oxymoron in the House of Lords, when the King-Emperor opened the Second Round Table Conference, with due pomp in the presence of immaculately dressed official dignitaries and gorgeously-attired Indian Princes. "Time was," said Gandhi to the assembled, "when I prided myself on being a British subject. I would far rather be called now a rebel than a subject." In speeches at the Round Table Conference and at Committee meetings he emphasised the wrong which was being done to India by denying her the right of self-determination. These speeches in their crisp simplicity were a ringing contrast to the high-flown eloquence of others. At the garden-party in the Buckingham Palace, Gandhi was introduced to the King by Sir Samuel Hoare, later on Lord Templewood. George V told Gandhi that formerly he was behaving quite well as a loyal subject and that he should not have taken to destructive politics. Gandhi politely replied that as an invited guest he had not come to discuss politics. Lord Templewood says in his *Nine Troubled*

8: George VI, on receipt of the news of Gandhi's death wired Mountbatten that it was 'an irreparable loss they (Indians) and indeed mankind (italics mine) have suffered.'

years how he breathed a sigh of relief that neither pushed the point any further. Gandhi, says he, impressed one and all by his 'beautiful manners' and contrasts him with the 'bumptious' Churchill. Bernard Shaw met him and declared that he was 'a man born once in a thousand years.' Lloyd George invited him and was all-praise for his winsomeness. Lady Astor invited him to luncheon. Winston Churchill refused to meet him. His cousin, the famous sculptress Clare Sheridan, however, obtained Gandhi's permission to do his head. He had no time to pose, but she did her job while he was spinning. On his way back, he met Romain Rolland at Paris. Rolland writes his impression, "He flung one arm around me, leaning his cheek against my shoulder. . . . It was, I amuse myself thinking, the kiss of St. Dominic and St. Francis."

Gandhi came back, the European Association chuckled, 'empty-handed'. This did not worry Gandhi; he never had high hopes from his visit. What however worried him, essentially the man of peace, was that what he and Irwin had initiated in healing up the differences between England and India were set at naught by Irwin's successor, the 'feather-brained' Willingdon, who chose to rule India by Ordinances. He turned Gandhi's request even for an interview. Gandhi wrote back to say that it was unworthy of the position, he held. Gandhi was taken a captive to the Yervada jail.

The Separate Electorate, which was embodied into the Indian Statute by the India Act, 1909, was confined to the Moslems only. The India Act, 1919, extended it to the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and the Europeans. As though the cup of divisiveness between man and man in India was not yet full, to the brim, the India Act, 1935, sought to slice out a portion of the Hindu society, which passed for the Scheduled Caste, and give them a separate electorate. The magnitude of the contemplated step appalled Gandhi. He took to fast unto

death were the Hindus to remain obdurate and would not move fast to undo the mischief. The Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus agreed to a formula and Britain, shying at the odium of her responsibility, accepted it in place of her own. Thus was Gandhi saved, on the brink of a fatal sag; and he saved the Hindu society breaking down still further into pieces.

The India Act, 1935, conceded a measure of autonomy to the provinces. It was, however, hedged in by so many reservations, safeguards and residuary power that Attlee, as Leader of the Opposition, summed it up to say in the House of Commons, 'the one thing which seems to have been left out is the Indian people.' 'It ingeniously multiplied,' says Harold Lasky in *Where From Here*, 'every protective device discoverable of reaction.' And yet Winston Churchill fulminated as though the prodigals were giving away everything with a reckless abandon.

Gandhi consented to the Congress taking up the administration of eight out of eleven provinces. The Second Great War broke out in 1939. Lord Halifax, now the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, requested Gandhi to send a message to Poland groaning under German attack. Any other than Gandhi would have retorted, 'Were not you as much a party to the attempts of Chamberlain and Daldier to direct Fascist might eastward?' But Gandhi is of a different mould and at once acceded to the request. As Linlithgow invited Gandhi to line up with Britain, Gandhi asked the Governor General to consult the British Cabinet and state in unequivocal terms what India gained in being plunged into the desolating war. Linlithgow would not. He further involved India into the war over the head of her Legislature. Gandhi withdrew the Congress Ministries and started a symbolic civil disobedience. That is to say, one Congress member would stand at a public place to announce, for what consequence, that the war had been forced down the throat of India.

9. The expression is Montagu's.

It was at this dissolving period of

history that Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister of Great Britain. One of his very early pronouncements was that he had not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Indian Empire. He declared as well that the Atlantic Charter, which promised the people the right to choose their own form of Government, did not apply to India. 'We hold what we have' was his arrogant assertion. In the inevitable clash some forty thousand people were put in jail. In the meantime, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and the United States of America entered the war. Churchill sent Stafford Cripps, with his successful record in Russia, to India to talk out, as it were, the question of her Independence. In August 1942, Gandhi started his 'Quit India'¹⁰ campaign and left every Indian to go to the fullest length for a complete deadlock. The factor of surpassing importance to finalise the Indian struggle in the nick of time was, however, Netajee Subhas Bose.

Subhas Bose escaped from detention in his Calcutta residence in January, 1941. After an intriguing journey, which bristled with hazards and hardships of all kinds, he went to Russia via Afghanistan and then flew to Berlin in the following March. He was enthusiastically accepted by Germany and Japan in turn as an ally.¹¹ In the South East Asia he formed a battalion from out of the Indian Army, left over in the lurch by the British Generals fleeing for their lives. He launched the offensive and came as far as Kohima but was cut off from the main line of supply and had to retreat. Japan surrendered shortly after.

10. The coinage is that of an American Press-correspondent.

11. Paul Leverkuehn says in his *German Military Intelligence* that "Bose was in no way a collaborator in the evil sense which the word has acquired of recent years; rather he was a true Indian patriot with but one idea, who was prepared to do nothing for Germany's sake, but anything and everything including the harnessing of Germany's interests for India."

Abul Kalam Azad says in *India Wins Freedom* that Gandhi changed radically towards Netajee Subhas and was all affection whenever he was mentioned. He even countered Azad to say that if the Japanese landed in India they would come not as her enemy. The change is significant, because over the Tripuri Congress in 1939 the chasm between them looked complete. Over the distant radio, Subhas Bose, all the same, hailed Gandhi as 'the Father of the Nation', even if it is an anachronism historically.¹² To the Indian National Army, beaten back but covered with glory, Gandhi paid the well-merited tribute of acknowledgement. "You have," he said, "failed in your direct objective to defeat the British; but you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have begun to think in terms of Independence."¹³ Britain, for fairly two hundred years since the Plassey down to relinquishing the sceptre, had rested her guns on Indian shoulders in order to keep India under subjection." It was Subhas Bose's

—The book is translated into English by R. H. Stevens and Constantine Fitzgibbon.

12. Round about 1913 or 14. Annie Besant raised a controversy as to whom should the fatherhood of the Indian National Congress, synchronising with the freedom-movement of India, be assigned. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, himself once a President of the Congress, clinched the issue by a somewhat forthright appraisal—"Were a father be found now, let us declare that Surendranath Banerjee is the grandfather; he is the father of our national consciousness". Moreover, India, so long snubbed by the die-hards as no nation but only a geographical expression, was, when Gandhi stepped into Indian politics, already a nation. There can be no better authority in support than Sir Reginald Coupland, who says that 'from 1918 onwards, India was recognised as a separate nation and represented in her own right at international conference.'—*India, A Re-statement*.

13. Dr. K. N. Katju said over the All-India Radio, 23rd January, 1952—"The final and decisive blow to the British *Raj* was dealt by Netajee Subhas Bose.'

sinews and inspiration, which imbued the Indian military with the spirit of 'about face' to British commands as a test of patriotism. This is what, Sir Stafford Cripps, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in a roundabout way in the House of Commons, March 1947, in the debate on Indian independence. He dwelt on the 'absurdity of a considerable reinforcement of British troops to enforce administrative responsibility'. England may not tire preening herself on the virtue of fulfilling her mission by withdrawing from India, but History shall always be hard put to tone down the dire expediency of her leaving the Indian shores before the prospect of trade could yet be saved. And, in fact, it was saved.¹⁴ We are, however, straying afield and must go back.

IV

As the Congress, under the leadership of Gandhi, gave Britain the ultimatum 'Quit India,' Quaid-e-Azam Mahammed Ali Jinnha, on behalf of the Muslim League acting as a bastion against the Congress demand for Independence,¹⁵ put in the re-

joinder 'Divide India before you quit'. To enforce their demand the Muslim League started Direct Action, which inaugurated a blood-bath in Calcutta and Noakhali with grim repercussions in Bihar. The English governor of either Bengal or Bihar acted as the wooden horse of the Trojan War. Gandhi in his trek to restore brutalised Noakhali and Bihar to normalcy once again signalised how incredibly apart he was from others. He would personally visit the plague-spots, contact the people, smitten with a frenzied communalism, and help heal up the wounds.

In February 1947 Britain announced that she would quit India not later than June 1948. The then Governor-General Lord Wavel was practically dismissed to make room for Lord Mountbatten, related to the royal family. He speeded up the process and completed by 16th August, 1947, withdrawal from India, now divided into two independent countries, India and Pakistan. History has the indelible print that Gandhi assented to the division of India after having repeatedly held out the solemn assurance that it is only over his dead body that the division could be effected.¹⁶ All the same, it is Gandhi's signal achievement that he made India a secular state as distinguished from Pakistan being made an Islamic State. It enables forty-five million Muslims to live in India as equal citizens under the security guaranteed by the Constitution.

Gandhi stole away from the furore of Independence celebrations to devote himself to his mission of 'forget and forgive.' The process he had erelong initiated was disturbed by the shocking tales of refugees coming from East Bengal and West Punjab. As he felt that his appeal did not avail to the extent he hoped, he resorted to a fast in Calcutta. The leaders of each community pledged with him their word of honour and there were indications that their joint efforts were bearing fruits.

H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, during the 'Great Killings'—the

14. In March 1958, Prime Minister Macmillan said at New Delhi, that Britain's trade position with India was better than what it was during the British regime. And what that trade position means is abundantly clear from what Viscount Rothermere said in the *Daily Mail*, June 3, 1930. Vide *The Daily Mail Blue Book on the Indian Crisis*. "India," says he, "is still far and away the largest consumer of British exports. Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough revenue to provide old-age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants and all other State allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of the automatic routine of existence. These advantages are unparalleled in any other nation, and the only reason we are able to afford them is that we have hitherto found the greatest overseas market for our manufactured products among the 320,000,000 people of India".

15. On 12th November 1930, Jinnah himself claimed at the First Round Table Conference that the Muslim League had 'checked, held in abeyance the party that stands for complete Independence of India'.

16. The inside story is yet awaited why Gandhi agreed to the Partition.

coinage is that of *The Statesman*, Calcutta —trooping at the heels of Gandhi for peace and amity between the Hindus and Moslems is a pathetic phenomenon of history. Gandhi gave up the fast after seven days. In the meantime, Pakistan attacked Kashmir, which acceded to India. Ballabhbai Patel, as Home Minister, withheld the payment of Rupees Fifty-five crores to Pakistan, India had agreed to pay her under the head Partition-assets. Possibly never before Gandhi had his non-violence so sorely tested. He supported India resist by arms the raiders of Kashmir but would be no party to withhold the aforesaid payment, firstly because, it was agreed upon without any condition attached to it and, secondly, it was the only way to localise the conflict.

At times it is difficult to reconcile to the ethics of Gandhi's non-violence. It is based, he says, on India's ancient Law of suffering and sacrifice and is conceived to work out a change of heart in the wrongdoer. It is universally accepted that Gandhi has, more than any body else in modern times, brought home to a distracted world the urgent necessity of evolving a code of conduct between a nation and nation, such as it obtains between two gentlemen in the ordinary affairs of life. He has held with untiring insistence that were civilization, built up in the length of ages, to survive, brute reciprocity must not be the last say. He has demonstrated without one single equivocation that in the most exacting fight to liquidate British rule he has not said far less acted, which even remotely bespeaks of spite, malice or hate against the British people. No political leader anywhere in the world has ever shied at or shunned a subterfuge as he. Can it be said of any other doing politics, as Gokhale said of Gandhi 'as the kind of man before whom not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy'? He was called 'a crank', 'a charlatan', 'a dangerous maniac', but as he replied to

the charge or discussed the subject-matter on the boil, he never used a harsh word. Stuck up in a gruelling fight for national ends, he was, true to the kindred spirits of heaven and home, always for a federal adjustment of sovereign states. It is no wonder that Bishops and Prelates of note and standing acknowledged this Hindu as having given life and meaning to Christianity. In fact, he has built up a legend as to justify Einstein to say that 'a generation after, people will scarcely believe that such a man as he ever walked on this earth'.

But the Nemesis is eternally jealous. The charge that from the very start Gandhi appeased the Moslems such as to inflate their demands persisted. Even Abul Kalam Azad accuses him in cold print that he fawned at Jinnah, when the latter had very nearly dropped as a back number; and that Jinnah, invested with a new lease of life, took to kicking with disastrous results. There was a section of people, which could not, as well, take kindly to Gandhi refusing to make India a Hindu State. The sense of chagrin and discontent was wellnigh universal as he stood in the way of Patel withholding payment to Pakistan till her regular army was withdrawn from Kashmir. One of those, who completely lost balance in mad fury, shot Gandhi dead at Delhi on 30th January, 1948.¹⁷ There were hardly eyes, which did not moisten, voices, which did not choke. There was, however, an automatic recovery in the bliss of one supreme consciousness—what other death would have given him the priceless crown of martyrdom? People in a flash recalled Socrates condemned to a cup of hemlock; Jesus Christ crucified; Abraham Lincoln shot dead; and Lenin shot at to die of the injuries.

17. After mid-day nap Gandhi told his Secretary, 'Bring me my important letters; I must reply them today, for tomorrow I may never be'. Is it premonition or his way of doing things, i.e., not putting off important things?

REV. FATHER LAFONT S. J. of ST XAVIER'S COLLEGE

By ARUN KUMAR BISWAS, M.Sc. (Tech.)
Department of Applied Chemistry, Calcutta University

I

Pandit Shibnath Sastri remarked in one of his writings, that the period from 1856 to 1861 had been a very significant one in the context of Bengali Renaissance. Great sons of Bengal, e.g., Sir J. C. Bose, Bepin Chandra Pal, Rabindranath Tagore, etc., were born in this period; widow remarriage movement, Indigo movement and Sepoy Mutiny agitated the mind of young Bengal, and, in the turmoil, everlasting benefit was done to the country in the establishment of three important Indian Universities in the year 1857. 16th of January, 1860 was a very important date in that epoch-making age; for, on that day St. Xavier's College was started at the site of Sans Souci Theatre at Park Street. How the College has influenced the Bengali and Indian mind throughout one complete century is a long tale, only a part of which may be told in this article. The life and works of Rev. Father Eugene Lafont S. J. would be particularly discussed here, he having been not only a Rector of this Institution, but also one of the chief architects of the Xaverian tradition. In the modern scientific age, the contribution of this "Father of Science in Bengal" towards the scientific renaissance should be appreciated by one and all.

II

The history of the earlier St. Xavier's College that ran its chequered and strenuous course from June 1, 1835 to September 27, 1846 is known to but few. The college was opened in the interests of Catholic education and was conducted by the English Jesuits. On account of the Protestant rivalry and party feelings running high even amongst the Catholics of Calcutta, the first St. Xavier's College had to eventually close down its book. The Catholics of Calcutta petitioned the Holy See for a good college to suit their purpose and this time the task was taken up by Belgian Province of Society of Jesus. The first batch of eight Jesuit Fathers led by

Father H. Depelchin arrived at Calcutta on November 28, 1859. In the meantime, the old Sans Souci Theatre at 10, Park Street (at present 30, Park St.) had been bought by the Catholic community and this building came to be the site of St. Xavier's College.

The College started very modestly on January the 16th, 1860. Under the management of Father Depelchin and patronage of devoted Catholics like Mr. James Cantopher, Mr. Bentham Bowring (Private Secretary to Lord Canning), etc., the College gradually grew up to its full stature. It was soon affiliated to the Calcutta University. In spite of sickness, of opposition, financial difficulties and "perhaps because of all these, God's work prospered." In this background, the arrival of Father Eugene Lafont at Calcutta on December 7, 1865 was an auspicious event, for besides being one of the pioneers of Science in this country, he guided the course of St. Xavier's College through 43 long years, he made the Xaverian edifice at Calcutta nobler and stabler. Although Father Lafont and St. Xavier's College were indissolubly connected, we propose to reserve our attention on Father Lafont and to probe as regards how his words and deeds glorified the College, he represented.

III

Eugene Lafont, eldest son of Pierre Lafont, was born at Mons in Belgium on the 26th March, 1837. Father Lafont, in his maturity; did not remember much about Mons and the house and street where he was born, for it was "so far back" and he had seen "so many others since." As a matter of fact, he had hardly stayed at Mons. His early training was at Ghent (St. Barbara's College) where his father was an Army officer. Very little is known about Fr. Lafont's boyhood; he joined the Society of Jesus in December 1854. After the preliminary training afforded by the Order, he gave himself to the study of Philosophy and

Natural Science at Namur. (Father Depelchin was at that time Minister of the Namur College). It was here that he developed that aptitude for Experimental Physics which in him seems to have been a real gift and which he utilised to such immense advantage in later years and in other climes. His service was very soon requisitioned for Bengal Mission and he came down to Calcutta in the winter of 1865, and joined St. Xavier's College.

In 1866, he was engaged in the pre-Entrance class but very soon he had to teach Natural Sciences in the College. It was during this year that Father Lafont gave the first of the long series of public exhibitions that ended only with his death 42 years later. "It was a very humble beginning—only a magic lantern show. He worked the slides but owing to his want of the familiarity with the English language, he engaged the services of one of the senior boys, Richard Bradley, to announce the pictures." Charity is said to begin at home and Father Lafont gave the doses of scientific thought to his own pupils first before trying the same on the Indian public. Besides, he had to wait till the public was acquainted with his name, and the cyclone of 1867 gave the opportunity.

He had been steadily acquiring apparatus for his physical laboratory ("Museum" as he called it) and day-to-day meteorological observations. With his meteorological apparatus, he sensed an approaching cyclone in the morning of 1st November 1867 and gave the timely warning to the Government Meteorological Department. The cyclone came that night obeying his predictions; he took series of meteorological readings, braving the fury of elements, and published the same. The newspapers had rather disparaging comments on the fact that "the Government observatory had failed to do what the scientific enthusiast had braved the elements to perform." The public came to know of this unique man, who had come in this country to preach not only religion but also science. Father Lafont continued his scientific pursuits and particularly meteorological ones. In 1870,

Secchi's meteorograph, a self-registering instrument for recording temperature, pressure, rainfall, velocity of wind, etc., was purchased and placed in the Physical Laboratory of the College for daily observations. The cogent recordings of the weather in its multiplicit forms and its publication in the form of tables made Father Lafont and his laboratory very famous, not only in this country but even abroad. Abbe Megino, the French Savant said, "These are magnificent tables. We offer Father Lafont our best congratulations. He does better than the Imperial Observatory of Paris."



Rev. Father Lafont S. J. (1837-1908)

Now that his popularity in the city was an established fact, his lectures at the College Hall drew ordinary public, and the college gatherings underwent a metamorphosis into public lectures. On September 18, 1868, he gave a public lecture on a scientific subject which was favourably commented upon by the local press. The demonstration "showed clearly how attractive a really good course of popular scientific lectures, abundantly illustrated with experiments would be to the inhabitants of Calcutta." The series of lectures in the

months of May and June, 1870 were similarly appreciated. It was reported about the lecture on 19-5-1870, that "notwithstanding rain and lightning, a pretty fair attendance of native gentlemen gathered around the lecture table to hear the exposition of Dalton's atomic theory and witness some experiments, illustrating the general principles of matter. . . . Throughout the series, the gentlemen were most assiduous and punctual in their attendance."

Father Lafont continued his popular scientific lectures till his death in 1908; the reader need not be bored with a huge catalogue of references. The fact however remains that he was a successful populariser of science and this was due to his beautiful introduction and presentation of the topics. He knew how to "sell his wares." In a lecture on X-ray, he would start with a claim that a particular shoe-maker makes the best kind of boot and then he would proceed to show how the superiority over other kinds of boots may be established by X-ray experiments. According to Rev. Father A. Briot S. J., the oldest Jesuit teacher today in St. Xavier's College, the lectures of Father Lafont had always a novel beginning and an ending with an exclamatory note on 'God's beautiful positive works'. While his religious preachings drew Catholic devotees round him at St. Thomas Church in Middleton St., his scientific lectures equally fascinated the architects of scientific renaissance in Bengal. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, the eminent homoeopath and founder of Indian Association for Cultivation of Science was strongly attracted by the scientific preachings of this man of God and became tied with him by a life-long friendship. The two friends then proceeded to sow the seed of science in the fertile land of Bengal.

IV

The historic letter of Raja Rammohan Roy addressed to Lord Amherst advocating for introduction of scientific education in India had marked the beginning of a new age. Although the Rajah's dream was not fulfilled in his lifetime, it gradually came out to be true. The establishment of

Calcutta Medical College in June, 1835, Roorkee Engineering College in 1848, etc., instilled in the Indian mind new aspirations; general and broad-based scientific education was still however a far cry. In the August 1869 issue of *Calcutta Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar published an article entitled "The desirability of a national institution for the cultivation of the physical sciences by the natives of India." In this article is to be sought the origin of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, which has produced internationally reputed scientists like Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Krishnan, etc. The idea of Science Association where Indians could do original research work and cultivate science in its various aspects, occupied all thoughts and efforts of Dr. Sircar. The project of the Association was conceived and given out in December, 1869 (when Father Lafont had already started his public lectures) and it was not till after "six years' agitation, cogitation and education of public mind" as Kristo Das Pal used to say, that the Association was opened for work in 1876. The leading men of the then Bengal, e.g., Keshub Chandra Sen, Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra, Kristo Das Pal, etc., came forward to help Dr. Sircar to the best of their abilities. His Grace the Archbishop Goethals and the Professors of St. Xavier's College, who were representing Catholic opinion through the forum, *Indo-European Correspondence* (later *Catholic Herald of India*), did not lag behind. On the one hand they encouraged and instructed Father Lafont in his noble venture of popularisation of science and on the other, they recommended Dr. Sircar's project of Science Association strongly to the public.¹

The acquaintance and friendship between Dr. Sircar and Father Lafont (which happened perhaps in the year 1869) must be admitted as a very significant event in the scientific renaissance of the

1. Ref. *Indo-European Correspondence*, Sept., 26, 1868; May and June issues, 1870; March, 1882, etc.

56
St. Xavier's College,
10, Park Street,
Calcutta. Apr. 11th 90

I Certify that Baboo
Jagadish Chandra Bose B.A.
was my pupil in Physical
Sciences for a period of
four years, and gave me
proofs of very great pro-
ficiency in that branch
of study. I consider him
to be one of the best stu-
dents we had in our Col-
lege Department.

Lafont S.J.

Late Rector and Lect.
in sc. Soc. Cal.

Facsimile of the certificate given by Father Lafont to his student, Jagadis
Chandra Bose

country.² While most of the others helped the cause of science in India by mere 'agitation' and 'cogitation,' the patient task of educating the public mind was taken up by Father Lafont. At the time the funds of the projected Science Association were swelling by the donations of Maharajahs and wealthy men, the humble gate collections of the public lectures of Father Lafont were also added to it. On 2nd June, 1870 Father Lafont delivered his first lecture towards the cause of the Science Association, at St. Xavier's College.

The discourse of Father Lafont on the 'Physical basis of Spectrum Analysis' delivered on 11th April, 1872 at the Medical College stirred up the public mind greatly in favour of propagation of science. The comments of *The Indian Mirror* on the said lecture may be quoted as this amply proves what the joint personality of Father Lafont and Dr. Sircar meant to the intelligentsia of the nineteenth century Bengal:

"For the space of two hours, Father Lafont kept up the interest of his audience by the fascination of his discourse as step by step he traversed the grand field and carried us through the mysteries of the distant worlds. . . . There was an electric effect produced by the lecturer's words, which were at once clear and graceful, plain and animated, rising at times to the height of eloquence.

" . . . Time has come when someone ought to take the missionary's role and go through the country interesting the people by means of popular science lectures and position of the kind given by Father Lafont.

"There can be no doubt that Father Lafont and Dr. Sircar are the persons to whom the popular vote would turn in the latter of the choice for leaders. It is to them, therefore, that all our hopes in this direction are directed." (Italics are mine).

When the Science Association was founded, Father Lafont used to deliver lectures at the Association premises every Thursday evening. In Father Lafont's

own words, "Thursday was my only day of leisure in the week and although I had a great deal of work in the preparation, I was amply repaid by the manner in which my lectures were always attended and received." After long 19 years, Father Lafont had to discontinue his lectures at the Science Association but his contact with the Association remained as fresh as ever till he breathed his last. In the year 1893, the Science Association was affiliated, in the Physics and Chemistry course, to Calcutta University up to the First Arts standard. Before that, the members of the Association had doubted whether a Research Association should take up teaching and beg for affiliation under an University. It was Father Lafont who at that time convinced Dr. Sircar and others "that as one of the objects of the Association was the diffusion of knowledge of science by lectures, and as from the funds at the disposal they were only to fulfil that subordinate object, it would be no derogation of its dignity to seek the affiliation." Fourteen years later, the same Father while presiding over the Annual Association meeting (Sir C. V. Raman was present in the meeting; Dr. Sircar had died three years earlier) approved the idea of disaffiliation, as the Association had funds and abilities for pursuits of research and as the task of science-teaching could now be left to the competent authorities of the private colleges. While in his death-bed, Dr. Sircar rightly referred to Father Lafont "without whose ungrudging and long continued aid the Association could never have been an accomplished fact."

V

In October 1871, Father Lafont was appointed Rector of St. Xavier's College, and his position as head of the college naturally afforded him wider opportunities for furthering the interests of the institution. Even before he was raised to the Rectorship, he was endeavouring to impart real scientific instruction to his pupils. In the letter, dated 21-4-1870, addressed to Mr. W. S. Atkinson, Director of Public Instruction, Father Depelchin wrote:

"Three times a week, lectures on the

2. As the late Prof. Meghnad Saha used to say, "They always worked together."

attractive and useful science are delivered to all students of the College Department by the Rev. Father Lafont. The lectures are illustrated with experiments." Although the attendance was compulsory, the students liked it. They always found interest in the lectures and in the latest apparatus secured by Father Lafont.

Father Lafont was always the first to exhibit the latest discoveries of physical science to his students as well as to the Indian public: Telephone, Tesla's experiments, Wireless Telegraphy,³ X-ray, coloured photography, Phonograph, the phenomena of Radioactivity, etc., are some of the examples. Generations of students listened with the same enchantment, as their elders did before them, to the wonderful lectures of this wonderful man. "Many a college feast day had its pleasant termination in the laboratory as the good Father had the habit of taking the school around him in the Museum".

An ardent believer of experimental science, Father Lafont expanded his physical laboratory as best as he could. This laboratory was a 'cynosure of all eyes', whether in India or elsewhere. Wealthy people donated for the purchase of new instruments. In January 1872, Lord Mayo presented to Father Lafont a beautiful model of horizontal steam-engine. From the Paris Exhibition (1900), the Father collected a good stock of some latest apparatus.

The most important event during the first Rectorship of Father Lafont was erection of the Astronomical observatory of the college, the history of which may be briefly told. On December 9, 1874, the transit of Venus across the Sun's disc aroused the enthusiasm of the astronomers throughout the world. Prof. P. Tacchini, the famous Italian Astronomer, had arrived in India and invited Father Lafont in the Muddapore expedition. Father Lafont participated and later published an inter-

esting account of the expedition and its results.⁴ Prof. Tacchini was so impressed by the value of solar observations in the cloudless sky of India that he persuaded Father Lafont to erect a spectro-telescope at St. Xavier's. An appeal was made for funds; Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant Governor visited the college on 5th February, 1875 and granted Rs. 2,000 for the purpose. Four days later, Father Lafont approached the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he himself was a member, for monetary help; the society granted Rs. 500. A total of Rs. 21,000 was soon amassed and orders for the necessary equipment were placed to various European firms. A magnificent circular flight of steps led up to the observatory which was placed 67 ft. above the ground. The important equipments were as follows: a large equatorial, a parallactic instrument, object-glass of which was furnished with an hour-circle, six astronomical eye-pieces, five micrometer eye-pieces, one ring micrometer, a clock work with conical pendulum, a direct vision spectroscope and lastly a polarising helioscope with photometer. It took 18 months to construct the whole instrument. Father Alphonse de Penaranda, an able colleague of Father Lafont, calculated the geographical co-ordinates of the site of the observatory.⁵ The work of daily mapping of the solar protuberances, study of Sun's spots, and studies of other heavenly bodies were started; even today, the Jesuit Fathers of the college are busy in important astronomical observations. Father Lafont's astronomical work was pioneering indeed as the India Government decided.

4. With the help of a spectro-telescope Prof. Tacchini made the important discovery of the presence of water vapour in the atmosphere of Venus. The total time of transit as noted by Father Lafont with the help of equatorial refractors and carefully rated chronometers, was 4 hours 41 minutes 1.5 seconds.

5. The values viz., Longitude East of Greenwich 5 hrs. 53 min. 26 sec. and Latitude North 22° 32' 51", are greater than those of Alipore Observatory by 6.23 secs. and 45.8" respectively.

3. After Sir J. C. Bose, a student of Father Lafont, had made the discovery, it was the great Father who insisted on his celebrated student, that the discovery should be demonstrated in public.

almost simultaneously, to conduct an observatory at Kodaikonal.

In view of the remarkable contributions of Father Lafont in the educational field, suggestions were afloat in the year 1876 that the Father should be nominated a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The *Statesman* wrote, "The University would gain more honour by the nomination than Father Lafont." The Father was eventually nominated a Fellow in March 1877 and ever since he took active interest in the affairs of the University. It was mainly due to him, Dr. Sircar and Sir Alexander Pedler that the importance of scientific study in the University curriculum came to be recognised. His advocacy for more stress on science and experimental science in particular and more laboratory facilities in the colleges convinced the members of the Indian Universities Commission, appointed in the year 1903; his suggestions for an improved science course were accepted and eventually implemented by the University.

VI

The varied engagements and tireless activities at the St. Xavier's College, Science Association, Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Calcutta University broke down the health of the Father and he had to abandon his Rectorship and go to Europe for recovering the lost health (1878). He returned the next year and continued not only his lectures in Natural Science but also all other former activities. In 1901, he accepted his second Rectorship for another three years. His health having broken irrecoverably, he had to give up even his lectures in 1906 and everybody felt that the end was nigh. On Passion Sunday, the 5th April 1908, he preached with his usual vigour at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Dharmatallah; the excessive summer-heat began to tell on him and on medical advice, he had to leave for Darjeeling. He spent his last happy days with the boys of St. Joseph's school. He liked noise, he said, and the merry laughter of the boys was, he thought, the best tonic for a jaded liver. On 6th May, a sudden stroke of paralysis made his condition

grave and he breathed his last on 10th May, 1908.

VII

If for nothing else, Father Lafont shall be ever remembered as the teacher of Sir J. C. Bose. The brilliant teacher moulded the aspirations of this young pupil for the starry heights of scientific attainment. When Sir Jagadish had made his important discovery on 'Telegraphy without Wires,' Father Lafont publicly demonstrated the experiments and paid his student a well-deserved tribute (19th Sept., 1897). The Father mentioned that Bose's discovery preceded that of Marconi; in contrast to the latter, Bose did not take any patent, as he thought that the result of any scientific discovery should be a public property. "Prof. Bose, whose modesty was on a par with his merit, had requested his old Master not to mention all these, but Father Lafont was determined that justice should be done to whom justice was due."

Besides Sir J. C. Bose, many other students were influenced by Rev. Father Lafont's teachings and adopted science as the main guiding principle in their lives. To name a few, the instances of Richard Bradley, Irrigation Engineer at Roorkee, Dr. Arthur Younan (later trained at Edinburgh), a famous research worker on the Vitreous Humour of the Eye and a renowned medical practitioner, Mr. E. R. Deefholts, Electrical Engineer (an expert in Electrification of tramways), Mr. Devendra Nath Mullick, a Physicist, Mr. Hariprasanna Chatterji (Swami Vijnananda of Ramakrishna Order), an Engineer, Mr. P. N. Bose, a famous geologist, etc., may be cited.

Father Lafont exercised his noble influence not only upon his students but also on the contemporary intellectuals and royal dignitaries. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, Justice Gurudas Banerji, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Sourindra Mohan and Jatindra Mohan Tagore, Moulvee Abdul Lateef Khan, Babu Rajendralal Mitra and many other intellectuals were deeply impressed by what Father Lafont preached and did. The then Nawab of Murshidabad, the Maharajah of Gwalior, Maharani Sarnamoyee

as well as many Chief Justices of High Court and Lt. Governors considered Father Lafont "as one of their best friends"; the above statements can be proved by a host of well-connected references. He was able, amid the jarring discord of public life, to direct the mind of statesmen and administrators to those great moral issues of justice and of right on which the happiness and contentment of the people depend. Sir Ashutosh remarked that Father Lafont had "a very deep sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians." This remark is extremely significant when viewed in the context of nationalistic agitations in the beginning of this century. One cannot fail to note without amazement the connection of the great Father with a huge number of organisations and associations. Mahomedan Literary Society, Burrabazar Family Literary Society, various women's educational organisation,⁶ Calcutta Homoeopath Society, Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, etc., enrolled Father Lafont as their active patron or member. Indian Association for Cultivation of Science, the Calcutta University and Asiatic Society of Bengal however occupied the greater part of his attention.

The terrific impact, he made on the contemporary public opinion, can be best judged from the honours he received during his life time. A man of God, as he was, he valued his decorations, viz., 'Companion of the Indian Empire' (1880), 'Officier d'Academie de France' (1896), a 'Knight of the Order of Leopold' (1898), 'Doctor of Science' (Calcutta University) (1908), only because those were beneficial to the cause of Bengal Mission ('all these for Chotanagpur' as he used to say); his heart, however, pined for divine rewards alone.

VIII

Father Lafont was a man of Christ; he advocated for the modern science, only because he thought that neither Christia-

6. Father Lafont used to deliver lectures on science at Victoria Institution, (founded by Keshub Chandra Sen), Loretto Convent etc.: Sm. Indira Debi Chaudhurani had been one of the Father's pupils at Loretto Convent.

nity was anti-scientific nor Science anti-religious. After coming to India, he pursued his theological studies and began preachings on various topics of religion and Christian faith. His sermons against Freemasonry (a cult of secrecy and anti-christianity) in 1875, Triduum speeches in 1888, Charity sermons in 1899, speech on Saint Francis Xavier in 1901 and numerous 'Retreat' sermons attracted catholics and non-catholics alike. He preached what he himself cultivated: love, charity, readiness to help others' and above all religious faith. He stressed that the ideal way of exercising one's faith was "never to be ashamed of it and never to sacrifice it for worldly advantages." In the age of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, he nobly and significantly represented in India all that was best in Catholic faith. If he wanted anything in his mortal life it was an eternal life of divine bliss. At his death-bed, he claimed, "Spare me human honours! I am thirsting for eternity."

IX

To evaluate the profound influence exercised by Father Lafont on Indian Renaissance, a critical assessment must be made of his scientific achievements and belief.

As Justice Gurudas Banerji said "Father Lafont's mission has been to popularise the study of science in this country." With a rare power of exposition which recalled 'la manière de Tyndall', he succeeded in that noble mission. "Through the dissemination of Western culture, there has been a reaction in favour of the study of science; and with this salutary reaction the name of the Rev. Father Lafont must ever be most gratefully associated." Besides delivering popular lectures, he contributed largely towards the foundation of the Science Association, a tree which bore the fruits of Raman and Krishnan, and this, as the great Father himself considered, was the "best thing that he had done in India." And it must be remembered

7. Rev. Father A. Briot has said that one of the characteristics of the great Father was that "he was always ready to help."

bered, that when he first came in India in 1835, there was no laboratory worthy of the name; his missionary work in science was started when it was so badly needed in the country.

Speaking of the current belief that Father Lafont had been a mere popular lecturer, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji said, "No greater injustice could have been done him. His knowledge of the principles of science was as deep and as sound as that of any other scientist." The high proficiency which he attained in the study of Physical Science gives evidence that had he remained in Europe, he would have won a very conspicuous place in the world of Science. He however devoted himself to the cause of Bengal Mission, as "the needs of Bengal were many." The internationally-reputed British journal *Nature* regretted Father Lafont's death and remarked (May 14, 1908): "The influence of Father Lafont is to be found in many of the science courses of study at Calcutta University. His name will be long kept in mind as that of one of the pioneers of scientific education in Bengal; his death is a great loss, especially at this time when strenuous efforts are being made to put education in Bengal on a satisfactory basis."

Historians of scientific renaissance in India would do well to go through the various speeches and writings of Father Lafont in which he expressed his scientific belief and profound religious faith (the latter did not contradict but complemented the former).

His pursuits in the meteorological and astronomical sciences were backed by a deep scientific philosophy which was a dogma of experiment, observation and unbiased inference. He wrote a series of articles on 'Cyclone,' 'Spectroscope', etc., in Indo-European correspondence (*Indo*); in one place, he remarked, "Every accurate observation of natural facts is precious on account of the possible conclusions to which it may subsequently lead, although at the time it is recorded, it may seem of little use." He believed in facts but not in unfounded and dogmatic hypotheses. As he clearly explained in a communication to

Indo in October 16, 1869, "idle hypothesis led alchemists nowhere." In one of the early lectures, he said, "I belong to a religion commonly, though erroneously regarded as antagonistic to science. Well gentlemen, I declare to you, though a Catholic and Priest, I hail with delight and pursue with love any advance of true science, the only thing that frightens me being the pretended discoveries of men who are not satisfied with facts, but put in their stead, and erect into scientific dogmas, the ill-digested lucubrations of their imagination." According to him, an ideal scientific mind should be sufficiently liberal to accept and reconcile new facts. Six months before his death, when the atomic science was only in its infancy, he gave the warning, "Let us beware of accepting all theories and mere working hypotheses as absolute truths." "The discoveries about Radium and other radiant substances must make us very cautious in assuming that we are already in possession of a final certainty about the constitution of matter and the forces of Nature in general. It is a great thing to learn how to say, 'I do not know' instead of pretending rashly that we know all about everything."

There have been unconfirmed views (rather, rash pretensions) that modern science has forfeited the claims of religion and secondly, that the nineteenth century religious revivalism has acted in Bengal in a direction opposite to the current of scientific renaissance. In fact, modern exponents of scientific philosophy consider that science of today can neither prove nor disprove the claims of religion. Besides, as it has been rightly remarked by Dr. Bertram C.A. Windle, "The paths of science are not untreadable by the religious man, and as he walks in them, he will find in front of him the footprints of many who upheld the banner of religion as they did that of science." As regards the second part of the 'rash pretension,' the views on science held and expressed by the monks of Ramakrishna Order and Society of Jesus in India should be sufficient to dispel this illusion.

The utterances of Rev. Father Lafont make it abundantly clear that his religious faith and scientific belief were harmonised in him into one concerted philosophy of Life: philosophy of God and 'God's positive works.' Rev. Father E. O'Neill, the successor of Father Lafont as Rector of St. Xavier's College, brought out this trait of Father Lafont's character very explicitly: "Many of us will remember how at the close of an interesting lecture, he would in accent of profound veneration, raise the thoughts of an enraptured audience to a feeling of thankfulness to the God of all truth who deigns to lift the veil of Nature's mysteries to give man a glimpse into the secrets of His own universe. On this point, he was uncompromising. Truth, he often asserted with that depth of conviction so characteristic of him, cannot be opposed to truth." To conclude, his religious faith, love and sympathy to all and many other Christian virtues, coupled with profound belief in science gave him an unique personality, which could not but indelibly impress itself on the emerging new India.

X

Evaluation of the total contribution of St. Xavier's College to the cause of renaissance in this country, has been beyond the scope of this article. Only the publications and discussions in connection with the centenary celebration of the College can satisfy the curiosity of the interested people.

The steady and useful educational work of this College elicited the praise of the Bengali press even when the College was in its early teens. Following the examples of Father Lafont, the teachers of the College have contributed to the cause of education and science in this province. Father Alphonse de Penaranda, one of the pioneers of Astronomical Science in India was an able colleague of Father Lafont; in his lectures delivered at the Science Association (1888) he regretted that a course on Astronomical Science had not been included in the University syllabus. He devoted his life to St. Xavier's College and

to his favourite pursuit of astronomy, "which excited in him a kind of religious enthusiasm;" his serene personality deeply influenced poet Rabindranath Tagore, who had been one of his students. Father Lafont before his death, had not only left behind him in the College, the lecture and demonstration rooms "better equipped than any other in India" (*Nature*, 14. 5. 1908) but also several junior colleagues who were already well-received in the society of Bengal.⁸

Father Lafont set the Xaverian tradition in the domain of science and scientific education. The best tradition, that the College has set in one hundred years, however, consists in the "consistent contribution of its quota to the number of useful citizens that labour for the welfare of this great country." St. Xavier's College and Rev. Father Lafont shall ever be remembered, if for nothing else, at least in connection with the immortal names of Poet Tagore and Acharya J. C. Bose. Let us hope, that this College shall produce many more worthy sons of the country!

Acknowledgement

The author is deeply indebted to Rev. Father A. Huart S. J., and Rev. Father P. Turmes S. J. of St. Xavier's College for the various helps rendered in connection with the preparation of this article. Thanks are also due to Rev. Father Rector, St. Xavier's College, and Dr. D. M. Bose, Director, Bose Research Institute, for their kindly permitting the publication of the photo and the document respectively.

8. On February, 14, 1908, Father A. Briot, along with Father Lafont, received Lord Minto, the then Viceroy, in the Astronomical Observatory; on Sept. 24, 1908, Father P. Van Neste was elected, along with Acharya P. C. Roy, R. S. Trivedi, Dr. Watson etc., a member of the Executive Committee of 'Chemical Club' which served as a 'common platform on which scientists of all countries could meet.'

The author of this article has been fortunate in having the opportunity of studying at the feet of these two great teachers. Rev. Father Briot is still amidst us.

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ASSAM

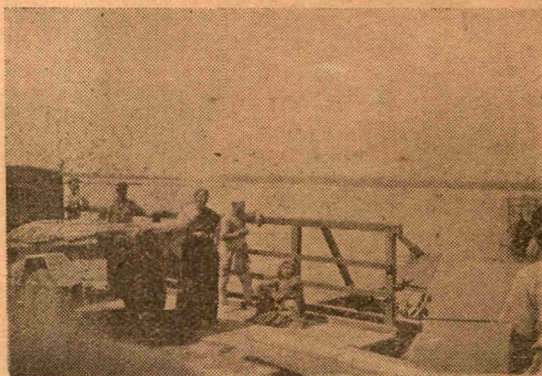
By E. V. GANAPATI IYER, I.A.S. (Retd.)

ASSAM is a little developed part of India of which there is considerable ignorance among the people of the rest of the country and even among Government and Parliamentary circles generally. Nevertheless it is a strategic part which is of great importance at any time and particularly at the present time when it has become a subject of exciting political interest and international controversy. This article deals with (I) "Assam as the Land of the Brahmaputra and the Hills" and the subsequent one, (II) "Assam—Its Peoples and Problems."

I. Assam—the Land of the Brahmaputra and the Hills

The circumstances of Assam's current topical interest may be here briefly mentioned. Firstly, the Dalai Lama, the God-King who left Tibet voluntarily, entered India through the northern border of Assam—a circumstance which inevitably has led to a border situation which has created tension and misunderstanding between two great friendly nations and requires to be resolved with proper circumspection. Again, Assam's northern border lies with China (of which Tibet is a part) and this is largely an undetermined and undemarcated line, generally called the McMahon Line. It is to be hoped that if the

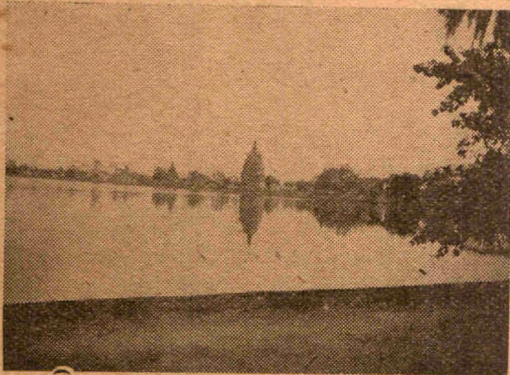
British Government did not consider it necessary or possible to reach a settlement about this so-called boundary line, for 50 years, the National Government of India will take a little time to consider enlightened Indian opinion on the matter and negotiate a wise settlement of the international boundary with its neighbour



Our jeep is ready for ferry-crossing on the Bharati river

from the basic considerations of friendship, security and mutual convenience. The constantly recurring theme of Naga raids, loot and plunder and their talk of Nagaland and the origin and forces behind these activities have roused much public attention. The Nagas are

only one group of the hill peoples of Assam and there are at least 5 or 6 other equally distinct peoples in the hill areas of Assam, the Khasias, a distinct Indo-Chinese race, the Daf-las, the Cacharis, Miris, Abors and Singphos. These brave and hardy people have been largely dumb so far about their political and economic rights because of their continued state of economic backwardness and the want of educational and social progress among them. Whatever might have been or may be the condition of such people in an imperialistic economy, it will be a national slur if their lot continues to be as hitherto and the implications of the Tibetan situation should not be ignored in this connection. Last but not least is the circumstance that Assam is the chief scene of Pakistan's persistent border incursions into India and of firings by Pakistani troops on Indian citizens. These numerous and formidable problems make Assam really the biggest problem State for India as a whole.

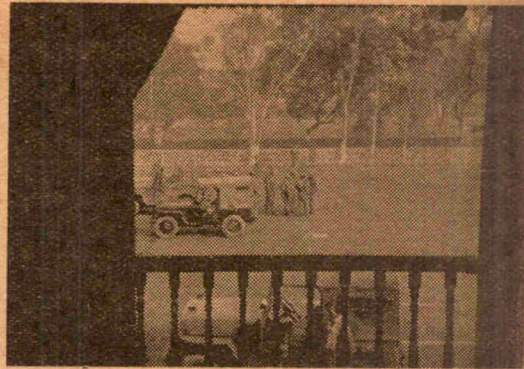


Temple built by the Ahom kings
(1714-1744 A.D.)

The briefest description of Assam is that "it is the land of the Brahmaputra and the hills." In its Sanskrit meaning, Assam is the "A-Sama" land—the 'unequalled land' according to some,—the 'land of variation and divergence' according to others. It should be said that both the meanings are simultaneously true and valid. Assam is 'the unequalled land of inequality, and divergence.'

The dominant thing of Assam is the Brahmaputra, one of the mightiest rivers of the world. The masculine name of the river—a unique thing in India—is attributed to ancient

Hindu mythology, the river being alleged to have risen from a place called Brahmakund in Assam's border.



A jeep at Jorhat Circuit House

To give some idea of this great river, I cannot do better than quote from a verse:

ODE TO THE BRAHMAPUTRA

In gentle peace I sat on thy bank and
Of thy grandeur, beauty-bound, is ^{mused,} ~~is~~
Divine thy being, oh Brahmaputra, fair ^{enthused,}
Serene and kind, in untamed strength ^{and free,}
yet thy glee.

Wherever I wend and look from side to
Thy waters spreading, thy form long ^{to side}
Sparkling fast thy flow, 'Shwet' ribbon ^{and wide}
Gift of eternal Gourishankar, mighty ^{in the sky}
and high.

The hills are thy sides, forests and towns ^{on them too,}
Kamakhya's towering height and Kaziranga's ^{natural view Zoo,}
Dibru and Dhubri, Tejpur and twin ^{Gauhati}
And islands in thy waters in lone majesty.

Tsangpo and Brahmaputra, Lohit and
Dihang,

the sway Hinduism established in Assam on its foreign conquerors of the Shan races.

The Brahmaputra valley extends over a length of about 450 miles in Assam from Dhubri on the West to Pasighat and Sadiya on the north-east, with an average width of 50 to 60 miles. There are few areas in the world which abound in such wealth of fertile soil (one has only to scratch the surface for luxuriant crops of rice, jute and tea), of mineral and forest wealth and hydro-electric resources. The Brahmaputra is a navigable high-way from Dibrugarh right down to Calcutta and carries a great traffic (which in methods of handling leaves much to be desired) in coal, rice, jute, tea, tea-chests, machinery and hardware up and down the river. Of its potential for the production of hydro-electric power, I need only mention that in its flow through Assam the river comes down from a height of 8 to 10 thousand feet to a few hundred feet above the sea level and we hear already that China has plans to generate 5 million KW. of electric power from the river gradients on the Chinese side. The State and the Central Governments owe a duty to the country and to the people of Assam to develop this source of power by utilising the potential fully.

If we turn our attention from the river to the land, we go from great to greater abundance and variety of natural bounty. The animal life and forest wealth of Assam are exuberant and unmatched by any other part of India. The giant vegetarians of the animal kingdom, the elephant and the single-horned Rhino of the grassy swamps and swiftfooted wild buffalo, the ferocious tiger and the bear, the huge crocodile and the cattle-devouring python are equally blessed in this land. In Assam fine bird life is as interesting as the fish life in its innumerable streams and ponds. The natural game sanctuary at Kaziranga which spreads over 160 square miles is justly famed throughout the world and is visited every year by zoologists, international sportsmen and circus trainers. In one morning I saw at close range in their freedom in this park 9 large Rhinos, several elephants, one of them crossing the road

only yards ahead of our jeep in sullen fashion, herd of wild buffaloes at the water's edge so alert and fast that at the merest rustle of leaves a hundred yards away they disappeared as if by magic, sambhar, deer, numerous colourful birds and smaller animals.



Coal-digging near Cherra from surface seams

The bounty of nature hidden within the land is as varied and attractive as that above it in Assam. Coal of the best quality with an ash content of only 3% as compared with 11% of Raniganj is found in the thickest of seams of average thickness more, quite close to the surface in the Khazi hills near Cherrapunji. New rich fields of coal have been discovered in the Garo hills. The world's best silimannite deposits—a refractory material—is to be found there. A comprehensive geological exploration and mapping of the land have yet to be undertaken. But sufficient has been done to point to the unlimited petroleum resources of Assam, the exploitation of which has led already to ideological controversies in India.

What are the problems of the Brahmaputra in Assam? They are:

- (a) To control its water,
- (b) To harness its energy,
- (c) To drain its swamps,
- (d) To improve its navigability with all modernity,
- (e) To bridge it and link it with roads to its twin frontiers.

II. Assam Its Peoples and Problems

Assam enjoys the distinction of being about the last part of India to go under the British rule. Till the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century when practically the whole of North India and all the Peninsula formed British dominion, the centuries old kingdom of the Ahoms in Assam was independent country, lying interposed between the English districts or protectorates like Bhutan and the Burmese dominion. The beginnings of the Ahom rule went back to the 13th century, when the Ahoms, an offshoot of the great Shan race of people in Upper Burma migrated to and held sway in the neighbouring lands

aided by the abnormal rains and terrain of Assam whenever they campaigned for fighting, they kept back the Mussalmans and the Moghuls from East Bengal when the neighbouring regions had fallen to them. Thus Aurangzeb had finally withdrawn from Assam and relinquished all idea of conquering it and the Assamese maintained their independence.

Whatever material prosperity and cultural glory Assam attained, it owes to the work of Ahom rulers. The Ahoms were Buddhists when they came from Upper Burma but in Assam in time they were quickly and effectively converted to Hinduism and they completely assimilated it. In Sibsager, the modern town which stands quite close to Rangpur, once a great town and the Capital of the Ahom kings, still stands on the fringe of a magnificent lake a great temple of Shiva, one of the finest large temples of India, built by the Ahoms. Hereditary family dynasties of sovereign authority have never yet made good anywhere in the world and it is no wonder that the Ahom kings in course of time lost that virility of administrative and military power which alone at all times is necessary to unify and canalise the strength of the people and utilise it to stem attacks from depredators and exploiters from abroad. So it came to pass that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ahom kingdom had so much declined in cohesion and authority that it was in a state of dissolution. There were sanguinary contests for power among the princes of the reigning house and the ministers supporting them, resulting inevitably in the defeated party calling in the Burmese from across the mountains eastward. The Burmese after putting up and down several puppets, finally placed Assam under a Governor of their own who was hated by the people. Then followed the turn of history for Assam. In the illuminating words of a British historian, "The conversion of a feeble semi-Hindu State on the frontier into a province of a warlike and aggressive Indo-Chinese kingdom was by no means to the advantage of the English.....It was always the practice of the English in



Fine bulls

to the West, East and South of their homeland, after the defeat of the Burmese king by the great Tartar (Chinese) overlord Kublai Khan. The army of the Chinese warrior Emperor did not however, after the victory stay to colonise and rule in Burma but withdrew after putting the Burmese king back in power but as an ally and subordinate of the Chinese ruler. The Shans who went to Assam were an entirely different race from the Indo-Aryans of Bengal, Bihar and U.P. and had different culture, customs and thought. They were Buddhists, were warlike and capable of endurance and hard fighting. They were able to assert their mastery easily over the hill tribals and the Hindu natives in the valley of Assam who were generally given to the peace-loving life born of devotion to religion, learning, cultivation and the arts.

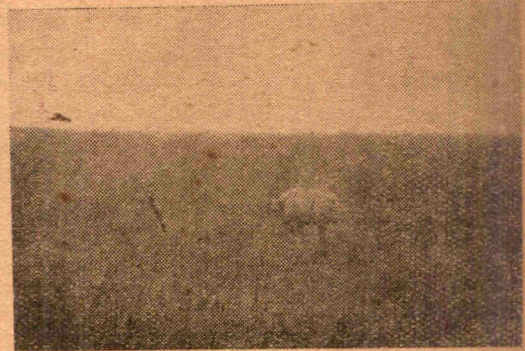
As the Shans were a warlike race, could organise things well and were also

India, as of other civilised empires in contact with barbarism to maintain a zone of tribal lands and chiefships as a barrier or quickset hedge against trespassers upon their actual frontier by taking these Chiefships or little border principalities under their protection." As the Burmese violated such protectorate in Cachar, menaced the British possessions in Sylhet and overran Manipur, the first Burmese war ensued in 1824 and as an important consequence of the defeat of the Burmese, Assam including Cachar came under the British and its individuality became merged in the dominion and now the Union of India.

The picture of the people of Assam is as variegated as that of its valley and the hills. In the valley, Hinduism with its unique power of absorption and enervating hold has synthesised into a strange unity the peoples of the Shan and Indo-Aryan races. The Assamese people now form a composite characteristic section of the Indian nation, with language and culture which are mainly Hindu and Sanskritic. They take interest in learning, in arts and religion, are devoted to Vaishnavism and tolerant of Buddhism (the God Hayagriva Madho in Hajo temple is worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists) and have by long dissociation been losing their warlike traits and capacities. While the Assamese disliked the monopoly and the domination of the Bengalees in many fields in the past, they themselves have not mingled very much with the other regional groups of their State, Khasis, Nagas, Miris, etc., and they have also remained rather isolated from the rest of India. The so-called tribals of Assam falling broadly into the divisions, plains tribals and hills tribals, form some distinct heterogeneous small group units in the State.

The Khasis with their special Khasi land—the Khasi hills—are a sturdy square-built race of hard-working people, the women more so than the men. They are good hill climbers, carry great loads over the hills, are fond of archery, cock-fighting, and opium-eating, take to professions like carpentry, blacksmithy, lock-smithy and rifle repairs readily and are

to use the rifle. They have been attempting to use the English script as the vehicle of the Khasi dialect in recent years. While they form a fine people on the whole, they have many superstitions and uncivilised practices to outlive. They are said to resort too readily to the habit of poisoning rivals and relations and carry on feuds and follow personal leaderships to a large extent.



A Rhino

The Nagas, still sometimes exaggerately called the head-hunting Nagas because of the vindictive manner in which family and group feuds are pursued, are also a brave physically fine group of hill people. Though a feeling of mutual prejudice and suspicion has since recently come to exist between them and the Assamese, I found that they are noted for their loyalty, devotion, courage and hard work. They normally live in their mountain homes, have to find food from killing animals in the hills, lack supply of clothing and other amenities of a civilised life.

The Dafias, Mikirs and the Abors are the people of the hill areas on the Himalayan foot-ranges to the north of the Brahmaputra. European travellers notably a German missionary and his wife, who lived for years among the Apa Tanis in their inaccessible areas have written much about their bravery, endurance and simplicity, nevertheless also treachery, cruelty, superstition and jealousy. Ignorance of illnesses like dysentery, typhoid, malaria, etc., has given the deep-rooted superstitions and animal instincts, which are reflected in quaint habits so interesting to the anthropologist but so discreditable to

the patriot, the nation-builder and the social worker. Their standards of living, material conveniences, social life and culture have been for decades and still continue to be of less than the elementary kind. Circumstances may have hitherto accounted for the isolation of these people and their backward condition but surely it should be the first and foremost task of the nation-builders and more than anybody else, of the Central and State Governments to open out these hill areas to civilisation and culture, to promote new modern townships and settlements of the Indo-Aryan people in these areas and the intermingling of these people with hill peoples and others of the land and build up the strength and unity of a national entity of people and culture.



Hill tribals' huts on a hill

In making this closely interwoven fabric of the unity and social life of the component peoples of Assam, of the valley and the hills, through common education and culture, social and economic welfare and military training and organisation, and not in segregation of the groups, lies the key to the prosperity of the State and its strength to contribute to the safety of India. Assam occupies a strategic position in the geography of India, a position which in the changed world polity of the second half of the twentieth century is the most dangerous and the most vulnerable at the same time.

The frontiers of India are literally and truly in Assam and in the strength and the unity of the peoples of Assam will lie in large measure the strength and sup-

port of the people of India. Patriotism and devotion of these peoples cannot be secured by wishfulness or by command. That the people of the hill areas of Assam can be made into highly useful, respected and eminent citizens of India within a short time is apparent to any one who has come into contact with them. Nevertheless the magnitude of the task is tremendous and the task is multifaced and will need single-minded devotion and concentration of effort of people and Government. In this noble task of the uplifting of a whole people, of making the brotherhood of men intelligible to them and a reality and a great force of moral and material endeavour, it may be that social institutions like the Indian Institute of World Culture, Sri Ramakrishna Mission, can play a worthy role to further the efforts of Government on an all-party national basis. The problems of Assam are then, firstly to forge patriotic unity amongst the peoples of Assam themselves and their affinity with the Indian peoples, secondly, to display affection and real brotherhood towards the backward so-called hills and plains tribals peoples, thirdly, to help them to material and moral upliftment and give them equal honoured place in the State, and last but not the least, to build up the economic prosperity of the peoples of Assam on a strong platform of social justice and not exploitation. In solving these problems will arise the following measures :

- (a) To find large populations to settle on the land,
- (b) To build roads, towns and houses by the lakhs,
- (c) To increase the number of educated and technically-trained young men in the country a thousand fold,
- (d) To increase cultivation of land in the hill areas and in the valleys,
- (e) To develop mining and to establish other industries,
- (f) To provide power, transport, water and medical facilities.

In short, to find millions of young people to be employed and to place them in employment well and truly in a common

HINDUSTAN SHIPYARD AT VISAKHAPATNAM

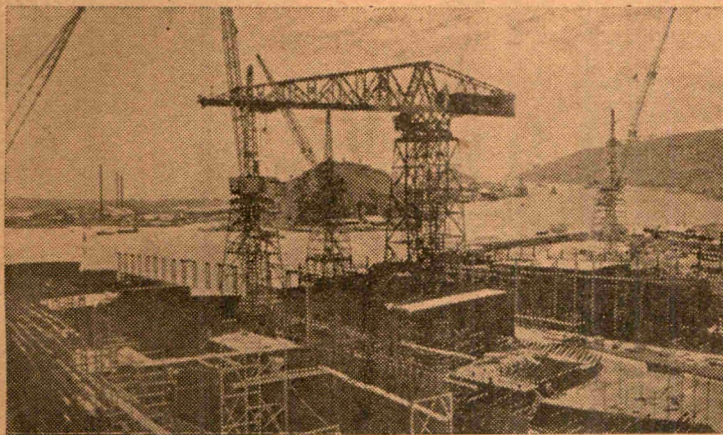
Within twelve years of work the Hindustan Shipyard has built 24 modern diesel cargo ships and delivered them to ship owners. Three more have been launched and are being fitted out. Keels have been laid for four, three of them being 9,500 tonners. The value of the ships built now exceeds Rs. 25 crores.

ship can carry 7,000 tons of cargo, sufficient to fill 400 goods wagons.

The range of vessels built at the Shipyard includes cargo, cargo-cum-passenger, survey, mooring vessels, barges and tugs. And they are good, sturdy, utility ships, though perhaps the finish may not be as good as the best abroad.

That so much has been done within such a short time can be appreciated only by comparison with little that was done in years before Independence. Shipping is an industry where tradition counts a lot. In maritime nations fitters, riveters and welders have been at it for generations; with special acquired skills handed down from father to son; and all of them talking, breathing and dreaming of ship building all their lives.

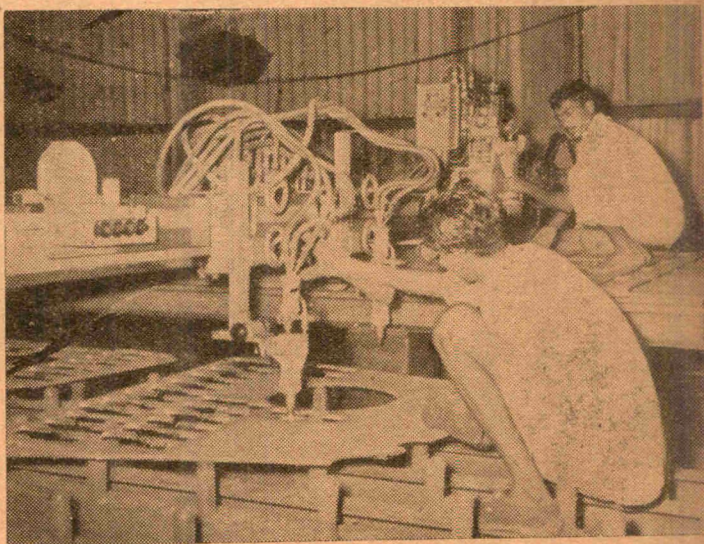
Here in Visakhapatnam except for some higher technical staff—some from



A view of the Shipyard

Just to have an idea what it means in terms of material alone to build modern ships, take one 8,000-ton ship of the type built in the Shipyard. The surface area of the hull of such a vessel is about 70,000 square feet, roughly half the area of football field. Three thousand tons of steel goes into its construction—the quantity required to build 360 goods wagons including their wheels and axles. About 500 tons of timber are used—roughly enough to build 400 four-roomed houses. Over 18 miles of steel wires are required for just one ship. The number of rivets and bolts is nearly seven lakhs.

The main engine is about 28 feet high and 25 feet long—about the size of a small double-storey building. The traction power is about 5,000 h.p., equivalent to that of four to five broadgauge locomotives. And the



Electric automatic cutting machines

Bombay and some from Calcutta—rest of the people who were recruited had wielded only a sickle or handled a plough or fishing net. They had never handled in their hands a file or a hammer.

They are now doing a first class job. tion in the technique of ship construction and released new forces which the Indian ship-building industry was unable to withstand.

Ship-Building Tradition

It is true ship building had reached a fairly high standard in ancient India. In the 13th century Marco Polo saw large

The industry lay defunct for about a century until the idea of establishing a modern ship-building yard in India was conceived by the late Shri Walchand Hira Chand, almost immediately after the formation of Scindia Steam Navigation Company Limited in 1919.

After various vicissitudes through which the pioneer project passed, the foundation stone of the Shipyard was finally laid in June 1941 by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was then the President of the Indian National Congress. Owned by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, the Shipyard was designed by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners of U.K.

The Shipyard, as originally laid down, occupied an area of 56 acres of barren scrub-

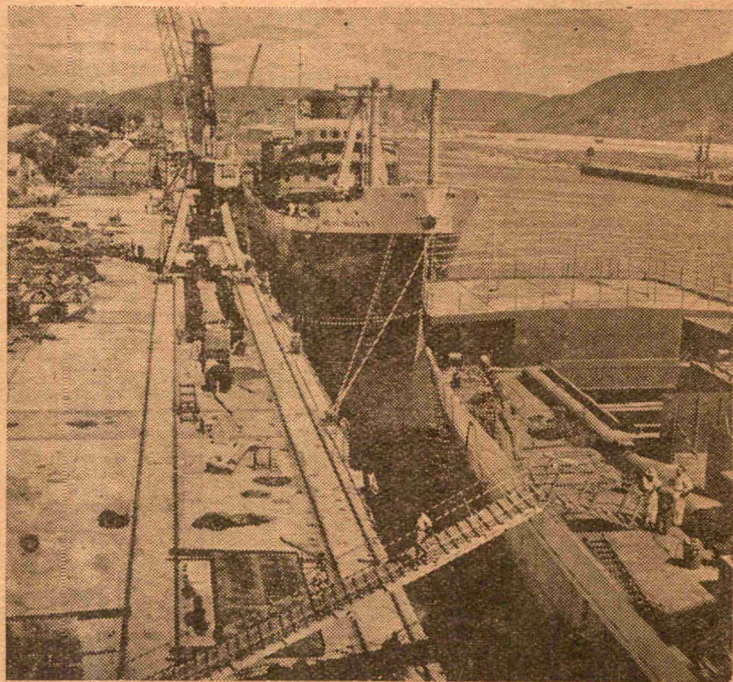


The Design Section of the Shipyard

Indian ships that carried 10 small boats slung on the side with 60 cabins below the main deck, mostly four-masters and with as many as 14 watertight compartments, separated by stout bulkheads. For those times these achievements indicate the highest degree of technical knowledge and workmanship.

And later, the East Indian Company recognised the excellence and durability of India-built ships. It established seven ship-building yards in India and right up to 1840 a large number of naval crafts and merchant vessels of all types were built by the shipyards.

The use of steam power and of steel in place of timber however created a revolu-



The ship "Indian Industry" being fitted out at the jetty

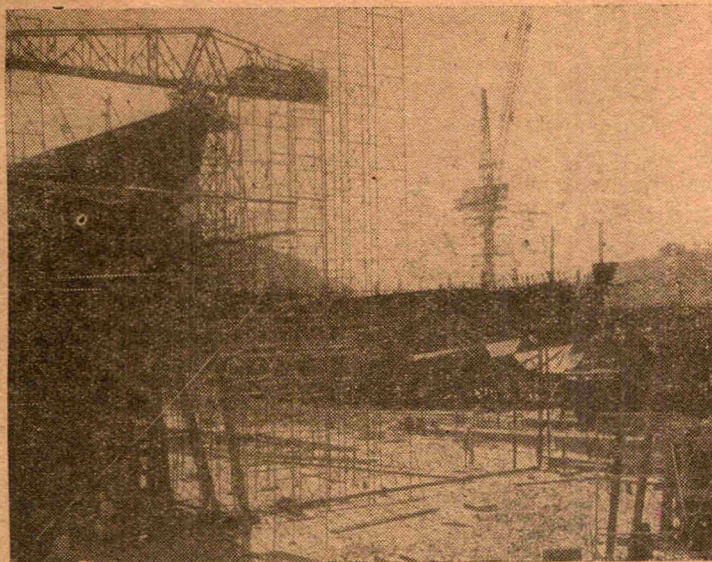
land located to the south-west of the Visakhapatnam harbour. It was well situated for development into a compact and efficient unit of ship-building.

Three more berths have been added, one small one. The Shipyard is now equipped with four large-size slipways on which ships up to 550 feet in length and 15,000

tons in dead-weight can be built, apart from a well-fitted-out jetty 1,200 feet long (which is being further extended) with heavy-lift fixed crane of 125 tons capacity, a large mould loft floor, a hull shop, a saw mill and a carpenter shop together with extensive storage accommodation, electric sub-station and various other small necessary units for ship-building and office buildings.

About 1,500 employees out of a total of 5,000 live in a modern housing colony spread out nearby over an area of 146 acres.

Further development includes extension of the Shipyard by 16 acres, a new



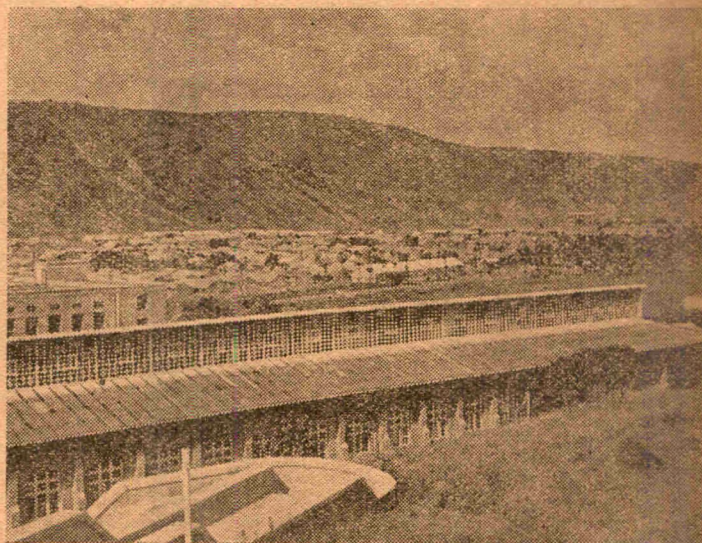
Two ships under construction

Development and Expansion

Exigencies of the peak years of war intervened to delay progress, with the result that the first stage of construction of the Shipyard, with only two slipways, was completed as late as 1947. The keel for the first ocean-going ship of 8,000 tons 'Jala-Usha' was laid in June 1946. It was launched in 1948 by the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Eight more ships of similar type were built by 1952, and considerable development and expansion followed in the wake of the formation of the Hindustan Shipyard Limited, a new Government-sponsored company, in which two-thirds of the share capital was held

by the Government of India and one-third by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. The invested amount is Rs. 5.2 crores.

Since then much development and expansion has taken place at the Shipyard.



A view at the administrative building and of the housing colony

prefabrication shop, provision of travelling cranes to serve the berths and extension of the housing colony at an estimated cost of Rs. 2 crores. This work is going on and the first phase is so conceived as to secure,

when complete, a production capacity of our ships every year.

The prefabrication shop will be in commission this year. Two heavy 35-ton capacity travelling cranes have already been installed.

This would enable the Shipyard to adopt prefabrication on a large scale. It would make for easier material flow with the result that optimum time of building the ship from the date of keeling would come down to 18 to 20 months whereas normally it has been, so far, 25 months. In U.K. shipyards the average time taken is 15 months.

Impressive Progress Achieved Despite Handicaps

As one goes round the 72-acre Shipyard and the workshops and the administrative office talking to workmen, foremen, engineers, accountants and planners, one feels a sense of confidence and pride among them, not only in themselves as builders of ships but in the future of the ship-building industry too.

One indication of that confidence is that the technical organisation since July last year is completely under the executive charge of the Indians. The agreement with the French Consultants was terminated last year.

New modern methods of management and production are being adopted more and more. Time and job standardisation is being carried out and there is an effective control on the day by day production, and there is more and more insistence on keeping to the schedule. This is all to the good.

There is a beginning in designing ships too. The present position is that designs are purchased from well-known foreign naval architects. A new design section has been set up with a German draughtsman. A nucleus staff has been gathered and trial designs are already coming out.

Considering the handicaps the Hindustan Shipyard faces—and there are a number of them—progress achieved is impressive. In other maritime countries where a large number of ships are built every year the shipyards usually confine themselves to the

business of hull construction and the work of fitting out and supply are entrusted to specialists on sub-contracts. In this way the work is carried out expertly as well as economically.

In India ancillary industries which produce equipment and fittings for ships have not developed so far. With only one shipyard with a limited offtake there is not enough incentive for them to come up. Only a few engineering firms in Bombay and Calcutta are able to supply some small items. The result is that the Shipyard has to depend on imports from foreign countries.

Special soft steel, the main raw material for ship-building, is not obtainable in the country in economical sizes or in adequate quantities (there is only one rolling mill in India). It has to be imported. With brisk ship-building activity going on in other countries there is usually some difficulty in the procurement of equipment abroad.

Shortage of freight space in shipping materials to Visakhapatnam and heavy demands on railway freight wagons from Bombay and Calcutta add further to the element of delay and uncertainty apart from raising the costs. Stocks of steel worth Rs. 2.5 crores have usually to be stocked up to keep the work going without a stop. This ties up capital, necessitates expense on storage and also leads to a certain amount of waste of steel.

Another factor which contributes towards making the costs higher than these prevailing, for instance, in U.K. is somewhat lower output per man-hour at the Visakhapatnam Shipyard. It takes time to build up a ship-building tradition.

To make the ships available to the Indian ship-owners, however, at a price approximately equivalent to the cost of a similar ship at U.K. docks, the Government of India pays 20 per cent to 25 per cent subsidy—this being the difference between the cost of production at Visakhapatnam and the estimated cost in U.K. One cargo ship of 8,000 tons of "Jayalakshmi" class (being fitted out at the jetty these days) costs Rs. 1 crore 3 lakhs to the shipper. Its

actual construction costs at the Hindustan Shipyard come to about Rs. 1 crore 56 lakhs.

Closing the Gap

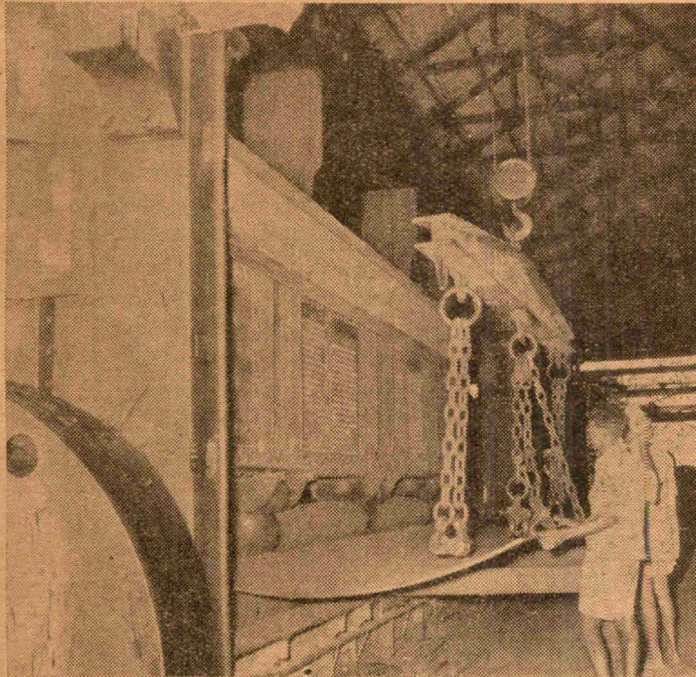
However, a number of factors are helping towards closing the gap. Production

Planned standardisation of ship designs—two for coastal shipping and one for overseas—is also likely to make it easier to import steel in bulk and help in raising the production and lowering the cost level.

At present imports account for 60 per cent of the cost of a ship while indigenous material and labour account for the remaining 40 per cent. But, when steel from Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela becomes available, there will be a cut of 15 to 20 per cent in imports of steel plates. This would not only mean saving of foreign exchange, it would cut down production cost further, apart from speeding up construction time. The Shipyard has under existing conditions already saved Rs. 10 crores in terms of foreign exchange, apart from employing and training nearly five thousand ship-building engineers and technicians.

Training Personnel

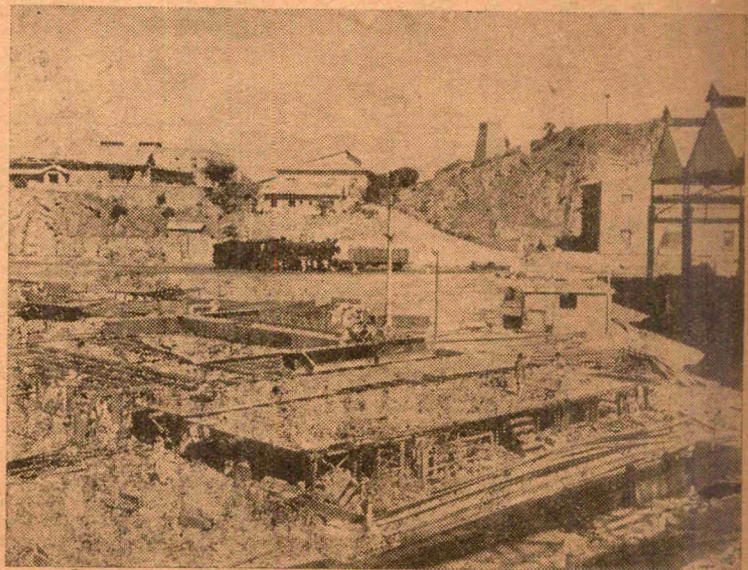
On the technical training of personnel—an important aspect—the situation at the



A sheet-pressing machine at the Machine Shop

is steadily rising. In 1956-57 and 1957-58 the value of work done at the Shipyard was Rs. 2 crores 98 lakhs and Rs. 3 crores 43 lakhs respectively. This is 15 per cent over the production in 1956-57 which was 20 per cent higher than in 1954-55. This trend signifies fuller use of the plant and manpower.

With the extension of jetty and the construction of the new welding shop (both completed), more slipways and moving cranes and more rational placement of the hull shop and the other workshops—more rational in terms of time and movement economy—and more trained manpower, the results are expected to be even better.



A panoramic view of the Hindustan Shipyard

Shipyard is admittedly not satisfactory as yet though considerable progress has been made.

As for the higher technical staff, the Shipyard has so far absorbed almost the entire number of graduates of naval engineering from the Kharagpur Technological Institute, and trained them at the Shipyard and abroad. "Their skill, initiative and leadership is satisfactory. But the main difficulty is shortages at the level immediately below the foreman," said Commodore B. N. Lele, the Managing Director of the Shipyard. Foremen have been known to work 16 to 17 hours at a stretch on some vital operations which once started must go on till they are over. There is no choice because there are no substitutes available.

Commodore Lele is satisfied with the standard achieved by the skilled labourers too. "But they are just not enough," he says, "lots more are urgently needed."

One difficulty is that the skilled workman at the Shipyard has to be skilled not only in one operation but should be good at a number of jobs—one who can switch jobs. This is necessary in a Shipyard so that you avoid the problem of idle labour. The number of ships built every year being limited, the skilled workman cannot work at one job all the time. There is just not enough demand for that work throughout the year. So he has to be able to shift to another job to keep being useful and busy.

Owing to changing techniques in ship-building too it is necessary to have people with more than one skill. For example, the trend in modern ship-building is more

and more from rivetting to welding. Whereas rivetting constituted 80 per cent of the construction job earlier and welding only 20 per cent, the present position is that welding constitutes 60 per cent and rivetting 40 per cent, and the chances are that in future welding might mean 90 per cent and rivetting only 10 per cent. At the Shipyard the younger man are gradually being switched over to welding; the older ones who have difficulties in adjusting themselves to a new skill have been kept employed by taking on orders for construction of barges which require only rivetting. It is a short-term solution, however.

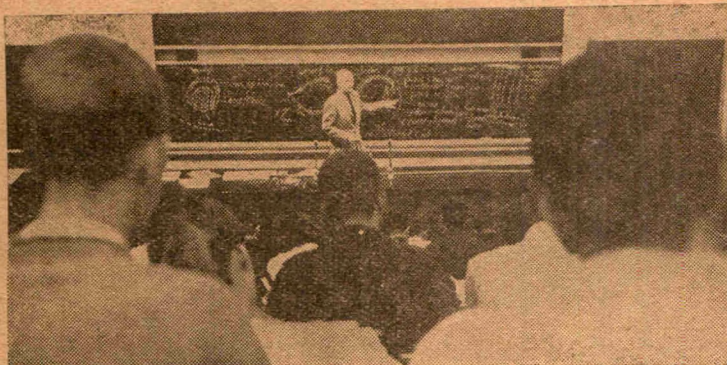
To meet this need for well-trained technicians a full-fledged training school has been started in which recruits get intensive training for 4½ years in batches of 100 each. Boys taken from the Labour Ministry's industrial courses of 18 months also get a further training of 2½ years. Nearly 100 are already under training at the school. Now, more urgency has been lent to this training scheme because of the plan for a second Shipyard for which the nucleus of trained personnel will have to be provided by the Hindustan Shipyard.

To revive the great naval tradition of India is a great adventure. The total Indian tonnage is slightly over half per cent of the total world tonnage and the Indian ships carry between 7 and 9 per cent of overseas cargo handled by the ports of India. There is obviously a tremendous leeway to be made up. The Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam is really just the beginning.—PIB



A U.S. UNIVERSITY AS SEEN BY ITS STUDENTS FROM ABROAD

EACH year thousands of young men and women from overseas study in the United States—some in small colleges, some in big, diversified universities. Typical of the larger institutions which annually enroll hundreds of students from other countries is the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan.



Students attend two or three lectures a week, take copious notes

Recently photographer George Zimbel visited the Michigan campus and talked with many undergraduates and graduates from abroad. He asked them, "What is it like? How would you describe the University?"

They told him what impressed them most—the cosmopolitan nature of the student body; the wealth and availability of libraries, laboratories and other facilities for specialized study; the sometimes irksome system of required lectures and reading followed by frequent tests; the informality and challenge of the smaller classes; the friendliness, self-confidence and open-mindedness of their American class-mates.

They commented on the approachability of the Professors: "They treat you as individuals"; on the pace of student life: "There is so much to do there is no time for homesickness"; on the academic atmosphere: "The superiority of the Professors, which is always there, is not imposed to curb the thought of the student. A student, like a common man, is valued for his common sense."

Guided by such observations, Zimbel photographed Michigan as if seen through the eyes of its students from overseas. His pictures

and their words portray, with unique insight, a big public university in the United States.

The University of Michigan

The University of Michigan is a co-educational institution of higher learning and is composed of sixteen different colleges and schools and several institutes for advanced research and public service.

The main campus is located in Ann Arbor, a small city about 40 miles west of Detroit, Michigan. Flint College is in the city of that name and the Dearborn Center will open in the Fall of 1959, on the outskirts of Detroit. Extension centers in six other cities bring the educational opportunities and services of the University to people in all parts of the State.

The University was founded in 1817, while Michigan was still a territory. The Consti-



Harry Golden (right), newspaper editor, meets with an advanced journalism seminar

tution drawn up in 1835, as a basis for the new State's Government required the legislature to support a university, and two years later it was formally organized and located in Ann Arbor. The first class of seven students was admitted in 1841. In the early years, instruction was limited to the classics, mathematics and medicine, but during the latter half of the nineteenth century several new colleges were established and since that time the educational facilities and the enrolment have grown steadily.

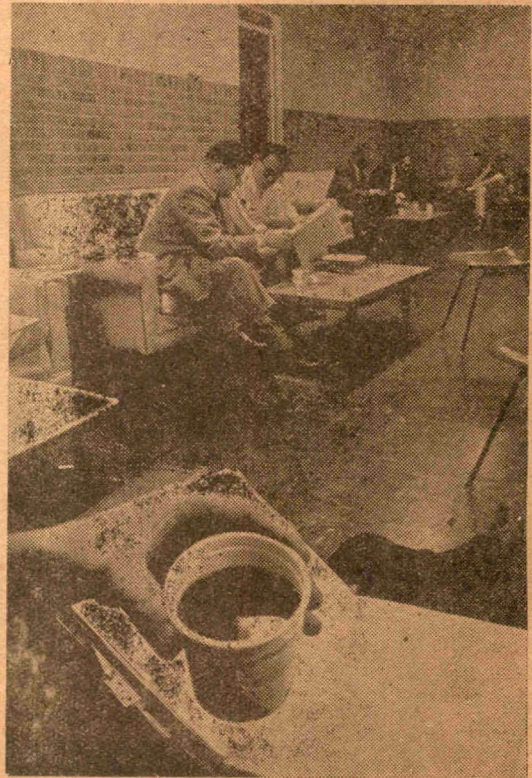
College of Architecture and Design, School of Business Administration, School of Dentistry, School of Education, College of Engineering, Flint College, Horace H. Rack-



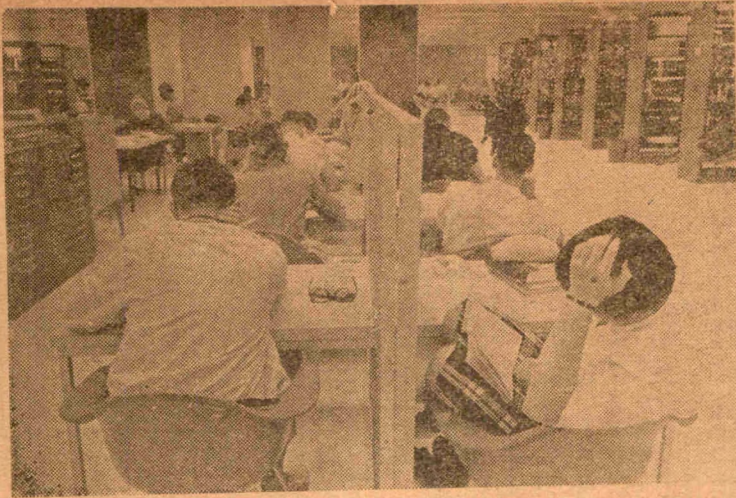
Professor Henry Van der Schalie, a world-known authority on mollusks



Many American students earn some of their expenses



Students meet informally with faculty members



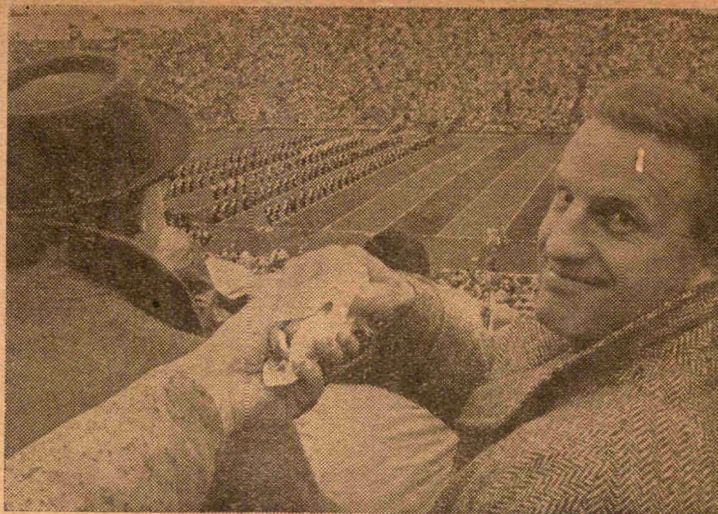
Students concentrate on their books



- Everywhere and at any time you can see students studying



Anxious students search for their graded quiz papers



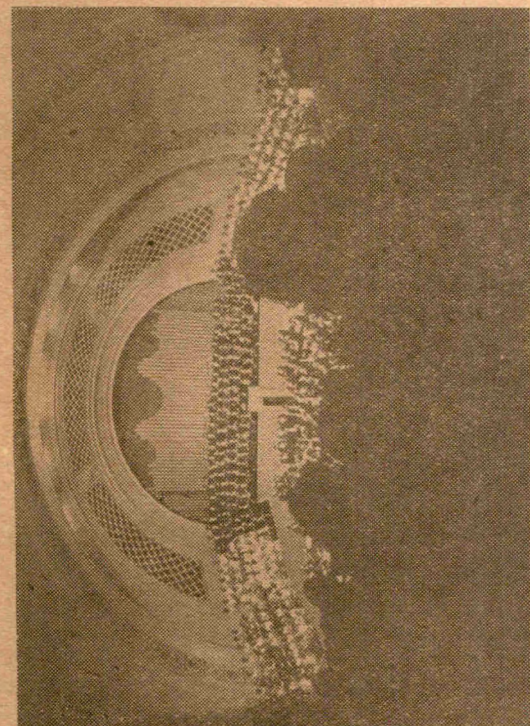
An American (*right*) introduces a new student to hotdogs and football



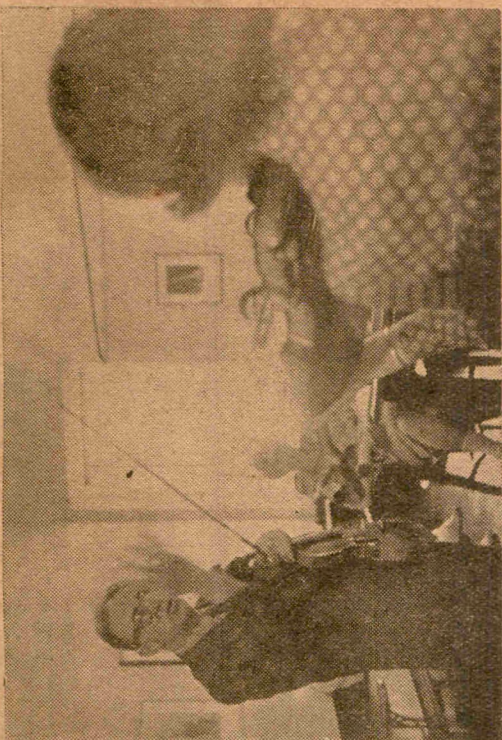
The Lawn



Professor Joseph Yamagiwa



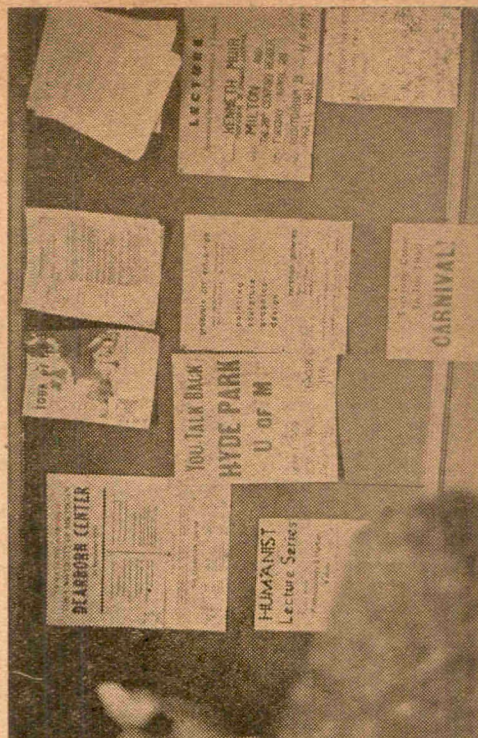
Michigan students enjoy the annual May Music Festival



Gilbert Ross gestures feelingly as he coaches a violin student



Reactor trainees



Posters announce subjects on different topics—all taking place within one week



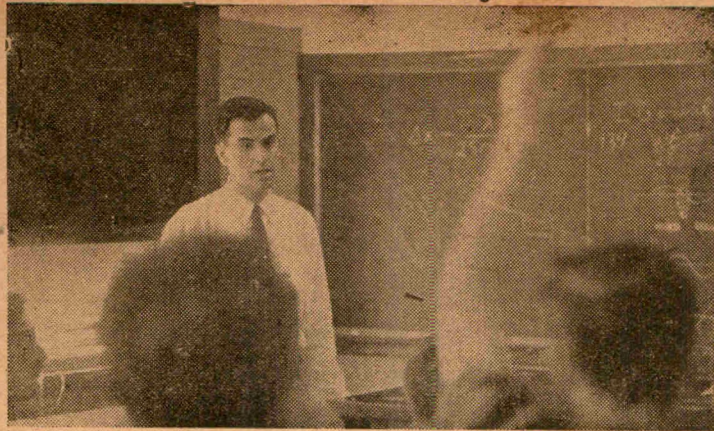
Uniformity of dress



A student working in a sound-proof cubicle equipped with tape-recordings and earphones



A student astounded by his bad quiz results



Professor Robert W. Pidd meets with physics class

ham School of Graduate Studies, Law School, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, Medical School, School of Music, School of Natural Resources, College of Pharmacy, School of Public Health, School of Social Work, and Dearborn Center.

Institute of Public Administration; Institute for Human Adjustment (including the Bureau of Psychological Services, Division of Gerontology, Fresh Air Camp, Social Science Research Project and Speech Clinic); Engineering Research Institute; Institute for Social Research (including the Survey Research Center and the Research Center for Group Dynamics); Center for Japanese Studies; Bureau of Industrial Relations; Bureau of Business Research; Institute of Industrial Health; Audio-Visual Education Center and the Michigan Memorial-Phoenix Project.

During the spring term of 1959, 22,400 students were enrolled in the University, of whom approximately two-thirds were men and one-third women. Although a majority of the students are residents of the State of Michigan all the other states are represented as well as 78 foreign countries. Students from abroad numbered 1,524 in 1959.

The University is controlled by a board of eight regents who are elected by the voters of the State. The Chief Executive Officer is the President. Together with the deans of the colleges and schools he presides over the administration of the University.

Michigan students live in the University dormitories, in co-operative residences where

they share the house-keeping work, in rooms in private homes, in fraternity and sorority houses and in apartments. The University has recently constructed apartments to house married students and their children. Many of the students take their meals in their living units, some do their own cooking and others eat in cafeterias and restaurants.

Approximately 150 clubs and extra-curricular activities are open to students on campus. These include the International Center, which sponsors social events, debates, trips and counseling services for students from abroad; the student Government; the Union and League, recreational centers for men and women respectively; athletics, both inter-collegiate and intramural; a daily newspaper and other publications; choirs, orchestras; bands, dramatic and debating societies and other groups organized by the students to further their special interests.

Several annual concert series give Michigan students the opportunity to hear such outstanding artists as William Warfield, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Budapest String Quarter. Operas are presented each year by the School of Music and the Department of Speech. The Drama Season brings professional theater to the campus every spring to augment the series of experimental, classical and original plays produced by on-campus companies during the year. Various organizations sponsor lectures by statesmen, men of letters and outstanding authorities in many fields.—*USIS*.

THE CHINESE WAY

BY PROF. BIRENDRA CHAKRAVORTY, M.A.

The prevalence of Indo-Chinese friendship for hundreds of years in the past has made us too much complacent. But it will be a folly to think that what did not happen in the past cannot happen in the present or will not happen in the future. A review of China's relations with the neighbours on her South-Western Frontier in the last few decades will perhaps disillusion many about China's real intentions.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century Russian intrigues in Tibet, which was then a nominal dependency of China, alarmed the British. The new Dalai Lama was under the influence of Dorjiew, a Russian, and in 1902 stories spread abroad that the Chinese rights over Tibet had been ceded to Russia through a Russo-Chinese agreement. Consequently, the British Government could not sit idle. As direct negotiations with Tibet were hindered, a military mission under Col. Younghusband was sent into Tibet. The Younghusband expedition defeated the Tibetan resistance, and an agreement was signed at Lhasa, by which marts for the exchange of goods were to be opened, a war indemnity to be paid to the British by Tibet, pending which the Chumbi Valley would remain under British occupation. In the context of an improvement in the Anglo-Russian relations Lord Lansdowne, then at the Foreign Office, assured the Russian envoy that so long as no other European state interfered with Tibetan affairs, England would not either annex Tibet, or establish a protectorate over it, or try to control its internal affairs.

The British expedition of 1904 had thoroughly alarmed the Chinese, who now were in a haste for the restoration of the Chinese hold over Tibet. As the Dalai Lama had fled from Lhasa to Urga (in North Mongolia) in 1904, on the approach

of the Younghusband expedition, China issued a proclamation deposing him, but the Tibetans treated it with contumacy. From Urga the Dalai Lama came to Peking where he rendered homage de convenance to the Chinese Emperor in the hope of securing a better treatment from the Chinese Government for his Tibetan people. But when he returned to Tibet in 1909, he was thoroughly disgusted seeing the Tibetans suffering tremendously under an oppressive and inhuman Chinese control. He at once appealed to the outside world for help against the Chinese oppressors and fled to India across the Sikkim border in 1910, and was granted political asylum by the Indian Government.

The traditional Russophobia led the British Government to give up her newly-established hold on Tibet and enter into a convention with China in 1906. This Anglo-Chinese Convention, held at Peking, modified the Lhasa convention of 1904 by providing that the preservation of Tibet's integrity should rest with China, and that she alone would have the right to concessions in Tibet. Again, by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, both England and Russia agreed to conduct their political relations with Tibet through China, to refrain from sending any agents to Lhasa and seeking any concession in Tibet. The result of the Younghusband mission and the treaties following that were disastrous for the Tibetans. Sir Charles Bell has observed, "By going and then coming out again, we knocked the Tibetans down and left them for the first-comer to kick." Actually, the British created a political vacuum in Tibet, and China was not late in filling it. The Chumbi valley, a wedge of territory that cuts between Bhutan and Sikkim and is within twenty-five miles of the plains of Bengal, was evacuated by the

British troops on 8th February, 1908, as the last instalment of the war indemnity, imposed on Tibet by Col. Younghusband, was cleared up by the Chinese overlord. "The absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa and the payment by China of the Younghusband indemnity strengthened the Chinese position."

Mr. Chang Yin Tang, the newly-appointed Chinese High Commissioner in Tibet, was an able man. In a short time he gained a full control over the Tibetan administration and lessened British influence in Tibet. He also "endeavoured to assert Chinese suzerainty over Nepal and Bhutan, an early sign of the danger that threatened India if China obtained a firm hold over Tibet." The Anglo-Chinese Trade Regulations for Tibet of 1908 worsened the situation as their effect was still further to push the British and Indians out of Tibet. For instance, by the Ninth Regulation the British "Government agreed that 'British Officers and subjects' (including Indians) should be barred from travelling in Tibet beyond Gyantse." Moreover, the Chinese violated various treaty rights including the Trade Regulations of 1908 in the following way: old duties were reimposed at Phari in the Chumbi Valley, and in Western Tibet, the Sikkim traders were not allowed to proceed to Kampadzung; a Chinese monopoly in wool and hides was inaugurated; and a consignment of Indian Silver to Tibet was stopped by the Chinese guards at the frontier.

But the Chinese were not satisfied with internal consolidation in Tibet; they endeavoured for external expansion. Mr. Chang Yin Tang informed the representative of Nepal that "Tibet and Nepal being united like brothers, under the auspices of China, should work in harmony for the mutual good"—a tentative assumption of Chinese suzerainty over Nepal. And over Bhutan, inhabited by people of Tibetan stock and revering the Dalai Lama of Tibet as the head of their faith, the claim of a Chinese suzerainty did not appear unnatural to the Chinese. The Chinese representative at Lhasa, called Amban, once addressed the Bhutanese rulers thus: "The

Bhutanese are the subjects of the Emperor of China, who is the Lord of Heaven. You, Deb Raja and two Penlops, think you are great but you cannot continue without paying attention to the orders of your Ruler. Bhutan is the gate on the South which prevents entry (by the British). The Popon (the Chinese magistrate in the Chumbi Valley) will inspect your climate, crop, etc. The Deb Raja should endeavour to improve the trade of the country and the condition of the peasants. If you want any assistance, let me know." To counteract the Chinese propaganda in Bhutan and her designs against all the Himalayan States the British Government took the external relations of Bhutan in their own hands by a treaty with Bhutan concluded in 1910. In fact, China appears to regard the Mongolian peoples that border on her South-Western frontier—the Nepalese, the Bhutanese, the Sikkimese and even the Burmese—as within her natural sphere. But once, the Chinese are entrenched in Tibet they may prove a real menace to the northern border of Assam, inhabited by a number of savage tribes along seven hundred miles of the Indian frontier. "I feared Chinese intervention," wrote Sir Charles Bell, "and influence—and eventually a measure of control—in these tribal territories." In 1910, the Chinese troops advanced into the Khampti territory, and two months later a Chinese force arrived at Rima near the Mishmi border, and ordered a Mishmi Chief to cut a track from the Tibetan border to India.

In 1910, China deposed the Dalai Lama for the second time, but the Tibetans did not care it. Towards the close of that year the Dalai Lama wrote both to the British King and the Russian Tsar for protection. But none came to help him. Taking advantage of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Tibetans rose in revolt against their Chinese rulers and in 1912 the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa. The Chinese army surrendered to the Tibetans in Central Tibet and the Dalai Lama restored his authority. But in Eastern Tibet the Chinese were able to maintain most of their ground. By the Simla convention

of 1913-1914, in which Sir Henry McMahon represented the British India Government. Chinese suzerainty over the whole of Tibet was recognised, but China engaged not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province. Tibet was divided into two zones, 'outer Tibet' (nearer India) and 'Inner Tibet' (nearer China), and the autonomy of Outer Tibet was recognised. China agreed to abstain from sending troops, stationing civil or military officers, or establishing Chinese colonies there. In Inner Tibet the Tibetan Central Government were to exercise their existing rights. But no sooner had the ink of the initials of the representatives of China, India and Tibet dried than the Peking Government refused to ratify it. Thereupon, the British Minister at Peking informed the Chinese Government on 6th June 1914, that England and Tibet regarded the convention as concluded by the act of initiating, and that in default of China's ratification they would sign it independently. Soon the Great War broke out, and China "notified Britain that, except as regards the boundary, she was willing to accept the convention in all respects."

The Dalai Lama continued to exercise his control over Outer Tibet till 1949. But the Communist Government of China invaded Tibet in 1950 and turned her into a part of the Chinese People's Republic. The Sino-Indian agreement of 29th April, 1954 sealed the fate of Tibet and India's traditional rights in Tibet were surrendered once for all.

As Afghanistan has been turned into a friendly buffer for the safety of our North-Western frontier, Tibet is our natural buffer against an expansionist China. The British policy in the early twentieth century was to resist the establishment of full Chinese dominance in Outer Tibet which would stand as a friendly territory between India and China. By signing away the death sentence for Tibet we have

invited Chinese aggression on our northern and eastern borders. Dr. Davies has observed that "the importance of a frontier lies in the pressure behind it, the more populated a district the greater the pressure." From this angle of vision the pressure on the Sino-Indian border is perhaps the heaviest in the world. Though our frontier system has been adjudged by one historian as "the most highly organised in the world" it is by no means perfect. A great improvement can be made upon the road and railway systems leading to the borders. All-weather roads, suitable for mechanical transport, are necessary for pursuing raiding gangs as well as for developing trade and commerce with the distant frontier regions. Airfields also should be constructed on the flat tops of the border hills for despatching quick supplies to the border outposts and giving air support to the infantry in all defensive and offensive operations that may be necessary at any moment. But the most important of all, for the sake of uniformity and efficiency the frontier defence should be reorganised and entrusted absolutely with the Indian army instead of the police battalions like the Punjab Frontier Force on the Western frontier or the Assam Rifles on the Eastern frontier. The border patrols should be provided with the latest type of weapons and the best possible training, including mountaineering which is a necessary qualification for the sentinel guarding the Himalayan passes.

After the Partition of India, the task of protecting the difficult north-western frontier of the Indian subcontinent has fallen to the share of Pakistan, and for independent India the north-eastern frontier is the real concern. With an expanding China across the borders, enjoying a common frontier for over a thousand miles and seeking space for her ever-growing millions a well-organised defence coupled with a wise frontier policy is the need of the hour.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

AN INTRODUCTION INTO LAMAISM. THE MYSTICAL BUDDHISM OF TIBET: By R. P. Aniruddha. Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute. Hoshiarpur. 1959. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 8.00.

The vast complex of faiths and practices making up Tibetan Buddhism (or as it is shortly called Lamaism) has been placed before the public for some time now by a number of European scholars who have however been often repelled by its apparent extravagances. In this popular work expressly making no claim to originality or even completeness, the author has attempted to present before the general public some fundamental features of Lamaism dealing with "its history, rituals, Tantricism and iconography". The author who is evidently widely read in his subject has freely drawn upon some recent first-hand authorities by way of correcting prevailing misconceptions. Such are Lama A. Govinda and Madame David Neel in the field of Lamaism proper, Edward Conze and George C. Grimm in the branch of *Mahayana* philosophy, and H. Guenther in the sphere of *Tantric* rituals. In the result the author gives interesting accounts of the Lamaist pantheon, the daily Lamaist ritual and the ritual of the mystic *mandala*, Tantric Buddhism and Tibetan Yoga practices. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the work suffers from a certain diffuseness. Another defect is its lack of proper arrangement as is shown by the long discussion of "the secret teachings" of Buddhism in Ch. I, the contact of European travellers with Tibet in Ch. III and the account of the Buddhist ceremonies of birth, sickness and death in Ch. XIII. We have noticed a few slips such as *Sutranikaya* (p. 17), *Devapriya* (p. 27) and *the Gandhara period of India in the 6th century A.D.* (p. 56). Seven appen-

dices, an adequate bibliography and a good Index bring the work to a close.

U. N. GHOSH

LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR JADUNATH SARKAR: Edited by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, D.Phil. Punjab University. 1958. 2 vols.

The publication of these learned volumes containing side-lights on the character and literary activities of our late lamented historian, Acharya Jadunath, in the year of his demise comes as a consolation to his countrymen who mourn his exit from the world without such an appreciation long overdue. The Preface written by the editor makes it clear how the impossible was made possible by the generosity, tenacity and the courage of Punjab. The preparation of a commemoration volume for the aging historian had, as it is generally known, been the wish of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and of his other admirers and pupils. It did not materialize because even venerable Sardesai could not prevail upon his younger friends to agree. When elders failed in their courage it is apparently the youngest one who was pushed to the front by the University of the Punjab. After an emphatic "No" from Jadunath, how would he have dared except Prof. Hari Ram to meet him with the same proposal again the very next day. However, but for the generosity of Dewan Anand Kumar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, and the son of a more illustrious father, late Raja Narendra Nath, this project would not have materialized.

Vol. I of this book under review opens with a learned Introduction by the editor. We are told how he had to slip out of Jadunath's house with his basket of mangoes that infuriated Jadunath (p. 5). Next to the letters of Jadunath to Sardesai, the most learned and

formative paper is from the pen of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, "*Jadunath Sarkar as I know him*" (pp. 18-34). It stands out a fact beyond challenge that none knew Jadunath more as a man and a scholar than Rao Bahadur Sardesai. He sums up the estimate of Jadunath as "the Gibbon of India." Dr. K. R. Qanungo's biographical sketch (pp. 35-54) adds some reminiscences of his apprenticeship in Jadunath's house at Cuttack. It lacks the warmth and vividness of Sardesai's paper. "Sir *Jadunath* and Lady Abala Bose were also known to have shared *Jadunath's* regard and affection" (p. 54) perhaps suffers from error. He evidently means "*Sir Jagadish* and Lady Abala Bose" Dr. K. R. Qanungo's paper on Sir Jadunath as a historian similarly suffers from misprints and confusion of names that need revision. He does not subscribe to the view of Sardesai and takes some pains to prove that Jadunath could not be the Gibbon of India. *Reminiscences* contributed by seven scholars (pp. 74-87), Prof. Nilkanta Sastri, Sri M. B. Kibe and five others throw very interesting side-lights on Jadunath's character as a man, which had been more or less a sealed book to the most of his countrymen, and sometimes a riddle to those even who lived closer to him. The story of the mysterious theft in the Ravenshaw College hostel, told by Prof. G. S. Das, reveals the fact that Jadunath's knowledge of physiognomy of persons standing before him for justice would have done credit to a Chief Qazi of Caliph Harun al-Rashid! (p. 78).

It was indeed a hard job to print Jadunath's letters to G. S. Sardesai giving us one hundred-forty-seven pages of solid matter (pp. 227-274), mostly historical and a few personal, the latter being more helpful to us in appraising Jadunath's worth as a man. Jadunath reveals himself as a political seer in one of his letters. (14th August, 1931).

" . . . the Swarajists will soon have to test their strength against Britishers plus Muslims. The Hindus are so divided and so foolishly selfish that their majority does not count in actual politics. The atmosphere can clear only after a thunderstorm—after showers of blood." (p. 159).

Acharya Jadunath was a master of English prose which imparts an enduring charm to his works. In a letter to Rao Bahadur Sardesai he gives a piece of advice worth noticing by every aspirant of a fairly good style. He writes:

"In fact, the surest means of acquiring a

good style is (1) to read aloud the best English prose—avoiding ornate and involved authors, such as, Dr. Johnson and Macaulay,—for half an hour every morning, (2) to avoid trashy authors . . . , (3) to pause and revise frequently in the course of our own writing. This is the method that has borne most fruit with me, besides certain advantages that I had in my college life.

"You write too long and too diffusely, and hence your style is bound to suffer. I compress as much as I can . . . as I meditate before writing the words flow well-chosen out of my pen."

" . . . Please remember that the elements of a good prose style include not merely the choice of apt phrases, but also the judicious and most effective marshalling of facts. . . . 'The half is better than the whole,' is a Greek adage, which Macaulay admires . . . (Vol. I, pp. 233-34)."

Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai's *Letters to Jadunath Sarkar* cover 82 pages of Vol. I. These are difficult to digest except by a specialist of Maratha history. We come across clash of views between two friends who, however, keep their mind open and readily submit to facts.

Vol. II contains 38 essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar covering 347 pages of this volume. Some of these essays are illuminating, and others also are readable and informative. Those who are puzzled by the contradictory versions of the same incident by eye-witnesses would do well to read C. E. W. Ben's interesting article (pp. 36-44). He is the official historian for Australia for the War of 1914-1918. He tells us that eye-witnesses sometimes repeat not what they see but what they pick up from others and add their own. Our historians and newspaper reporters relying on the so-called eye-witnesses cannot afford to be too sanguine of the truth of their own findings (pp. 36-43, Vol. II). Prof. Dvornik's paper, *Some Characteristic Features of the Old Iranian Political Philosophy* (pp. 76-85), opens fresh avenues of researches into the origin and character of the Law (Sans. *Dharma*) in the Aryan and the Semetic polity. Space does not permit us to notice individually other papers written by distinguished scholars, though some of them are promising fresh blooms in the field of research.

In short, Jadunath's Commemoration Volumes faithfully reflect Jadunath's varied interest in history of all ages and of countries of the East and the West. We hope that these

volumes will receive warm appreciation and wide circulation. If this work goes to a second edition, the learned editor will do well to have the papers purged of printing errors or the mistakes of oversight in proof-reading; e.g., "What is the kingly glory of *Indian* belief?" (Vol. II, p. 79). In this passage India does not come into the picture at all. "*Indian*" is apparently a printer's devil for *Iranian*.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

CHINA'S POPULATION (Census and Vital Statistics): By S. Chandrasekhar. Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1959, with an outline map of China. Pp. 69. HK. Price \$4.

This small booklet represents the text of two lectures delivered by the author at the University of Hong Kong in June, 1959, and provides an authoritative introduction to important knowledge about the population of contemporary China. Dr. Chandrasekhar, who is regarded as one of the world's leading authorities on demographic studies, combines in himself a wide theoretical background with firsthand knowledge of China. The readers of this volume will eagerly await his forthcoming book on China in which he promises to give a fuller account and his opinions.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

BENGALI

RASHI GYANADARPAN: By Pt. Rampran Sharma, Kaviranjan, M.D.H.I.A.S., Palmist. Published by the Howrah Kustha Kutir, 1, Madhab Ghosh Lane, Khurut, Howrah. Ninth Edition. Price Rs. 4.

The author is well-known amongst Astrologers and Ayurvedic practitioners. He does his work so creditably that his book passes through the ninth edition. The present edition has been thoroughly revised and improved. The book begins with a general definition of Rashi Gyan, then it goes on to deal with the influence of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. After explaining the terminology the writer enumerates different kinds of human diseases caused by the planetary influence. He also suggests remedial direction according to the Tantrik treatment.

In Chapters I to III the author deals with different terms of Astrology; it will help general students of Astrology. In Chapters IV and

V he explains the usefulness of metal, herbs and jewels in respect of the nine planets. Chapter VI explains the nature and character of individuals and indicates special remedy for the bad influence of the nine planets. Chapter VII and VIII are the vital chapters of this book. In these two chapters the author explains the various kinds of human diseases. It will be of great help to those who believe in Astro-Medical theory and are practising in this line. The last, i.e., the ninth chapter of the book is purely commercial. The book is an attempt at presenting the proper way of Hindu Ayurveda based on Astrological basis. Hippocrates, the father of Western Medical Science, says that 'A Physician without knowledge of Astrology has no right to call himself a Physician'.

NARENDRANATH BAGAL

HINDI

PREMCHAND AUR UNKI SAHITYA SADHANA: By Doctor Padamsinha Sharma "*Kamalesh*." Attorchand Kapur and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 201. Price and publication year not mentioned.

PEKING MEN MERE TEEN VARSHA By Ko Ling. Navachetan Press Ltd., Naya Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1.

MAN KI BATEN: By Tarini Charan Das "*Chidanand*". Utkal Rashtrabhasha Prachar Sabha, Cuttack-1. 1954. Pp. 33. Price As. 8.

Dr. "Kamalesh" has given us in his book *Premchand Aur Uuki Sahitya Sadhana*, a comprehensive assessment of the many-sided achievements in the different fields of Hindi and Urdu literatures of Premchand, the pioneer and prince of modern Hindi and Urdu short-story writers and novelists, but also biographer, playwright, essayist, translator and writer of children's literature. The latter aspect of his literary activities and acumen has been perhaps, for the first time so well presented in any of the studies on Premchand. As such, this section of the book is the most valuable as well as the thesis that for Premchand, literature was both a lens and lever of life.

Peking men mere teen varsha is a Hindi rendering of *My Three Years in Peking* by K. Ling, whose account of the Communist faith and philosophy with its apparatus of insidious infiltration as sensed and studied by her during her stay in Peking, is vivid, indeed.

Man ki Baten is a symphony of prose-poems, dictated by the mind and the heart of the author as he observes love and like. They have the simplicity and spontaneity of the bird-song.

G.M.

GUJARATI

MANDUKYOPANISHAD: Edited by M. P. Desai. Gujarati Vidyapith. Ahmedabad-14., May, 1959. Price Re 1/75.

This volume is part of a series 'Rebahhai Patel Smarak Granthamala'—in fact, thirteenth publication of the series which started in 1947. As is known, the Mandukya explains the significance of Omkar. It also expounds the Advaita in its own way. The publication has included a substance of Gaudapada's *karika* in

Gujarati to follow up the text of the Upanishad. After the preface and the Shantipath, the text begins, then the word for word explanation, the prose order, the meaning, the notes and then a detailed explanation. This succession is carried on up to the 12th sloka, and the part closes with Shantipath.

Then follows the second part dealing with the *karika* of Gaudapada. The learned commentator's place or status in the roll, his times (somewhere near 500 A.D.), the main principles which the commentator seeks to establish are given one after another—some of them quite fitting for the times, e.g., there is no conflict between advait philosophy and another school of philosophy!

An appendix and an index bring up the end.

P. R. SEN

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Editors : Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Introduction : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design : Acharya Nandalal Bose

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Indian Periodicals

EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART IN GERMANY

By PROF O. C. GANGOLY

While the study of Indian Art—the fields of Buddhist lore. Paul Deussen and finest flower of Indian culture—is being a host of other German scholars glorified continuously boycotted by our Indian the contributions of Indian Philosophy. But Universities, it is receiving serious attention in Europe and America, and, the latest movement in this study is proved by a very comprehensive presentation of the whole history of Indian Art under the title: “Five Thousand Years’ Art from India”—arranged by a group of German experts—at Villa Hugel, at Essen (May 14 to 30: September 1959), under the patronage of Dr. Heuss, President of the Federal Republic of Germany. Though the matter has been noticed in some Indian newspapers—as a pice of naked news-item—no critical appraisal of this great exhibition and the significance of its being held in Germany has been realised by any section of the Indian public—cultured or uncultured. There is an ‘amusing’ remark made by an Indian politician who had expressed “the hope that the Exhibition will serve a useful purpose and help the German people and others to understand the meaning of Indian Art and Culture.” It may be pointed out the German people have understood the meaning of Indian Art and Culture long before any Indian national realised the deep significance of his own national culture.

TRIBUTE TO GERMAN SCHOLARS

When Indians had forgotten their own culture—German scholars were the first to discover the rich treasures of Indian Literature. Of these studies the earliest pioneers were Prof. Max-Muller and Professor Shaupenhawer, both of whom were deeply stirred by the monuments of Indian Literature and Philosophy. The infatuation of Goethe for the Indian drama of *Sakuntala* is very well-known. Hermann Hess wrote many years ago a “Life of the Buddha” and Oldenberg ploughed the rich mental volumes on “Early Indian Sculpture”

preceded the German in their negotiations with Indian Art. The earlier German scholars were pre-occupied with Indian Literature and Philosophy, and for the best Dictionary of the Sanskrit language we are indebted to the monumental industry and erudition of a group of German scholars and philologists led by Dr. Bothling. But the German excursion into the continent of Indian Art is not earlier than the year 1920 when Dr. William Cohn, later known by his brilliant study of Buddhist Art, for the first time championed the merits of Indian Plastic Art in Germany. Almost about the same time another German scholar—Dr. Stella Kramrisch—in an erudite monograph analysed the “Fundamentals of Indian Art” (1920), and later studied “the Plastic Art of the Gupta Period” (1929), with a comprehensive survey of the whole development of Indian Art in a little handbook on “Indian Sculpture” (1932). Yet, a third scholar—Dr. Hermann Goetz—entered the field of Indian painting by a series of articles: “Studies in Indian Painting,” published in the German quarterly *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1922-24). In collaboration with Dr. Kuhnelt, Dr. Goetz published a valuable document of the Jahangir period, entitled “Indian Book-Painting” (1926), followed by numerous contributions on various phases of Indian painting which have established him as the foremost authority on Indian painting, a position unchallenged by any Indian scholar. With this group of German scholars, Dr. Alfred Salmons joined hands to analyse the scientific presentation of Indian Plastic Art. And finally, in 1929, Dr. E. Bacchoffer contributed two monumental volumes on “Early Indian Sculpture”

which still upholds the position of an exhaustive survey of the subject. German "occupation" of the continent of Indian Art is now complete.

STUDY OF INDIAN MONUMENTS

The latest recruit in the field is Dr. Klaus Fischer, who after a three years' intensive study of Indian monuments has begun to throw new lights on various phases of Indian Art and Architecture. His most original contribution is the "Art of Bengal Temples With Bent Caves" (Almedabad, 1953). Dr. Fischer's expert knowledge of Indian Art has been happily utilised by the organisers in arranging the exhibits in a chronological order, illustrating the whole evolution of the Art covered by five thousand years. The present exhibition is in some respects superior to the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art, held in London in 1947-48, as in the present show the history has been illustrated by carefully chosen masterpieces—representing each phase of the subject—in an easily comprehensible presentation of a complicated Art-History. The whole evolution has been visualised through only 865 significant specimens—critically selected to explain not only the different schools, from the pre-historic phases of Mohenjo-Daro, period by period, divided into eleven sections, including a section presenting all phases of Applied Art, textiles, pottery, wood-work and metal-ware, each illustrated by typical specimens, altogether numbering 380 pieces. Sculpture and Painting have been illustrated by 44 items—which is a marvellous achievement in expounding the long history by significant emphasis on each stage of the evolution. Such a marvellous presentation is only worthy of the careful judgment of a group of art-experts who have studied each school, scrupulously appraising the significance of the chosen masterpieces with subtle judgment and connoisseurship. This carefully selected presentation has brought to light many little known or hitherto unknown masterpieces. The high-lights of the exhibits consist of (1) an "unknown" seal from Mohenjo-Daro (7)—a combat of animals—a composition of marvellous design and skill. (2) Three very fine terracotta figurines of Molhar-cult of the Mayurya period (55, 56, 57), (3) a realistic picture

of an elephant with Mahouts, from Sanchi (75). A brilliant terracotta masterpiece is a 'Love-scene' from Kausambi (99). Of the Mathura school is a fine first century Statuette of Kartikeya (116). The weakness of the Gandhara School is represented by a seated Buddha perched on a small lotus—an absurd foreign interpretation of the 'padmasana' (126), and a remarkable portrait of a foreign convert carrying an alms-bowl (141), and several fragmentary heads illustrating different races of people who had built the Hellenistic colony in Gandhara (142, 143). The Andhra School is represented by a circular medallion from Amaravati and an Ayaka-frieze from Nagarjuni-konda with 'Mithuna' finials (143).

GUPTA AND MEDIEVAL SCHOOLS

The Gupta School is illustrated by several examples—the 'Surpanakha' scene from Deoghur (Jhansi), a late Saranath torso of a beautiful Buddha, clad in 'wet-drapery' style (161), and a masterly nude study of a damsel (167) as lively terracotta study of a domestic scene (173), and a dramatic presentation of 'Siva-Ganas' destroying the sacrifice of Daksha (183). Post-Gupta and Medieval Schools are represented by several unknown and less known examples—especially a 'Mahisasura-mardini' from Rajasthan (195). 'Dancing Siva' is not only represented by three stone pieces but by very fine bronzes lent by the Madras Museum. Early Chola sculpture is illustrated by a beautiful cult-image of Agni (289) and by a stone portrait of Agastya (291). The story of Plastic Art is brought down to the 17th and 18th centuries of which a remarkable example is a Procession of Krishna and Balaram—and a Durga on Lion from Travancore (328). The Section of Painting demonstrated by a series, of 142 pieces skilfully present the whole history of Indian Painting—including the Guzerati, Rajasthani, the Moghul schools and the Hill schools of the Punjab Valley—through carefully selected specimens. The high-lights of this section are: (1) an illustrated page of 'Rasika-priya' (453), (2) Baz Bahadur and Rupamati (357-a), and an unknown specimen of the Pahari-Poonch school of surprising realism and primitive strength (403). Altogether it is a brilliant presentation of the whole history

documented by chosen and significant masterpieces.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ART EXHIBITION

But the greater significance of this exhibition is a new appraisal of the multifarious merits of the Indian schools by a group of trained experts who have probed deeply into each phase of the manifestation. With commendable courage the German experts have repudiated the popular fallacy of ascribing the origin of the Buddha Image to the Hellenistic masons of Gandhara. According to this appraisal: "To the technique of Greco-Roman Art was added the aesthetic idealism as evolved in India after the first millennium A.D. The Gupta style, that is the classic Art of India, became dissimilated in all directions, and, on the North-West Frontier territories, fused with the cultural achievements of the neighbouring districts to form a new artistic unity." The leading artists and the sculptor's studios of Gandhara, the central Indian Kushana capital Mathura, and the Vengi school in South-East India appear to have had a certain amount of contact with each other. From the 2nd to the 4th century the schools of sculpture responsible for the ornamentation of the Stupas of Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda and Goli, evinced such wealth and variety of imagination that Indian art for the first time seemed to be "l'art pour l'art". Loving couples are reproduced with great sensuality, seemingly independent of symbolic meaning. Quietness and restraint have been replaced by gaiety, passion and movement. The Buddhist stories are retold in two ways, one that describes the Buddha in the abstract symbols of the tree, the throne, the wheel, and the other that depicts him in the likeness of a human being. The all-over patterns of dynamic movement, the refinement used in portraying the female form, the fullness and extravagance of details are said to have been the consequence of new social conditions. The archaic severity and massiveness of the art of the Mauryan and Kushana periods, the wealth in iconography and form displayed by the Gandharan artists, and lastly, the delight in life and beauty during the Golden age of the Gupta dynasty combined to form an Indian "classical Art". National genius was expressed in

- all the arts, in literature, music, philosophy

and dancing. For the last time, on the soil of India as she is today, the three great religious communities bore an equal share in bringing about the high standard of culture and tolerance. The ancient codes and regulations forbade "realism" in the reproductions of anatomical detail, all the same, flowers and animals were the artist's models and were combined in a new artistic unity. Never before and never afterwards was such harmony of object and form, mind and matter attained. At some period during the intervening 500 years between the 9th and 14th centuries A.D., creative forces were at work in all parts of the Indian sub-continent to preserve unbroken the ancient forms of a great stylistic tradition and further to develop and adopt them in harmony with provincial peculiarities. The region from the southern-most part to the Himalayas, from the desert of Thar in the west to Burma in the east, covers an area roughly of the size of Europe. The sculptures of South and Central India, Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan or Northern India taking the development of art as a whole, displays peculiarities similar to those we find in the Ages, evinced, for example, in a certain iconographic community of expression in French, English, Italian or German formative art.

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EAST INDIAN SCHOOLS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

The East Indian Schools of Bengal and Bihar excel in point of elegance, gracefulness, voluptuousness and mobility. In the North and North-West, plastic art soon underwent a transformation, tending towards an exaggerated lengthening of the limbs and a stilted awkwardness of movement.

The Bronzes from Southern India have right up to the most recent times, preserved the greatest measure of natural proportion and truthfulness to life. The "Baroque" Hoysala style was a special development leading to the embellishment of the temple walls and its figures with ornamental details; this is particularly characteristic of all temples at Somnathpur, Halbeid and Belur, and the fragments from the two latter shrines give us an insight into this special form of Medieval Indian Art.

As most of the surviving relics of Indian Art are spread over many different and distant Museums it is not possible for

an average Indian to obtain a comprehensive view of the total output and evolution, the fundamental unity in its variety of expression such as it was possible to juxtapose in this great exhibition of Indian Art in Germany. India is one but her cultural expressions have been different in different ages and in different cultural areas, and it is only in such carefully organised assemblage of its multifarious art-forms that can realise their basic fundamental unity.

Our Universities have hitherto failed to present—in carefully organised illustrated extension lectures—the multifarious expressions of Indian Art, and our students file out from the portals of our Universities year after year without any idea of the rich spiritual expressions of India's Vishal Arts, which cannot be gleaned from her Literature or Philosophy.—*Northern India Patrika Dewali Supplement*, October 3, 1959.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The N. S. Savannah

Richard P. Godwin, William A. Hepburn and Paul E. Carrico observe in the *International Labor Review*, September, 1959:

The **N. S. Savannah** is a single-screw passenger-cargo ship with a raked stem and modified cruiser stern. It has three complete decks, and platform decks at various levels. Passenger staterooms are on the "A" deck; public rooms and the swimming pool are on the promenade deck which extends over "A" deck for about one-third of the ship's length.

The hull is subdivided by a total of ten watertight transverse bulkheads into peak spaces, seven holds, a machinery space and a reactor space. At load draft of 29ft. 6in. (9m.) in salt water, the **N. S. Savannah** is designed for a total deadweight of 9,990 tons.

The power plant is made up of a primary system (a reactor located amidships within a cylindrical containment vessel) and a secondary system (comprised of the main turbines and reduction gears, the main condensers, the feed water system, the turbine generators to supply propulsive auxiliaries and ship's hotel load, and the auxiliary diesel generators and auxiliary boiler to supply the ship's needs when the reactor is shut down).

The reactor is moderated and cooled by light water at 1,750 lb./sq. in. (123 kg./sq. cm.) above atmospheric pressure at a temperature of 508°F (265°C) and fuelled with uranium oxide of about 4.4 per cent. enrichment, which is clad in stainless steel rods.

The electrical system is designed to provide a high degree of reliability so as to ensure safety both when the reactor is in operation and when it is shut down. Power will be supplied by two 1,500kW turbine generators either of which will automatically take over all vital loads if the other fails.

A third source of power to remove decay heat and provide emergency power is a 300 kW diesel generator located above the bulkhead deck, which is connected to the 450-volt emergency switchboard.

For the crew the most important new element on the ship will be the nuclear instrumentation system. This system consists of ten neutron flux measuring channels

that (in four measuring ranges) cover the entire flux range of the reactor from the initial starting power to 150 per cent maximum power.

Closely associated is the radiation monitoring system which provides protection for all aboard ship and for the nuclear power plant itself.

The general principle for the collection and disposal of radioactive wastes in the **N. S. Savannah** is to contain all solid, liquid and high activity gaseous wastes for dockside transfer.

Low-activity gaseous wastes, such as the voids in the liquid waste storage tanks, can be discharged at sea with dilution from a 1,500 cu.ft./min. (42 cu.m./min.) fan.

A primary shield surrounding the reactor pressure vessel attenuates the core neutron flux to such an extent that materials outside this shield will not undergo sufficient neutron interaction to become important sources of gamma radiation.

The secondary shield which is attached to the outside of the 35 ft. (10.67 m.) diameter containment vessel consists of lead, polyethylene and concrete of sufficient thickness to reduce reactor and coolant radiation doses to the levels specified in the accompanying chart, which applies equally to crew and dockside personnel.

The U.S. Coast Guard, the Atomic Energy Commission and the American Bureau of Shipping review and approve specifications prepared for all major systems and components. These agencies provide inspection services at the reactor plant and shipyard.

Personnel with nuclear engineering competence is being added to the qualified marine staff of the shipping company which will operate the vessel. All ship operating personnel will be seasoned mariners fully qualified and documented by the U.S. Coast Guard; they will also be given whatever nuclear training is necessary to enable them to assume the new duties required by the propulsion system.

Selection of the operating agent for the **N. S. Savannah** was made from 47 shipping companies operating vessels under the United States flag. States Marine Lines, which will act as agent for the Government in operating the vessel, was chosen for its demonstrated marine capability and safety record.

Extensive environmental health and personnel health physics programmes have been planned for the N. S. Savannah to provide radiological protection for the crew, passengers, stevedores and shipyard personnel.

In initiating the nuclear ship programme President Eisenhower stated:

I should like to emphasise that the ship's reactor design will not be secret. The reactor will be built on an unclassified basis. It will be possible for engineers, not only of our own country but of other nations, to view the nuclear power plant and see at first hand this demonstration of the great promise of atomic energy for human betterment.

The Historic Plains of Delhi

The following are some portions of the travel-in-India diary of Sister Daya, president of SRF and YSS, published in the *Self-Realization Magazine*, September-October, 1959:

April 21st. We travel by car to Delhi. The trip is long and the roads are dusty but we do not mind, for we see interesting sights, such as camels carrying huge bundles on their backs while camel-drivers walk alongside their charges.

April 22nd. We drive about Delhi in the afternoon. Our sightseeing tour includes the beautiful U.S. Embassy. New Delhi, the capital of India, is an attractive city, with red administrative buildings and rich green lawns. History tells us that seven times great empires have risen and fallen here on the plains of Delhi. We see some of the ancient ruins, sad reminders of civilizations long gone. The most outstanding ruin in Delhi today is the Red Fort, built by Shah Jahan (who also erected the Taj Mahal in Agra). The Red Fort is in old Delhi about four miles from New Delhi.

The first glimpse of New Delhi is Connaught Place—a series of buildings circular in design, used for dress shops, hotels restaurants, newspaper offices, etc. The streets are wide, lined with beautiful shade trees. The buildings of the city were designed by the British, expressing a blend of European and Indian architecture. We visit Birla Temple during our stay in New Delhi. It was on the lawn of Birla House that Mahatma Gandhi was felled by an assassin's bullet, and India was plunged into

mourning for the Father of the Nation.

We visit the Ivory Palace, where we see men, young and old, carving beautiful figures out of blocks of ivory. They do delicate work with what appear to be primitive instruments. We make a few purchases—beautiful vases, and ivory pieces that we plan to put on display in the SRF Lake Shrine museum in Pacific Palisades.

April 23rd. We leave Delhi at 6:30 a.m. by train for Agra. We pass through beautiful and interesting countryside, dotted here and there with ancient forts and buildings dating back to the Mogul era. The ride from Delhi to Agra takes about three hours.

A little booklet titled "Agra" which I have purchased tells us that "Agra's origin is lost in the midst of antiquity. According to one Puranic legend, it was a flourishing city at the time of Lord Krishna and was included in the territories of Kamsa, his uncle." Modern Agra stands on the bank of the River Jamuna in which the beautiful Taj is reflected. The Taj Mahal is one of the wonders of the world.

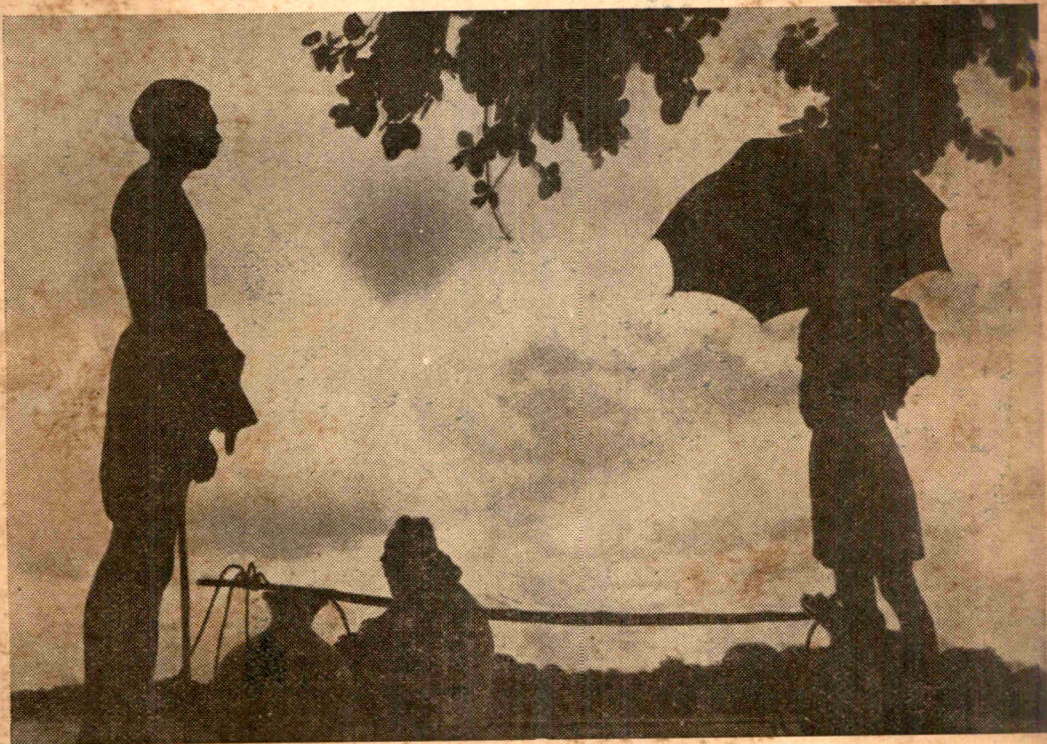
Never before have we seen such exquisite work in marble or in any other material! The floors, walls, and ceilings of the interior are of the purest white marble; the walls are decorated with inlays worked in floral and geometrical designs for which emeralds, sapphires, onyx, and jasper have been used. We walk from room to room, reliving the days of the Shah, as the guide recounts incidents in the Emperor's life. The center of the main chamber, which is octagonal, contains the cenotaphs of Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan.

The mausoleum stands at a distance of about 1000 feet from the gateway. A water-course of fountains, broken in the middle by a square pool with fountains playing throughout its length, divides the paved path to the main building. On either side is an avenue of cypresses, tall, sentinel-like; and extending beyond them are flowerbeds, lawns, and lovely trees. As one walks toward the mausoleum, one sees in the pool striking reflections of the pristine white of the marble background.

The beauty of the Taj Mahal by moonlight is beyond description. There is a hush all about us as visitors like ourselves stand, breath swept away by the exquisiteness of the scene. How to describe the beauty of the Taj? It is like a glistening teardrop, frozen in the night, reflecting the softness of the moon glow.



Fishing



In the blazing sun

[Photo : Ramen Bagchi



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By Satindranath Law

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NOTES

A Month in Retrospect

January seems to be one of the festive months of the year, where the people and the Government of India are concerned. This January, of the year 1960, has been no exception.

Amongst the high-lights of all the festivities, there has been the *tamasha* of the A.I.C.C., costing twenty lakhs; then a very distinguished foreign visitor, namely, President Voroshilov of the U.S.S.R. is honouring us with a visit, and an old friend and neighbour, Prime Minister B. P. Koirala of Nepal has also chosen this month for his coming to us. Then, of course, we have had Republic Day with its parades and processions, together with the bestowal of various awards of titles, medals, and so on and so forth.

If we had a special issue of this journal giving a critical review of all these, then perhaps we might have given a fuller account, in retrospect and for record, for the use of future historians, but failing that we can only give our impressions of the crowded events of the month under review, in these columns, with as much precision as possible under the circumstances.

The A.I.C.C. proceedings, as far as we can judge from the daily press reports, make extremely dull and somewhat pain-

ful reading. The outbursts of Pandit Nehru, and the peroration of our Defence Minister, in words of one syllable so to say, for the benefit of his fellow A.I.C.C. members make painful reading. Last of all, Pandit Nehru's utterances in the negation of Sri Deshmukh's proposal for a comprehensive probe into the rising tide of corruption, which is threatening to engulf the entire machinery of the governmental administration, has left us pained and amazed, to say the least. Has Pandit Nehru's contact with his own people and the country degenerated to such a low ebb that he is unaware of the stark realities of the day?

The only other explanation of Pandit Nehru's "spates" of words would be along the ancient Hindustani proverb regarding the words and actions of great men and the "teeth" of elephants "One set for show (the tusks) and another set for eating." If that be the case, then we would prefer that all these exhibitions be made behind Khadi curtains. For, what is painful to us, would cause ribald laughter amongst those whose *dal roti* did not depend on the good graces of Pandit Nehru.

Regarding the National Awards, they are the usual hotch-potch, as there are at least three names in the Padma Shri class—the most prominent being Dr. Artaballav Mahanti—which should carry as much respect as any of those in the Padma Bhushan class.

Problem of Tax Evasion

Tax evasion as well as tax avoidance has been a long-standing problem in this country. Various measures adopted by the authorities do not appear to be effective in preventing tax evasion. The consequence of tax evasion and tax avoidance is the same, that is, they result in a loss of revenue to the State and an increase in the burden of tax on the other tax-payers who do not adopt such practices. The Government of India appointed a Committee in June 1958, known as the Direct Tax Administration Enquiry Committee, under the chairmanship of Sri Mahavir Tyagi. The Committee has recently submitted its report in which recommendations have been made to prevent tax evasion as well as tax avoidance.

As regards the cause of tax evasion, the Committee says that while it cannot be denied that the higher the rate of tax, the greater will be the temptation for evasion and avoidance, the tax rates by themselves are not to blame for the large extent of evasion in the country. The complicated provisions of the direct taxes Acts, not all of which are easily intelligible, are responsible to some extent for tax avoidance and evasion. The inadequacy of the powers vested in the personnel of the department is yet another cause for tax evasion. The Committee adds: "Unless it is brought home to the potential tax evader that attempts at concealment will not only pay but also actually land him in jail, there could be no effective check against tax evasion. Non-resort to prosecution and non levy of deterrent penalties have undoubtedly encouraged the growth of tax evasion." According to the Committee's view, the Directorate of Inspection should be reorganised into a Directorate of Investigation and Intelligence and it should function in a more positive way by itself gathering all useful information and directing the investigational aspects of the department.

Although even the existing law contains provisions for prosecutions and punishment for tax evasion, not a single prosecu-

tion has been made since Independence. The Committee says that in Britain at least one or two big tax evaders are sent to jail every year, as also the auditors who abet in such tax evasions. The USA, too, is very strict in the assessment and realisation of direct taxes. Apart from their failure to prosecute evaders, even the provisions empowering the levy of penalties up to 150 per cent of the evaded tax have not been enforced by the taxation authorities against any big tax evader. Rarely, if ever, have the penalties exceeded 50 per cent of the evaded tax. The Central Board of Revenue is understood to have explained that in the few cases in which the income-tax officers exercised this power and imposed heavy penalties, the appellate authorities and tribunals set it aside and reduced the penalties to small figures. As a result, the officers have adopted the safer course of levying lighter penalties, rather than risk such an adverse action in appeal.

The Tyagi Committee believes that the department must use the penal provisions to levy deterrent fines in cases of major evasions. If it is later found that the judicial authorities hearing appeals tend not to co-operate with the tax machinery in heavily punishing evaders, the law should be changed to provide that while the appellate authorities will have the power to decide whether or not evasion has taken place, they would have no power to interfere with the penalty levied by the income-tax officers. The Committee is reported to have pointed out that any tax administration must have the twin objective of encouraging the honest and punishing deterrently the dishonest. It has, towards this end, suggested a number of amendments to the existing law. These include the setting up of a separate enforcement branch to discover, prosecute and punish tax evaders. This branch will also undertake to publish in the official gazette the names of tax evaders who are fined more than Rs. 5,000. The law should restrict the scope of the present exemption provisions in regard to business done by charitable trusts so that big business houses do not

take advantage of these provisions as is done at present.

With regard to these suggestions we would strongly lay emphasis on the point of keeping the judicial side of law untrammelled. Any curtailment of the powers of the High Court and the Supreme Court should be regarded as a notation of the Constitution. Further we fail to see how the Tyagi Committee propose to check corrupt officialdom the biggest escape door for tax evaders and avoiders.

Prof. Kaldor has assessed the quantum of tax evasion, on the basis of some national income reports, at about Rs. 200-300 crore in respect of the assessment year 1953-54. But the Central Board of Revenue maintains that it could not have been more than Rs. 20-30 crore. Prof. Kaldor, in his evidence before the Committee, has made it clear that his estimates include both tax evasion and tax avoidance. The Committee says, "The quantum of tax evasion, though undoubtedly high, is not of the magnitude indicated by Prof. Kaldor." We fail to understand why the Central Board of Revenue and also the Tyagi Committee are at pains to underestimate the extent of tax evasion in this country. The tax evasion and avoidance as well perhaps exceeds the figure as suggested by Prof. Kaldor.

There are certain classes of business which always evade and avoid tax payments. As for example, in recent times a method has been adopted in interlocking directorates and also Managing Agency systems. At present the same entrepreneur starts a new business or industrial concern with a different name. He maintains his ownership in benami and gets himself appointed as a technical adviser to the concern. The benami transactions and industrial organisations today provide the most serious problem for the authorities. But the Tyagi Committee does not appear to have studied this problem in a serious way. Its recommendation in this connection is rather wide of the mark. It says: "In order to discourage tax evaders from entering into benami transactions for the purpose of achieving their object, statements made by any party to such transaction be-

fore, the direct tax authorities with regard to the ownership of an asset should be made available to the other party concerned in the case, if he applied for a copy of it. The secrecy provisions of the Income-Tax Act should be modified to secure this."

In most of the cases benami transactions are made in collusion of both the parties to a transaction. The verification of statement by the other party may not always bring about the desired result. And the most important point that seems to have been overlooked in this connection is how to find out that a transaction is purely a benami one. Today firms, industrial as well as commercial, are being set up in fictitious names, the real owners remaining behind the scene as mere advisers, although in fact they control the business and also earn the profits. Further, fictitious firms are also being set up as Managing Agents and neither the Indian Companies Act, 1956, nor the Income-Tax Act provide any effective measure to deal with such frauds. The Tyagi Committee has not gone deeper into the ramifications of benami and fictitious deals in this country. Benami transactions are mostly collusive and therefore the simple remedy as suggested by the Tyagi Committee has too much simplified the issue, or rather it has evaded or avoided the issue. In most of the cases the benamidar is not required to go to the taxing authorities to know that his name has been used. The benami transaction is a conspiracy to evade tax payment. Moreover, there is much legal difficulty in proving a benami transaction as such. ✓

With the help of benami transactions old business houses in this country are expanding their business. Charitable trusts constitute another form of ruse for the purpose of tax avoidance. Small concerns are no less guilty of tax evasion. As for example, furniture shops, grocery, textile shops, stationers and the like invariably evade taxes by falsification and suppression of accounts. The owners of furniture shops in 80 per cent of sales do not give any cash receipts and thus they suppress the actual amount of sales. As regards other retailers as mentioned above, it is very

difficult to find out their actual sales, because their transactions constitute hand to hand sales for which sales-books are generally destroyed by the assessees.

Calling for the rousing of public conscience and opinion against tax evasion, the Tyagi Committee has suggested publication of names of assessees and their returns, publication of names of tax evaders subjected to a penalty exceeding Rs. 5,000 and withholding of official patronage, recognition or awards from tax evaders. But how the publication of the names of assessees and their returns will solve the problem of tax evasion is difficult to understand. Unless adequate measures are provided by the law for the proper verification of the sources of income, mere publication of the names of the assessees will not improve the administration of direct tax to any appreciable extent. To prevent evasion, auditing should be nationalised.

Blank transfers provide another way for tax evasion. The Committee says that by means of blank transfers, dishonest assessees are able to conceal their income from the Income-Tax Department. Even if the concealments are detected and assessed, they can avoid the payment of taxes as the shares are not registered in their names, and they cannot therefore be attached and sold. The only effective remedy against blank transfers is to provide that all transfer deeds executed by the transferrer should be registered by the stock exchange and simultaneously date stamped. It should be secured by the statute that the transfer deeds should have a currency of only six months from the date of stamping and that multiple transfers will be permitted only within the period of six months. These restrictions will not, however, apply to transfers to a banking company either as a security or for safe custody or where blank transfers are held in a fiduciary capacity.

To prevent tax evasion Prof. Kaldor suggested that every tax payer be required to submit a comprehensive return concerning personal balance sheet, income account, gratuitous transfers, purchase and sale of capital assets during the year of assess-

ment, borrowing and lending, other capital or casual transactions, and personal expenditure. The accounts for the purchase and sale of capital assets should be split up into income-yielding assets and bar gold, and capital assets for personal assets. In the opinion of Prof. Kaldor, such an integrated return would reduce the scope for tax evasion through falsification of accounts. But neither the Tyagi Committee nor the Central Board of Revenue has accepted this suggestion.

N. R.

India and China

The Chinese aggression over Indian territory has exposed the failure of India's Pancha Sheel doctrine because on the Indo-Chinese agreement of 1954 the doctrine was given a shape and by the occupation of Indian territory it seems that the doctrine has come to an end at least so far as these two countries are concerned. The Chinese aggression also reveals India's failure to realise the potentiality of China as an expansionist power. Great Powers, like a heated body, have the tendency to expand and Chinese expansion over Tibet and Indian territory supports this principle. While India was sleeping over the developments in China and her attitude, China seized the full opportunity in giving her expansionist bid a further push—a push inside the Indian territory. It is now well known that China was preparing for this move ever since she conquered Tibet in 1950. Virtually it was a conquest because before that time Tibet practically enjoyed her autonomy as an semi-independent State. The so-called Chinese suzerainty fell into disuse ever since 1912 and India in the name of non-alignment and Pancha Sheel tried to appease China by sacrificing Tibet at the scaffold of Chinese imperialistic aggression over Tibet.

The root of the present trouble must be sought in that event, that is, the Chinese conquest of Tibet. With Tibet gone as a buffer State between India and China, China extended her borders straight to the borders of India. And now she is just settling her boundaries by invading Indian territories. Since 1912, Tibet was nobody's,

she belonged to herself. In the name of a vague concept of suzerainty, the Communist China occupied Tibet and India supported that move hoping that the sacrifice of Tibet may satisfy the expansionist greed of China. But this very move has now recoiled upon India as she is now forced to yield a large chunk of Indian territory to China. India of course cries hoarse that China must vacate aggression, but there ends the matter as has happened in the case of Goa and Kashmir.

India abhors violence and she claims that she is the great lover of peace and that international disputes will not be solved by violent methods. India today has lost a great portion of Kashmir on account of this passivity, or rather timidity. When Pakistan raiders occupied Indian territory, instead of driving them out by force, India rushed to the UNO and the result was that Kashmir problem had been solved (in reality) by a division of the territory on the basis of present occupation by India and Pakistan. If India goes on crying and claiming that portion of Kashmir which is now under the occupation of Pakistan, she will not get it back, although India may feel proud of her non-violent tenets. Similarly, Goa issue remains what it was before the independence. These examples are just to show that the so-called Indian foreign policy has not earned her anything and she has hardly made any friend among the nations of the world. While all nations admire Indian foreign policy of non-alignment and Pancha Sheel, none of them supports India in this respect when she needs it most.

The dispute between India and China over the northern borders once again shows that India has practically no friends to stand by her in her support. India should realise now that "we have neither eternal friends, nor eternal enemies, but eternal interests." While China was preparing herself militarily and economically for invasion of Tibet and subsequently of India, this country of ours complacently remained asleep believing on the Chinese goodwill which was steadily vanishing. With Tibet gone as a buffer State, India and China

today stand face to face and the 2,000 miles of India's northern frontier will ever remain vulnerable requiring India's armed might being pinned down on this long frontier. Not only that, Chinese penetration into Bhutan and Sikkim will remain a constant threat. Nepal will also remain as a big problem for India. If in future Nepal is won over by China, then China will get a foothold on a very vantage point and this will mean that India shall have to remain in an eternal threat of war.

The occupation of a large chunk of Ladakhi territory has given China the much needed link between Sinkiang and Southern China. China has built up roads in Tibet and from the Tibetan side China is placed at a very advantageous position from where she can mobilise her army against India. India failed to strike the iron while it was hot and now she has lost the advantage in regaining her territory conquered by China. In other words, as India has failed to maintain her own borders and as she has allowed China to conquer her territory now she will have either to cede that territory to China or go single-handed in dealing with that country. That China has committed aggression over the Indian territory has not been until recently recognised by the Indian Defence Minister. The word "aggression" so long stuck into his throat and he held the brief for China by saying that what has happened is merely incursions by China and not aggression. Of course, he did not explain the distinction between an incursion and an aggression. It is only when the Congress Party recently adopted the resolution that China has committed aggression over the Indian territory, the Defence Minister in a recent speech at Bangalore has admitted to that effect. Minimising the Chinese aggression, the Defence Minister of India sometime ago defended China by saying that "if China fears the return of the Tibetans, it is for her to protect her frontiers." In the plea of protecting her frontiers, China thus can invade Indian territory.

China today claims nearly 40,000 square

miles of what has been for many decades, and in some places for centuries, an integral part of Indian territory. When India recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, it would have been proper for India to get Chinese recognition of the McMahon line as the boundary between India and China. But India did not do that nor did she take sufficient enough steps to fortify her northern boundary. In her latest note to India, China claims that she may withdraw from Ladakh, if certain portions of the NEFA area are handed over to China. It now seems that in order to compel India to cede certain portions of the NEFA area, China has committed aggression in Ladakh. China has also accused India by saying that India is seeking to reap a benefit from the British aggression against China. At the 1914 Simla Convention, the McMahon line was recognised to be the boundary between India and Tibet and between India and China. At the Conference, not only did the Chinese representative fully participate but the Tibetan representative took part in the discussions on an equal footing with the Chinese and the then British Indian representatives. At no stage, either then or later, did the Chinese Government object to the boundary between India and Tibet, being discussed at the Conference. The Chinese representative was fully aware of the boundary that had been settled between India and Tibet.

But the Chinese Government did not at the time or later raise any objection to this delineation. In the circumstances, the boundary settled between India and Tibet in 1914 must be regarded as binding on both the parties in accordance with the accepted international practice. The water-parting formed by the crest of the Himalayas is the natural frontier which has been accepted for centuries as the boundary by the peoples of both sides. The tribes inhabiting the area south of the "McMahon Line" are of the same stock as the hill tribes of Assam and have no kinship with the Tibetans.

China is now trying to create a sphere of influence over Sikkim and Bhutan. She claims that the boundaries of Sikkim and

Bhutan do not fall within the scope of the present discussion. The Chinese Government recognised as far back as 1890 that the Government of India had direct and exclusive control over the internal administration and foreign relations of Sikkim. There can be no dispute about Sikkim's boundary with Tibet, for the 1890 Convention defined that boundary and it was five years later demarcated on the ground. Chinese maps, however, show sizeable areas of Bhutan as parts of Tibet, and under treaty relationships with Bhutan, the Government of India is the only competent authority to take up with other Governments matters concerning Bhutan's external relations.

China has built a road across north-east Ladakh within the Indian territory and in 1958 Indian personnel carrying out routine patrol duties in this area were arrested and detained by the Chinese for five weeks. In the Pangong area, and also in Ladakh, Chinese forces have been aggressively pushing forward in recent years and have established a camp on the western bank of the Spanggur Lake, which even according to some official Chinese maps is in Indian territory. Longju belongs to India. But recently it has been occupied by China and it is strange that India has decided not to send any Indian personnel back to this area, provided the Chinese also withdraw their forces. But the Chinese have not withdrawn their forces from this area and it now practically remains under the Chinese occupation. It is rather strange why India did not take proper measures to reoccupy this area.

China today is expanding in different parts of South-east Asia. China is trying to grab certain portions of Burma. She is making troubles in Malaya, in Viet Nam, in Laos, in Thailand. Everywhere in this region she is making expansion and it seems that smaller States in this area shall not be able to withstand ultimately the Chinese expansionist pressure. In this connection India has an important role to stop the Chinese imperialistic designs in this part of the world.

N. R.

Law and Justice

The decision of the Supreme Court of India reversing the orders of conviction of the Calcutta High Court, which had sentenced a restaurant owner to a fine of Rs. 200 for allegedly selling adulterated butter at the Howrah railway stall, brings to the fore the internal inconsistencies of the judicial system of India underlining, as it does, the dichotomy between law and justice. The Supreme Court, by a majority of two to one, has allowed the appeal of the restaurant owner against his conviction on the ground that the officer, who had instituted the proceedings against the appellant, lacked authority to do so under the relevant Act which enabled only the Chairman of the municipality to sanction such prosecution. Justice Shri S. K. Das, who delivered the majority judgment, held that in the absence of proper authority of the complainant the complaint itself became invalid, adding that such lack of authority could not be dismissed as trivial as it affected jurisdiction and initiation of proceedings.

In dispensing justice the courts are bound by the provisions of law—substantial as well as procedural. They have a duty to ensure that the proper procedure has been observed in instituting prosecution—particularly in cases affecting personal liberty of citizens. It is for the legislature to lay down the procedure which is to be followed under any particular Act. If, as it has happened in the present case, defective formulation of procedure (it is really inexplicable why even an ordinary citizen, not to speak of the municipal health officer, should not have the authority to charge adulteration upon a person before a court of law), should make it impossible for the judges to examine the substance of the accusation (the Supreme Court does not appear to have said anything on the finding of the High Court about the offence of the accused) the supremacy of law may remain valid, but the ends of justice, which are to bring the guilty to book, are not met. Such instances instead of creating reverence for law generates the opposite tendency and makes

law an object of public contempt. Repetition of such cases may cut at the very basis of the rule of law which is justly held in high esteem by our people.

One of the objects of law is to reconcile the claims of individual and society, which sometimes contradict each other, and to maintain a just balance between rights and duties. The liberty of an individual—be he owner of a restaurant or a college teacher or a newspaper editor,—is not a thing to be toyed with. But the extent of the individual's liberty is circumscribed by the need to maintain social cohesion. If any individual resorts to adulteration of foodstuffs which is harmful for the consumers, his liberties have to be curtailed in the interest of social growth, and the law should accordingly provide for his punishment; because the action of the adulterator impinged upon the rights of other citizens to a healthy life. The present case is not the only instance where the statute is incompatible with justice. We hear frequent complaints that there is no law to punish black marketeers and other anti-social elements. This contradiction should be resolved in the earliest possible time inasmuch as once the faith on the judiciary as an effective instrument for securing redress for grievances is shaken, democracy itself will be undermined beyond repair.

S. S.

The Congress Foreign Policy

The 65th session of the Indian National Congress has endorsed the foreign policy of the Government of India. An interesting analysis of these discussions is given in a leading editorial article of the "Delhi Hindusthan Standard" which while agreeing with the fundamental stand of non-alignment, questions the manner in which it is being implemented and the way in which it is being interpreted by leaders of the Congress party and Government. Writing under the title "Malaligned," the newspaper writes:

"Non-alignment with either power bloc and avoidance of military alliances we have always believed to be the right policy for this country in the Cold War age. We

propose to stick to that belief—in spite of the way the policy was defended by the foremost official spokesmen for it at Bangalore. For the manner which the Prime Minister chose to adopt towards those who moved amendments suggesting a revision and, one or two of the arguments which the Defence Minister gave might raise in some minds the doubt: could a thing really be so wholly good if its defenders must behave and talk like this? One wonders why Shri Nehru could not keep himself from giving that “three musketeers” touch to his castigation of the would-be critics? Can it be that he was conscious of the silent presence of a considerable number of doubters among the members of the A.I.C.C. and was the more angry because those three men had the temerity to come out in the open with their doubts? In any case the loss of dignity suffered by that body, considering the level to which it had already been reduced, was grievous. (How much self-respect is left in a body where, let alone any real exchange between the platform and the floor, the former itself behaves like the shadow of only one person? To realize this, one has only to count the number of times the Prime Minister spoke—on every resolution and at every stage—as if to make it clear that those who were supposed to be in charge of the resolutions were only nominally so.) And surely Shri Krishna Menon’s speech was no help to the A.I.C.C. for recovering any of its lost dignity. Because some of the arguments the Defence Minister gave were so strange and so thoroughly unnecessary for the purpose of justifying non-alignment that it is difficult to understand why he invented them, unless it were deliberately to insult the intelligence of his audience. Dwelling on the disastrous consequences that would have resulted if India had been aligned to a Power bloc, Shri Krishna Menon, after saying that for various reasons India could align herself only to the Western bloc, declared that in such an eventuality Indian troops would have marched on the deserts of the Sinai burning Port Said at the time of the Anglo-French invasion of Suez in 1956 and that

soldiers would have gone from India and not Nicosia in Cyprus with torches to burn and destroy.”

Rejecting such an interpretation of the foreign policy the newspaper added:

“Non-alignment is all right but to talk this kind of fantastic nonsense in its justification was to insult not only the intelligence of the A.I.C.C. but India herself. Pakistan was not only aligned to the Western bloc but was a pact-ally of Britain. Did soldiers from Pakistan go to help in the British invasion of Suez? None of the NATO allies of Britain and France sent troops in their support and most of them, headed by the U.S.A. itself, denounced the Anglo-French action and joined in the demand for Britain and France to go back from where they had come. Are we to understand that what Pakistan and others belonging or aligned to the Western bloc could do, that is, keep themselves from being involved in the Anglo-French criminal folly of 1956 India, supposing she too was so ssigned, would be incapable of doing? Have the foreign affairs and defence of this country been so long in the hands of such weaklings who must be so carefully protected from temptation to betray the nation’s interests and their own honour under the smallest pressure from outside? Again, we are wholly in favour of non-alignment. But we have the gravest doubt whether the actual conduct of affairs within that framework has been in right hands or on right lines always.”

S.S.

Constitution and Social Progress

The general tendency for social organization to lag behind economic and political developments becomes all the more pronounced in a multireligious society where the various religious and cultural groups are in different stages of social and psychological evolution. In India, for example, despite the insistence in the Constitution upon observing equality of treatment to all citizens irrespective of race, caste, religion, sex or place of birth, the state has been obliged to introduce a number of discriminatory legislations under the permissive clauses, to give protection to various back-

ward religious and cultural groups and sub-groups. It is at once to be noted, however, that this discriminatory legislation has been designed sincerely to reduce the chasm of inequality in personal rights that existed between the members belonging to different religions or between various sub-groups within a particular religious group. But even then, as often happens in history, this legislations have worked out in practice to create new inequalities between persons professing different religious faiths in respect of their personal rights and duties—because of the failure of some to keep pace with the changes effected by others for themselves. The Hindu society has been thoroughly shaken by a series of legislations affecting the observance of religious rites, abolition of untouchability (in and outside temples), inheritance, marriage, divorce, and such other matters so that persons and groups within the Hindu society can now claim a greater dignity and enforce it with the help of the law courts a thing that was inconceivable a decade ago. Through this single sweep of social reform the Hindu law which in some social matters was lagging behind the Muslim and Christian laws is now on a par with them and in several matters even ahead of them.

The state's initiative in this matter is circumscribed by the desire for change within the various religious groups themselves because the Constitution guarantees them considerable degree of autonomy within broad limitations imposed by the need to maintain public order, morality, health, and the financial and political integrity of the nation. The state may undoubtedly curtail the freedom of religious practice in the interest of social reform, as it has done in the case of the Hindus, but by the nature of the things the initiative has to come from the believers of that particular religion. In the historical and current political context the practice of discriminatory legislation cannot be avoided and its need can be obviated only when social and religious leaders belonging to different denominations come to realize

the imperative need for a universal, common approach to reforms.

An example of the inequality of a right arising out of the difference in religious allegiance was provided by a recent case in which a Muslim lady sought the protection of the Allahabad High Court in her bid to live separately from her husband when he had married for a second time (under present Hindu and Christian laws such a thing can no longer happen). The court was faced with a difficult task in interpreting the law without doing injustice to either party—the difficulty being accentuated by the provision in Muslim law permitting polygamy. Justice demanded that the lady should not be compelled to live with a person against her will while the formal law seemed to be acting against her. In one of his most remarkable judgements. Mr. Justice Dhawan of Allahabad High Court has given an interpretation of the Muslim social law which is profound in its analysis and implications meeting at the same time the end of both justice and law. He has observed that Muslim law as practised in India had considered polygamy as an institution to be tolerated but not encouraged. It had not conferred upon the husband any fundamental right to compel the first wife to share his consortium with another woman under all circumstances. In any case the court could not be a party in coercing the first wife to such enforced conjugal relations against her will. He added that the changes that have occurred in Muslim social life makes the import of a second wife into the household a stinging insult to the first wife and would raise a presumption of cruelty towards her and that the onus would be on the husband to explain his action and prove that his conduct involved no insult or cruelty to the first wife.

There is no doubt that progressive opinion everywhere will heartily endorse this interpretation of Justice Dhawan. The very fact that a Muslim lady had approached the court for protection shows the dissatisfaction of a section of the Indian Muslims against the prevailing social laws.

They would undoubtedly derive much encouragement from the learned judge's stand which is likely to remain a valid precedent. In many Muslim countries progressive public opinion has been campaigning for the abolition of polygamy. In Iraq, for example, a restricted order to that effect has been actually promulgated. In India the progressive Muslims can also draw inspiration from the practices of Christian and Hindu societies as they can count upon the support of Parliament once they have been able to create a strong movement among their co-religionists in all parts of India.

S.S.

Administration and Planning

The Congress Working Committee's draft resolution on development and planning is remarkably frank in its diagnosis of the roots of the ills hindering the nation's growth. The only question is whether it is meant to be a mere platitude designed to prevent criticism in the plenary session of the A.I.C.C. where grave discontent was expected to be voiced against the handling of some of the leading problems by the leadership or it does signify a renewed determination to lead the country to greater prosperity and equality. The resolution correctly underlines the lag at the level of execution stating that what is most necessary at the present stage is to concentrate on the implementation of the broad policies and programmes which have been already laid down. Whatever institutional changes are required to be effected for achieving his end have been suggested to be made without delay. It recognises the fact that the best of policies and programmes tend to lose all their value on account of delay or slowness in their implementation. The degree of candour of the resolution is given by the specific reference to the failure so far to tap the potential and unutilized productive power in the vast rural population of India. "Properly approached," the resolution reads, "the peasantry of India reacts favourably. If that reaction is not adequate, the approach has not been proper."

The reference to the administrative machinery of the Government of India in the Centre and in the States as well as the suggestions for changes in procedure, which have been made in the resolution, is most apt. The rules designed to serve an alien administration based on the theory of the supremacy of force are utterly inadequate to meet the demands of a welfare State based on popular consent. The preposterous extent to which some of the rules can go has been illustrated by the death of the Pusa Scientist who resorted to suicide in a bid to escape from the inhuman clutches of the governmental procedure which did not allow him to seek a better job outside if when actually offered one—though his office was unable to offer him any scope for promotion. As conditions obtain at present it is extremely difficult to fix responsibility for any success or failure, for in the bureaucratic hierarchy nobody except a few is certain of his powers and responsibilities. Strange as it may sound it is nevertheless correct to say that most state matters of the highest importance are being largely determined by those lower-grade Government servants whose training, status, authority and opportunity are not adequate to equip them to deal with the subject with the required degree of competence and confidence. This excessive burden on the lowest ladder has tended to stagger the administrative edifice which is finding expression in huge accumulation of arrear work in almost every department. The only sensible solution is to do away with the dichotomy of authority and responsibility in official work and to vest people responsible for a work with the requisite authority so that there is no uncertainty from any quarters. This will tone up the administrative morale and will enable more work to be done by the existing staff by exposing the concealed unemployment of many who have so long monopolized power without sharing responsibility.

"The Congress feels strongly," the resolution adds, "that the temper of the administration as well as of the people, generally has to change in order to face

the great tasks before the country with faith, speed and determination." The question that automatically suggests itself is whether this feeling is a new development. It is the Congress which has been in power all these years. If it has felt so "strongly" over these matters as the resolution wants the people to believe, why has nothing changed? Perhaps the root lies in the philosophy and organization of the Congress party itself. Because in the same resolution we find an admission of the party's failure to implement its own resolution on co-operative farming with the desire speed so that it has now to call for an acceleration of the pace of its implementation.

S. S.

Cure of Indiscipline

Social development is inseparable from disciplined conduct. Any breach of discipline is thus to be viewed as a deviation from the desired social conduct which can be traced to a particular maladjustment in social organization and should be attended to with the least possible delay. The recurring instances of indiscipline which have been taking place from time to time affecting practically every field of national endeavour has thus to be regarded with the gravest concern. The disease has become so widespread that nobody can really claim exemption from the charge of indiscipline which manifest itself not only in the failure to obey the orders of the constituted authority, but also in the failure of the authority to act with honesty, courage and determination. These weaknesses mutually re-inforce each other. Inefficiency and corruption among the people in authority and positions of leadership breed indiscipline among the ranks of the general people while the latter provides an ideal ground for corruption and inefficiency to thrive among those who have manoeuvred themselves into positions of power and leadership, irrespective of their qualifications. There is no escape from this vicious circle unless it is forcibly broken at one or more points.

It is in this context that the suggestions made by Dr. G. C. Chatterji for the restoration of normalcy in the university life of the country have to be considered. The universities are the nurseries of future leadership. If they are allowed to drift in a state of uncertainty over a prolonged period, the injury caused to the moral and intellectual life of the nation may prove irreparable. In recent times they have shown an increasing proneness to indiscipline. No doubt this indiscipline is largely restricted to a particular area but the length of time over which it has proved itself irresponsive to any kind of treatment has justly given rise to serious misgivings in the minds of people wishing well of the nation. Dr. Chatterji who, with a fairly long record of vice-chancellorship of a university, is in an eminently advantageous position to speak on the problems of the universities with a degree of authority, seems to hold the students' unions, which he describes as "those mis-conceived and misbegotten organizations," to be the most liable for the rise of indiscipline. If sanity and good sense are to be re-established in the universities in the country, he has said, "we must with firm determination and an inexorable act of decision disband all students' unions and refuse to have any further truck with them." The fact that a well-known teacher has come out with such a ringing denunciation of the unions of students is in itself an indication of the extent to which the students' unions have succeeded in making themselves unpopular by their unwise conduct.

That most of the students' unions are more concerned with politics than with the specific problems of the students as a community cannot be gainsaid. Student interest in politics is not to be condemned altogether provided it keeps itself within certain limits. Intra-union political rivalries also are not bad things up to a point. But when students come to dictate over the manner of management of universities and other educational institutions it is a completely indifferent matter vitally affecting the very roles of the teachers and the

taught (complaints against individual teachers or administrative acts must be distinguished from such acts of usurpation of management by students) which make any teaching impossible, as seems to have happened in several universities of Uttar Pradesh. Such outbursts of indiscipline must be suppressed with firmness. There is no disagreement over that.

But one question remains to which also Dr. Chatterji has made a reference in his speech. It is, how could the students dare to arrogate to themselves the tasks of university management? It presupposes a grave failure on the part of the management. He has thus correctly condemned the "supine and ostrich-like attitude" adopted by the authorities of certain universities who failed to act with courage and despatch to attend to the complaints of students or in suppressing the first signs of indiscipline—a failure that was ascribable to the existence of elements within the university bodies themselves which encouraged and supported manifestations of student indiscipline. In Uttar Pradesh, in particular, where student unrest has come to the fore with a great force public allegations have been made that such unworthy persons were receiving official patronage. In such circumstances the further question is who is to enforce discipline upon the students? And how? Unless satisfactory replies are found to these questions mere banning of students' associations cannot be expected to achieve the desired goal of restoring the normal atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in the academic world.

S. S.

SGPC Elections

The results of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the supreme Sikh religious body looking after the management of the Sikh Gurdwaras, have marked a crushing defeat for the Congress and a resounding victory for the Akalis. Out of a total membership of 160 of the Committee, 140 seats are elective. In the January elections the Shiromani

Akali Dal led by Master Tara Singh has annexed 132 seats; the Congress-backed Sadp Sangat Board which is a united front of Panth Sewak Dal founded by Giani Kartar Singh, Malwa Shiromani Akali Dal of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala and Deshmesh Dal of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon—could win only four seats. The party affiliation of two of the elected members is not known at the time of writing when the result of the election at one constituency is yet to be announced. One Independent candidate has been returned. The Communist-backed Desh Bhagat Party which had put up 54 candidates failed to secure even a single seat. Shri Kanwarrani Jagadish Kaur, Opposition M.L.A., is the only woman elected.

Master Tara Singh said that the Akali Dal's success was "a victory for truth and virtue and a decisive Sikh vote against Governmental interference in the religious affairs of Sikhs." It was also a "clear verdict of the Sikh Community in favour of the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State within the Indian Union", he added. The understandable Congress dismay at this not-altogether-unexpected debacle found expression in repeated assertions by Congress leaders that the Akali victory in the SGPC elections had no political significance whatever. The Akalis were not even allowed to celebrate their victory in public because the Government promptly enforced a ban on public gatherings. Meanwhile January 24 has been fixed by the Akali leader for "Victory Day" celebrations when the agitation for a Punjabi Suba will also be started. In a letter to the Prime Minister, Sardar Atma Singh, Chief organiser of the Akali Dal, has assured that the agitation will be peaceful. "There is no danger to law and order from the Akalis but the State Government itself is moving in such a way as to create trouble," the letter added.

While the full significance of these results will take some time to unfold itself, given the present mutually incompatible policies of the Congress and the Akali's, Punjab seems to be facing an uncertain future.

Primary Education

Dr. V. Veronese, Director-General of the Unesco announced in New Delhi in the middle of January that with the signing of the agreement between the Unesco and India, the latter would be receiving 1.5 million dollars annually during the next four years against 700,000 dollars hitherto. He disclosed that the Karachi Conference of 17-member states of the Unesco had agreed upon a plan for making primary education a reality in Asia within a period of 20 years from 1960. The plan aims at raising the number of primary school-going children from 65 millions in 1960 to 90 millions in 1965, 125 millions in 1970, 167 millions in 1975 and 225 millions in 1980. The number of teachers that will be required for this entire period is more than eight millions which means that the number of teachers should increase by 580,000 every year against the current addition of 284,000 per annum. To implement the plan would call for an annual foreign assistance of 500 million dollars. Dr. Veronese further disclosed that Unesco would send a mission to help safeguard the archaeological sites and monuments in Nubia, which is threatened to be submerged as a consequence of the construction of the Aswan High Dam on the river Nile in North Africa.

S. S.

Town Planning

While addressing a rally of students recently in Bangalore during one of the intervals between meetings of the Congress Session there, the Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, dwelt upon the shocking incongruity of the co-existence of affluence and beauty on the one hand and poverty and ugliness on the other. Referring to the slums in the city of Bangalore he said that he was bowled over completely by the wretched contrast posed by the living conditions in different parts of the city. In places the city was beautiful with palaces, huge buildings, science, industries and huge industrial establishment, while elsewhere there were hideous slums to hurt the eye. He

wondered "how it does not bowl over the Corporation of Bangalore!" The Prime Minister's sensitiveness to such ugly contrasts which is an expression of his innate sympathy, and love for beauty and happiness is well known and will find reflection in many minds. But one wonders why he should have to go to distant Bangalore when such hideous contrasts are present in every city and town not excluding the capital city itself. From time to time newspapers in New Delhi have published articles and pictures about the ghastly conditions of the slums which are to be found right across the Connaught Circus—the nerve-centre of the city. The contrast between the areas where the ministers and the top officials live and the bustees in Ramnagar, Paharganj and the Jhandewallan Estates, to name only few, cannot, we believe, be less shocking than what had struck the eyes of the Prime Minister at Bangalore. In Calcutta conditions are still worse and the people are helpless spectators of squalor and exploitation.

The truth is that despite much talk and big promises no serious effort has so far been made to tackle the problem of the bustees in a determined manner. Official efforts have largely been bogged in wranglings over jurisdiction between different city bodies which not unexpectedly, did not lead to any substantial results in the abolition of slums. The problem is by no means easy of solution, but the fact remains that sufficient attention was never given to it. For example, when some cities—Tollygunge in Calcutta, for example—expanded during the post-independence years a little bit of forethought on the part of Government and the local authorities could ensure much better civic amenities without any appreciable additional expenditure. This was not done. The unplanned growth that came in the wake has tended to create slumlike conditions in areas hitherto unaffected. It is good that the Prime Minister has written to all State Governments drawing their attention to the need for ensuring some degree of planning in the growth of urban areas.

The situation in New Delhi is rather

confusing. While elsewhere the work of city improvement and slum clearance is entrusted to specialised agencies such as improvement trusts and boards, here the opposite tendency is in operation, and more and more of the work of the improvement trust is being shoved on to Municipal Corporation. If this process of reversal has been the result of the dissatisfaction with the rate of progress achieved under the aegis of the improvement trust, the new arrangement is not likely to generate much enthusiasm because of the disappointing record of the Corporation in discharging its own duties to the citizens. In Calcutta the improvement trust has some creditable achievements to its credit but lack of funds and, to a certain extent, mismanagement have greatly crippled its initiative, the need is most pressing and unless some special attention is given to the problem it may soon prove incapable of any solution without untold misery and suffering for many.

S. S.

Sanskrit Learning in the South

The Cultural bond between Bengal and the South is an eternal one maintained mainly through Sanskrit. Hence, it was very fit and proper that the authorities of All India Bengali Literary Conference should arrange for the first time for the staging of a Sanskrit Drama at its 35th Session held during the last Christmas Vacation at Bangalore. The Party invited was the celebrated Calcutta Prachya-Vani Mandir (Institute of Oriental Learning) Sanskrit Drama Troupe who have already earned wide fame by staging Sanskrit dramas composed by the Founder-Secretary Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri in different parts of India.

Three Sanskrit dramas, viz., "Sakti-Saradam," "Mukti-Saradam" and "Bhakti-Visnupriyam" on the lives of the Holy Mothers Sri Saradamani and Visnupriya, composed by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, were staged by them under the auspices of Bangalore All India Bengali Literary Conference, Bangalore Ramkrishna Mission and Pondicherry Sri Aurobindo Ashram. On every occasion there was a large

audience of Bengalee and non-Bengalee Scholars from all over India who highly appreciated the very simple and sweet language, depth of thought and melodious music of the dramas as well as the high standard of pronunciation and acting.

The Aswan Dam

The New York Times of Jan. 10 has the following editorial on President Nasser's Aswan Dam Scheme :

In Biblical times, Joseph of the many-colored coat warned the Pharaoh to increase Egypt's stores in preparation for seven lean years. Often in the centuries since then, Egypt has suffered acutely from drought and famine, but the Egyptians have never had the facilities to store the commodity they need most—water. As a result of lack of water, only 3.9 per cent (13,600 square miles) of Egypt's area of 383,000 square miles is cultivated. Yet each year some 85 per cent of the Nile's water spills wasted into the Mediterranean.

To harness the Nile for irrigation and power has long been a dream of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. He has staked much of Egypt's economic future on a massive project known as Sadd el'Ali—the High Dam—at Aswan, on the Nile, 430 miles south of Cairo. At first—in 1955—the U. S. and Britain said they would help Egypt finance the dam; then, as Egypt turned increasingly against the West and toward the Communist world, the U. S. and Britain decided against aid. It was that decision that led President Nasser to seize the Suez Canal and brought on the Suez crisis of 1956. Eventually Russia agreed to lend Egypt the money it needed for the first stage of the dam—the equivalent of \$93 million.

Yesterday at Aswan an elaborate ceremony was held to mark the start of construction of the first stage. One observer remarked, "The U. A. R. threw in everything except Aida"—a reference to the fact that Verdi was commissioned to compose that opera for the Suez Canal's opening a century ago. At the end of yesterday's ceremony, President Nasser pulled a lever that set off ten tons of dynamite for the initial blasting.

The first stage is to be finished by the end of 1964, the second stage by 1970. When completed the high dam will be 2.6 miles long and 436 feet high. Its reservoir will hold up to 170 million cubic yards of water. This water will provide the irrigation to cultivate a million acres of desert land, one-sixth of Egypt's present cultivated acreage. When the hydro-electric phase of the dam is completed, water flowing through the power turbines will produce 10 billion kilowatt hours of electricity a year to help industrialize Egypt.

The completed project will cost over \$1 billion. Cairo says the result will increase Egypt's national income from agriculture by 35 per cent. Much of this gain might be nullified, however, by Egypt's continuing population growth.

The Algiers Dilemma

President De Gaulle faces his stiffest problem at Algiers as the following news report states:

Algiers, Jan. 24.—A state of siege was proclaimed in Algiers tonight as anti-Gaullist demonstrators joined by armed Reservist troops entrenched themselves behind barricades in the city centre. The demonstrators were reported to be in control of several streets.

One demonstrator and a republican guard were reported to have been killed in an exchange of shots as police and troops tried to disperse crowds estimated at 20,000 and remove barricades thrown up near Government House.

The barricades had been erected in streets near Government House by demonstrators protesting against President de Gaulle's Algerian policy and his dismissal of paratroop General Massu last week. Authorities ordered security guards to remove the barricades.

Firing broke out near the war memorial, where most of the demonstrators were gathered, and later there was more firing near the university and the Rue Michelet and Rue Charras, where barricades had been set up.

Unofficial estimates said three demonstrators had been killed and about 30 wounded.

One report said police were withdrawing towards the Forum, from where a crowd stormed Government House in May 1958 and opened the way for General de Gaulle's return to power.

The shooting broke out shortly after 5 p.m. (G.M.T.) when a number of demonstrators armed with sub-machine guns fired on mobile guards who were descending the big steps leading down from the Forum. The guards were making their first attempt to break up the big crowd of demonstrators and remove the street barricades.

Army helicopters which had been flying over the centre of the city all day dropped tear gas grenades on the crowd at 7 p.m.

The demonstrators ignored an appeal for calm by the French Government Delegate-General, M. Paul Delouvrier, which was broadcast repeatedly by Algiers Radio.

M. Delouvrier this morning issued a warning that "the Army will not tolerate disorders."

African Independence

The New York Times of Jan. 3. gives the following editorial on the African situation at the New Year:

In Africa between 1945 and 1959 the number of independent nations increased from four to ten. By the end of 1960 the number will be at least fourteen, with the emergence of Cameroon, Nigeria, Togoland and Somalia. Still others are in prospect.

The pace of the drive for independence was underscored last week in two areas—in Cameroon, which was proclaimed a sovereign state on New Year's Day; and in the Belgian Congo, where the Belgians appeared to be accelerating their program for complete Congolese independence.

"Cameroon" is part of the former German colony of Kamerun which after World War I was divided between France and Britain as League of Nations mandates. At the end of World War II the mandates became United Nations trusteeships. In 1958 the U.N. affirmed a French decision to accord her area independence; the

future status of the British territory has yet to be decided.

The French territory covers 166,489 square miles and has an estimated 3.2 million people. The country is hot, damp and covered by jungle. In U.N.-sponsored elections Ahamadou Adhijo, a moderate nationalist who favours close economic ties with France, emerged as Premier. His rival, Dr. Felix Moumie, an extreme leftist who denies being a Communist, has been waging a campaign of terror ever since.

Last Friday—New Year's Day—Cameroun became sovereign. At Yaounde, the capital, Premier Adhijo proclaimed independence. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld witnessed the festivities. In his first speech, Premier Adhijo called on the dissidents to lay down their arms; the Moumies faction replied with a new wave of terrorism, killing more than a score of persons by the week-end.

In the "Congo" a year ago the Belgians sought to come to terms with African nationalism by offering a program of "gradual independence" for the colony's 13,000,000 people. Instead of placating nationalist sentiment, the plan fueled the nationalist flames. The Belgians have responded by accelerating their program—reaffirming independence as their goal, scheduling a round-table conference for mid-January at Brussels between Congolese leaders and Belgian officials, and moving up national elections from summer to next March.

On Dec. 17 King Baudouin flew to the Congo. His visit surprised both Belgians and Africans. As sovereign, he stands above politics and has no role in such matters as Congo policy. But the Africans received him as a man who championed their cause. During his tour cries by Belgian colonists of "Long Live the King!" were drowned by African shouts of "Independence!"

Last Wednesday the King met with Congolese leaders for eighty minutes. They confronted him with demands for "immediate" independence. Later the Africans said the King "nodded gravely when we made our points" and that the King

"seemed very well aware of all aspects of the Congolese problem." At the week-end the King was scheduled to fly home.

The feeling was that the Belgians would hand over sovereignty to the Congolese as soon as possible without endangering the economy or unleashing inter-ethnic strife among rival tribes and clans.

The Kerala Inquiry

We quote the following from the *Statesman*:

New Delhi, Jan. 23.—The three-man committee of inquiry on Kerala, appointed by the Indian Commission of Jurists in September last year, has recommended, in its report published today, that there should be a provision in the Constitution for impeachment of Ministers and civil officers as in the U.K. and the U.S.A.

It has also recommended the appointment of a director of public prosecution, with the status of a high court judge, with powers of supervision over all criminal investigations and prosecution, to ensure the administration of impartial criminal justice.

These two recommendations follow the committee's findings that during the Communist regime in Kerala there was "gross and systematic violation of the rule of law". The Communist rule was primarily for the benefit of party members, with the main object of "securing Communist hegemony over the whole of Kerala."

Non-Communist citizens, the report adds, were denied fundamental rights to form associations or unions, to hold property and to carry on trade or business. Moreover, the Communist cell courts subjected citizens to the jurisdiction of extra-judicial courts, which did not have the sanction of any law in force. These cell courts enforced their decisions by illegal methods.

Similarly, the police policy, as enunciated by the Communist Chief Minister in July, 1957, had laid down a code of conduct in violation of the provisions of the relevant legislative enactments in force. It amounted to abrogation of the relevant provisions, in conflict with or dispensation of such laws, which the Communist Government had no legal authority or jurisdiction to ordain.

The report further states that neither the police nor the Ministers are above the law. Ministers who promulgate orders in contravention of the law, or instigate authorities contrary to the law, are themselves privy to a breach of the law and are liable to be proceeded against.

In view of these findings, the committee has suggested to Parliament that it considers whether the administration of justice, of public order and enforcement of criminal law should not be transferred to the concurrent list.

The committee is also of the view that if, at the end of the term of President's Rule, no Ministry can be found to form a stable Government for any reason whatever, the Ministry so formed should again be imposed and continue for the full term of five years after making the necessary constitutional amendments.

In its bulky report, running into 241 typed pages, the committee has stated that in spite of a direct request to the parties concerned, neither the Communist Party nor the Congress co-operated in its inquiry. The demand for public documents made by the committee from the Centre, as well as the present Kerala Government, also did not elicit any response.

The only concession given to the committee was that just like other members of the public, it could have access to the public documents, provided they were not privileged or confidential. This was not of much help.

The committee, therefore, depended primarily on the evidence of a large number of witnesses at its public sittings, and on such materials which it could secure, including the various publications issued by the Communist Government, as well as the Communist Party. But even these consisted of many statements unsupported by evidence.

Pandit Nehru's Press Talk

The *Statesman* gave the following report which we quote, for record, below :

• New Delhi, Jan. 8.—While he said he would not adopt a "rigid attitude" and lay

down any conditions, Mr. Nehru today did not visualize any meeting between himself and the Chinese Premier in the near future.

Mr. Nehru's monthly talk with the Press lasted much longer than usual but it contained little information of any importance in regard either to the dispute with China or issues at home.

Uninterrupted by many questions, Mr. Nehru spoke for nearly 40 minutes about Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's much publicized proposal for the appointment of a permanent tribunal to inquire into charges of corruption against people in high places and reiterated what he had said in Parliament nearly three weeks ago.

Mr. Nehru said the suggestion was "totally unworkable" and he did not think that any other country had ever constituted such a body during normal times. Pakistan, he admitted, had set up a commission of this type but "our thinking" on various subjects as well as conditions in India were different from those prevailing in Pakistan.

During his lengthy discourse on the subject, he deprecated the common habit of levelling charges against men in responsible positions on the basis of "mere bazar gossip". He asserted that it had become difficult for "sensitive people" to function in public life and that in the atmosphere of recrimination and suspicion created by such allegations senior officials tended to shun responsibility.

While he admitted prevalence of certain degree of "caste nepotism" which, he said, was difficult to check. Mr. Nehru claimed that standards maintained by the services in India were among the highest in the world and that by and large they worked on "decent and honest" lines.

Heavy Electrical Plant

Lord Chandos in his press conference on January 18, envisaged larger flow of British Private Capital into India. The AEI of which he is the Chairman is the Government of India's consultant in the setting up of the Bhopal Heavy Electric-

cal Plant which will require a total capital outlay of £85 million. The fixed assets alone are likely to cost £47 million with a foreign exchange component of £18 million. He assured that his firm would do everything possible in assisting the Government of India to secure the necessary amount of credit.

Under the original programme the Bhopal Electrical Plant was expected to produce Rs. 12.5 crore worth of electrical equipment on a single shift, the revised plan envisages doubling the capacity of the plant to produce Rs. 50 crores worth of goods within ten years. According to Shri Manubhai Shah, the Union Minister for Industries, even this increased production would be insufficient to meet the country's requirements.

Dwelling upon the importance of a Heavy Electrical Plant for the country, the *Hitavada* writes in an editorial article:

"The need for such vast expansion of the Bhopal plant will become obvious if we examine the plans for power development in this country. In March 1951 the total generating capacity of all electric plants in India stood at 2.3 million kw. By 1955-56, the end of the First Plan period, the total capacity of electrical undertakings had risen to 3.4 million kw., roughly 50 per cent more than in 1951. The target for power production by the end of the Second Plan has been fixed at 7.9 million kw. and, according to Mr. Manubhai Shah, the target for the Third Plan is to be set at 15 million kw. The expansion of the total generating capacity through the three Five-Year Plans is definitely striking, but considered in terms of the annual per capita generation of electricity and compared to figures for countries like Norway, Canada, the U.K., U.S.S.R. and Japan, India is still a long way behind most of the industrialised countries. Power production along with steel and machine-building industries constitute the base of any programme of industrialisation. India requires more power—thermal and hydro-electric. To generate more power and to transmit and distribute this energy we need heavy electrical equipment. Hitherto

this equipment has been largely imported, thereby adding to the strain on our foreign exchange resources. But when the Bhopal plant goes into operation by the middle of this year and its capacity is expanded four-fold over the next ten years, the need for imports will be gradually reduced. In the context of the power development programme and the need for conservation of foreign exchange, we feel that the decision to step up the output of the Bhopal plant to Rs. 50 crores is timely as well as necessary.

"It is significant that the first machine tool installed at the Heavy Electrical Factory is a radial drilling machine manufactured at the Hindustan Machine Tools at Bangalore. India has thus set out on the most important stage of industrialisation, namely of herself turning out the "mother" machines which will help to manufacture a wide range of products. What is equally important is that simultaneously steps are being taken to train the engineers and technicians needed for such basic industries as the Bhilai Steel Plant and the Heavy Electrical Project. It is gratifying to note that the construction work at Bhopal is going on apace and that at the same time a big training programme is being put through. The present strength of the Training School is 2,700 and within a few weeks it will be raised to its full complement of 3,000. Lord Chandos said in New Delhi that the Training School at Bhopal was perhaps the largest single training school in the world and that the training shops had been equipped with "first class machine tools" produced in India. The Bhopal Project is the first of its kind in the country and is making good progress, thanks to the guidance and assistance given by the Associated Electrical Industries headed by Lord Chandos and also to the hard work that is being put in by our own engineers and technicians. We are confident that if the present tempo of work is kept up, the four-fold expansion scheme will be implemented with the ten-year period envisaged."

Steel Plant in the South

The "Hindu" reports :

The Government of India have constituted a Technical Committee, consisting of representatives of the concerned Union Ministries and Madras State to go into the technical aspects of the feasibility of establishing a Steel Plant in the South.

Giving this information in a Press interview before his departure for Delhi this morning, Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister for Steel, said that if a suitable and effective method of smelting iron ore with the aid of lignite could be economically developed, the possibility of establishing a Steel Plant in the South could be said to be reasonably bright. The iron ore in Salem was no doubt rich but the main difficulty appeared to be non-availability of coking coal. A great deal would depend on the outcome of the experiments now being conducted in the Fuel Research Institute at Dhanbad and the Low Shaft Furnace in Jamshedpur on the suitability of lignite briquettes for smelting purposes.

The Technical Committee, set up by the Government of India, he added, would consider all these matters and advise the Government as to the best method of exploiting the mineral resources of the Southern Region.

Sardar Swaran Singh, who came here yesterday from Bangalore, visited Neyveli and saw the progress of the work of the Lignite Project. He said that, with the modern open cast mining equipment now in operation and work having been started on the Power House and Fertilizer Plant, the Project could be said to have been put on the rails. He said he was much impressed by the progress made during the last one year. The mechanical arrangements of the belt conveyors and spreaders, which had been installed in India for the first time, could be said to have overcome most of the teething trouble and were yielding good results. The civil work on the Power House had already commenced and the railway track for handling power house equipment had been practically completed. These preliminary works would

greatly facilitate the erection of the plant and equipment when they started arriving from the Soviet Union. Sardar Swaran Singh hoped that power from the first unit would be available in about 18 months' time. He also added that quotations had been received as a result of global tenders for the Briquetting and Carbonisation Plant. He thought that the Carbonisation Plant would start functioning in the latter half of 1963.

S. S.

T.B.—The National Killer

Tuberculosis has unmistakably substituted itself for Malaria as the national killer. According to the national tuberculosis survey conducted under the auspices of the Indian Council of Medical Research, about 50 lakh persons or 1.3 per cent of the population of India is now suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, the number of infections cases being at least 1.5 million or 0.4 per cent of the population. The latest survey has belied the fond belief that tuberculosis was an urban disease, and has underlined the seriousness of its spread in the rural areas as well. The national capital itself claims 30,000 patients of whom 6000 are believed to be infectious.

The incidence of T.B. is particularly heavy in the cities and towns of West Bengal when the hospitals are unable to cope with the demands for beds from new patients. The extent to which tuberculosis has been eating into the vitals of the people of Calcutta is provided by the number of weakly deaths from various diseases. According to a report in the **Amrita Bazar Patrika** tuberculosis was the killer of the largest number of lives in Calcutta during the week ended January 16, when as many as 42 persons died of it as compared with 45 the week before. The number of death due to tuberculosis during the corresponding weeks last year were 42 and 45.

It is clear from the available statistics that unless something is immediately done to check the spread of T.B., the national

health would be jeopardized beyond repair. Some of the problems of checking this fell disease were discussed by Dr. P. K. Sen in course of his presidential address at the Sixth Tuberculosis and Chest Diseases Worker's Conference held at Poona in the third week of January.

Dr. Sen said that in a disease like tuberculosis no measure was comparable in effectiveness to those which improved the standard of living of the people and of sanitation. Those being general measure for the uplift of the nation he left them for the proper quarters to consider. He wanted everybody to realise that they were, at the moment, in a dangerous phase in regard to tuberculosis. The impact of industrialisation and of mass movement of population due to partition of the country had disturbed the barriers of village shelters mingling this ocean of humanity into one homogeneous mass. Tremendous efforts to make up past deficiencies and desire for better standard of living without parallel achievements were causing hardship both on the body and mind of the people. All these environmental and psychological causes made for greater inroads of tuberculosis in the country deeply indenting and increasing their problems. As he did not see much chance of remission of all these stresses in the near future, he wanted that keeping these in mind their tuberculosis control programme would have to be so designed that it would ensure the greatest gain in the shortest time with minimum expense.

In the opinion of Dr. Sen India should lay greater stress on domiciliary treatment as part of her anti-TB programme in the Third Five-Year Plan period. He said that a fair amount of information was already available to justify a statement that up to the end of drug treatment and for a short period thereafter patients treated at home fared almost as well as the hospital treated cases. The most interesting findings in the assessment of the influence of different factors were that neither the environmental conditions like bad housing and overcrowding, nor the standard of living

in terms of diet, etc., nor the standard of supervision and not even the state of ambulation had any appreciable effect on the result provided the drugs were taken regularly. All that mattered was the anti-microbial therapy, and to some extent, the character of the lesion. It might be accepted that the main difference between hospital and domiciliary treatment was better control on the movement of the patients in the hospitals. As movement also did not have any appreciable effect when drugs were taken then there should be no great difference in the result of treatment between home and hospital cases under chemotherapy. If these findings reflected truth, it must then be conceded that the drugs alone could control the growth of bacillary and heal the disease to such an extent that no other factor could have any appreciable influence on the immediate result of the treatment. A phenomenon of this magnitude, he felt, changed many of their previous concepts and must have the potentiality of revolutionizing the anti-tuberculosis campaign in a country with our type of epidemiology and resources. There was, he felt, sufficient justification for optimism with regard to domiciliary treatment. Extensive use of this service might fulfil their dream of early control of tuberculosis.

Dr. Sen pleaded for a reorientation of clinic system and case finding programme as it was in vogue today. He said that from his experience about clinics it seemed to him that two most important functions of early case finding and supervision of domiciliary treatment, specially that of self-administration of drugs, were not adequately practised and controlled. The intention of having clinics up to the district level at the end of the Second Plan period was not fulfilled. In the Third Plan period they had rightly stressed on clinic-based domiciliary treatment more than any other measure and it was natural to expect that their greatest effort should be channelled in this line.

NATIONAL PLANNING AND CULTURE CHANGE

By Prof. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.Sc. (Cantab), F.N.I.,

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It is a truism to say that our country is almost a continent. We have a big population and immense untapped resources. But the economic development of our country was sharply interfered with during the past two centuries of foreign rule. In consequence, the national government when it came into power in 1947 was faced with extremely complex problems. There was general agreement that the State should be democratic and that it should aim at the welfare of the people. Since welfare must have a material basis, a plan aiming at such welfare was drawn up for five years' work. This period is over and a second and more elaborate as well as better considered plan has been drawn up and is in operation for the next period of five years, with a third plan in the offing. Details of this second economic plan need not be stated here as these have been widely publicised, and discussed.

Changes in the material basis of life produce inevitably changes in the culture as a whole. The direction of such change is not, however, uniquely determined by this factor alone. It depends on the earlier history of the culture, the geographical environment, and the existing social and religious milieu. While it is generally agreed by the planners that changes in economic structure envisaged are necessary, and while certain amenities of life such as health and educational services have also been provided for, the type of culture aimed at, the pattern of life to be lived has not been so clearly envisaged. Some general statements have been made but as the plan is about economic development, details about culture have been mainly left out. In the First Five-Year Plan, certain statements on this point were made. These are not, however, adequate. We have

clearly to face the fact that there are in India a number of important sub-cultures, some of which might almost be termed distinct cultures with special characteristics. Our job is to integrate these, while preserving individualities that will enrich the composite structure.

We may note, as an illustration of the difference in culture in various areas, a few examples from our scheduled tribes. Some Juangs and Bondos of Orissa, and Chenchus of Andhra, are shifting cultivators. The Khasis of Assam and Nagas and Kukis were practising the same type of agriculture until recently. Many of them are still in this category of food-growers. Mundas, Oraons and Santals have on the other hand been settled agriculturists for many generations. Many Birhors on the other hand and the Andaman Islanders do not follow agriculture. Our own peasantry use a very simple plough of an ancient type and are not accustomed to intensive cultivation of the kind long familiar to the Chinese and Japanese peasantry. The rules of descent and inheritance of these different groups, their customs of marriage and the regulation of sex life also vary a good deal.

Ignoring the differences in social patterns, we may say that we are stepping from a fairly backward economy not only into the technological environment of the steam, electricity and internal combustion engine age but of the atomic power age. Will this leap across centuries land our culture in a new position of dynamic equilibrium or will it lead to the disintegration of our older culture as if in an atomic blast? Will it inevitably lead to a complete change of our way of life and philosophic outlook? These are questions

that have to be considered, and squarely faced.

The blind imitation of dress habits and certain social habits occurred among our western educated folk in the last century. Such a phenomenon has parallels elsewhere. It results from a desire to attain the status of the dominant group and the belief that a close approximation in behaviour and appearance to members of that group will lead to success in attaining this end. Although the rule of these foreigners has been ended, certain of these imitative traits have remained, that do not fit in with the old way of life. Dress habits, food habits and recreational habits have changed to more or less extent in almost all strata of society in urban and many rural areas. We have to consider whether such changes are essentially needed. If not, should we discourage them? No less important is the question of religious outlook. At a recent conference to which I shall refer in detail a little later, one of the speakers pointed out that religious beliefs are closely interwoven with other culture traits and according to him, the one cannot be taken out without destroying the other. How far is this true? And what should we do, in a secular state, where there are strong movements to leave out religion, and emphasise culture, apart from it? Should we let things move on and take up the role of mere observers? In other words follow a policy of drift? But this last alternative is incompatible in a planned economy. Freedom under planning is limited to a defined extent in the producer's as well as consumer's sphere, and, therefore, indirectly in the cultural sphere.

Should we aim at changing the way of life of those who have been mildly affected by the impact of modern technology and bring them into line with those who have changed a good deal? Or should it be the other way round? It is first of all necessary to know the facts about the change, and the trends of change.

During the earlier part of 1956 some of us attempted, in a series of conferences

held in co-operation with the Unesco, a study of changes in traditional culture in our part of the country. I shall draw freely from that co-operative store of information.

Our older villages were roughly of two types, those inhabited by a homogeneous social group and those in which lived heterogeneous social units. The former type was to be found mainly in tribal villages; the latter in our ordinary rural areas. In these last type of villages, there were different caste groups, each of which functioned as a separate social unit, often linked to such caste units in nearby villages. Within the caste group there was close social unity and economic co-operation. But even outside the caste there was a loose economic co-operation. Different caste groups tended to meet different needs of the village as a whole, rendering it largely, although not entirely, self-sufficient. The tribal villages, being generally of a single community, displayed a unity of the village in social, economic and religious activities. In one such area, among Santals, for example, it may be noted that in marriage all the households of the village welcomed the groom and bride although the essential rites were arranged in the house of the parents of each. If there was a birth of a child, the household came under pollution and needed purification. The village also came under certain taboos. All these rules and practices showed that the household while it retained its individuality, was an integral part of the village community. This unity has been seriously weakened now. Village unity of this type was lacking in our rural (non-tribal) villages even in the pre-British days. But the economic co-operation between different social groups that formerly existed in these other villages has largely disappeared.

This has happened because the economic basis of such co-operation is no longer in existence. Clothes are no longer woven by the village weaver or the group of such craftsmen catering to the needs of a number of villages. Cheap mill-made clothes have

taken the place of the goods produced from homespun yarn, woven locally. Iron implements like the hoe and pick are supplied by big manufacturers in place of the village blacksmith who now mainly does repair work. The village lands do not suffice to maintain the families living there or to maintain them in changed standards of life. Even in an Orissa village of Sasan type, endowed by the former kings, as many as one-third of the families of Brahmans have their earners working in various administrative jobs elsewhere. As the land grant to Brahmans was quite large here, and the Sasan Brahmans are entitled to sit in the theocratic legislative body that formerly ruled Orissa in socio-religious matters, it will be apparent that villages elsewhere not so liberally endowed nor with such traditions linking them with conservative forces, will have changed to a greater extent. The process of erosion has in fact been far more extensive in Bengal than in Orissa for these reasons.

It may be noted that in Bengal villages not far from urban and semi-urban areas, the facilities for marketing the produce of kitchen garden and orchards has led to more intensive and extensive utilisation of land. In consequence, there has been geographical integration of nearby villages, one running into the other. But there has not been a corresponding development of social or community integration. There are, however, trends visible of the emergence of a higher type of integration than that which formed the basis of the old semi-self-sufficient village. Villagers have been found, before and after independence, to work together to set up embankments against floods, excavate and open up silted waterways, and also to combine to oppose unjust revenue realisation of landlords. United work of this type by villagers in the field of embankments against, for example, the Kosi flood, or of canals to irrigate land, are now being encouraged and organised by the States under the national government. Such united work may not extend over a long period or spread into other spheres of life. But as such initiative has appeared

even without State support and sometimes in the face of discouragement by authority, it should be clear that it indicates a consciousness of a fairly strong wider community feeling than before. Among other factors, greater geographical contact seems to have been helpful in this respect.

In the social sphere also the changes have been far-reaching. In the villages, tribal as well as non-tribal, participation in the loose yet inter-linked community life that was the pattern earlier was conditional on conformity to the social code or norm of behaviour prevalent. It is not proposed at this stage to judge the merits or demerits of that social code. But it defined fairly clearly how a man should behave in society as a member of it, both in his family and in his caste or community group. If he did not conform, he was subjected to non-co-operation in social and economic matters. It is true that the leaders of the advanced communities have always enjoyed a limited possibility of escape from such social control. But in essential matters, its long arm reached out far enough to ensure obedience. For tribal folk and the common rural people whose social life was bound up with the economic life of the village, any avenue of escape was practically non-existent in earlier times. A different way of escape came into existence with the coming of Islam and the political dominance of Muslim rulers. It became possible thereafter to leave the community altogether by conversion, without social and economic difficulties.

The powerful effects of early upbringing, and many generations of social conditioning, however, acted as a powerful brake to such drastic cutting away from moorings, in many cases. This explains why conversion was far less in West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh as compared to Eastern Bengal and the Punjab and Sind, now known as Pakistan. While such loss of a member or large number of members of the community would be considered undesirable, this did not directly weaken the taboos and alter the code of

conduct of the orthodox. These were actually made somewhat more stringent and with detailed provision to prevent extension of various lapses, as in the case of *mela bandhana* system of the Brahmins of Bengal in the fourteenth century. At the same time, the breaking away of individuals or groups of people, when considerable, led eventually to reconsideration of old values of life. For some who left the community there were many others who also objected to the orthodox code, and who in the changed political conditions, voiced their protest. This discontent made itself felt and strengthened that section of the community which had observed the maladjustments earlier but failed to persuade the majority to their way of thought. The large-scale movements towards socio-religious change that occurred among Hindus as a result of the impact of Islam, in this subcontinent, came about in this way. Hindu religion and Hindu culture, at that time at least, being interwoven fairly closely, the change had also to come through socio-religious movements, both in Bengal and the Punjab, and to a less extent in other areas. These details are noted here to indicate the lines along which forces operate in case of culture contact to bring about culture change.

In this earlier contact, the technological basis of production was not appreciably different between those who came to dominate politically and those who were residents of the country. Hence the emphasis of change lay on the social and religious spheres as noted. The villages were little affected in their economic structure and function.

The impact of modern culture has differed profoundly, because of the coming in of far more complex and more productive machines and organizations. As noted earlier, the new political rulers hampered our normal economic development. But they brought in modern means of communication, in the interest of their trade and commerce. They also broke the political power of the semi-feudal princely rulers, to secure their own dominance. Areas which had been practically autonomous

earlier, like the Jungle Mahals, were brought under closer control. The political changes were in the beginning more important and brought protests in the shape of risings of Naiks, Paiks, Hos, Santals, and finally of the princely rulers and a section of the Indian soldiers. These were crushed by superior military organization. The economic changes and the effect on our society as a whole became more felt thereafter. The reforming socio-religious movement which had started earlier among the middle class in contact with the new conditions also broadened its basis in the community.

As already noted, the new political rulers were interested in selling their goods produced by their more advanced technology. Political power was used to push such sale under favoured circumstances such as exemption from excise duty which the Indian merchants had to pay. Also later, roads and railways were built when political control was much greater and direct. Since it is only people who have a surplus over prime necessities of life who can purchase goods, the areas first tackled were the old settled areas of advanced people. Forest and hill areas which had been neglected by our own rulers, were also explored in search of raw materials for various industries. Contact with tribal people was established thereby. I shall study in detail a few of the changes that occurred in consequence.

In the areas of advanced communities, the people of the upper-middle class had for generations used fine dhotis and saris with artistic designs, made in handlooms in our country. These are costly and beyond the means of the common folk. Among them, the women spun yarn on the charkha and takli at home and took it to the weaver of the village or the group of villages, with some paddy for sizing and also for the labour charges. These clothes were thick and durable but of plain border and design, or if varied, of a limited number of patterns. The development of industries, and the growth of large towns, made sale of surplus labour for cash possible. Also the

cloth mills began to supply cloth of thinner and finer texture with more varied border designs at a cheaper price. The desire to imitate the upper classes of their own community, in addition to cheapness of such cloth and of availability of cash (even though very limited in quantity) led them to purchase these finer clothes. This resulted in decay of the homespun village woven textile industry. The cotton weavers in Bengal fell back of necessity largely on land, as jute mills were taboo to this pure caste. As a consequence of such change weavers of artistic designs had their reserve of land wiped out. To make living by weaving and sale of fine clothes needs capital as such sale is seasonal. Security in following their craft was lost by them in this way and eventually most of them became wage labourers of money lenders or small capitalists who advanced money for weaving clothes and in the end bought up the looms when repayment could not be made of loans, after using up the earnings to provide food for the family. In the tribal areas also, the Hindus who lived close to these settlements, took advantage of the new and improved means of communication. Hindu influence which had been slowly percolating into these areas through centuries, now spread more rapidly, except when deliberately excluded in the interest of Christian missionaries. In the tribal villages also, the changes in the kind of dhoti and sari worn have followed somewhat similar lines. Here, the imitation has been of the middle class among Hindus, along with love of variety and the possibility of earning cash by work. In the case of both kinds of weavers, there has been, in consequence, loss of artistic design and quality of craftsmanship. This particular craft has been selected for illustration as it used to supply and still supplies livelihood to the largest number of our rural artisans. Also, the States of our Republic are attempting to rehabilitate this craft. In some of the States, recognition has been made of the fact that different areas in each State have certain traditional beautiful designs. The embroidery type designs of Dacca, the ovoid pattern of Baluchar, the

deep and ornate, yellow and red borders of Orissa, the beautiful purple and violet colour harmony of Sambalpur Sari borders, the Hyderabad designs, the Surat print and the rich Benarasi gold thread work are a few of such examples.

Owing to increased intercommunication between States, the variety of designs in saris in different States have become available in large centres of commerce, like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. With the introduction of planned economy under our national government, the handloom weavers of different areas are being encouraged to copy and assimilate the beautiful designs of other areas. This has happened especially in Madras State and similar work though on a much more limited scale has also been taken up in West Bengal. The result has been of late an enrichment of the artistic designs of sari borders woven in these States. But in order to ensure stability in this change and trend, it is necessary to afford economic security to the weavers. Although it is recognised that the best way of doing so is through the organization of co-operatives, there is still more Mahajans of weavers in these bodies, as being owners of looms, than actual craftsmen as I found in an actual survey. In the local levels of planning in each State, greater attention has to be paid to this aspect of the matter. It has to be ensured that co-operatives do not lead to a masked exploitation of the actual craftsmen. As the details of changes needed have been discussed elsewhere, they are not noted here.

I shall now take up the changes that have occurred in social structure and moral outlook under the impact of modern technology. The family is recognised as the primary and fundamental unit of society. In the villages, the extended or joint family was more common in the earlier period. Owing to the economic difficulties that arose under the new conditions and the need of adult menfolk having to go away to work elsewhere, the joint family ties were weakened and in many instances broken. A survey carried out by me in 1944-45 in 500 Bengal villages with the technical

help of the Indian Statistical Institute revealed that less than half the family units were then of the joint type. With increased development of industries, mines and tea gardens, there was a greater flow of labour from rural to these urban or industrial areas. In general, it was not possible to maintain a family in an industrial area by any single earner. The ties with the village through some ownership of land or at least a dwelling house was also not broken. A survey of the jute mill labourers of Jagatdal carried out by me in 1948-49 with the financial and technical help of the Indian Statistical Institute, showed that even in that year, as many as half the workers were sons of peasants and two-fifths of the total number had some land. Only one-fourth had fathers who had themselves been industrial workers. The pressure on land was the main cause of migration to the industrial area, but the exact direction had in most cases been settled by the fact that "birdars" or labour recruiting agents were from some neighbouring area and there were either relatives of the intending workers or of his friends already in employment in a particular mill or mill area. This has been confirmed by some detailed enquiries carried out very recently by one of my students working under me. Although these labourers visit their homes, it appears that they are able to do so only for eight weeks in three years. Only 44.4 per cent of the workers were, however (data of 1948-49 survey), able to live with their complete simple family, i.e., with wife and children in the place of their employment. On a detailed analysis of the figures for different communities, it was found that family life was possible only in case of those workers who were earning what may be described as near about the level of minimum living wages needed for adequate food, clothing, and privacy in living quarters. The same end was attained in those communities where women work freely along with men and if able to secure employment, raise the level of family income. In the case of men living without their families, the surplus left for sending home is not adequate for securing for the non-

resident dependents what we consider to be the minimum amenities of life. It will be apparent that in these conditions the normal functions of the family do not remain in operation. Common residence is lacking; the common economic resources are not adequate for the common requirements. Sex life is not normally regulated. Bringing up of children by both parents together is not possible. The social duties of kinship cannot also be discharged. The result, inevitably, is a weakening of family as well as kinship ties. Owing to breaches brought about due to these conditions of the sexual rules operative in our society, the moral values also change among these men. At the same time, the possibility of earning a living and making a home away from the village community has made these men independent of the control of their village authority. The result has been a weakening of the forces that had earlier supported the existing moral and behavioural code. This control, which rested on traditional beliefs and practices have been further weakened by propaganda of missionaries in the interest of evangelisation, and sometimes of those among our own so-called progressive groups who have set out only to destroy what they consider to be old-fashioned ideas and practices.

In general, neither the missionary nor the pure iconoclast have been able to replace the traditional regulating code by a better integrated basis for social conduct. This has happened especially in the tribal and semi-tribal areas where the differences between the earlier and supplanting concepts and codes were much greater than in ordinary rural areas. Instability of the family and of the village community means in the last instance instability of the State and its economic structure. A detailed analysis is not necessary to prove this. It is, therefore, essential in national planning to aim at removing these maladjustments. Changes in land tenure are occurring. Large-scale irrigation schemes will, when completed, yield greater amounts of food and cash crops per acre. Community development projects and national extension blocks aim at better economic condition in

the villages along with increase in the education and medical services and fostering co-operative work among the members. In theory, the results of such activities should be an uplift of rural and tribal areas. For industrial labour the main trend has been to provide for canteens, medical help and a moderate amount of quarters of the better type, as also tribunals to settle disputes.

In practice, it is found that young educated tribals tend to seek out small jobs in Government departments, after attaining literacy; and try to get better jobs, also from the same source, if they have received higher education. The tribal areas have failed to keep them occupied in uplift work of their own community. The better educated and more energetic men among rural communities still tend to gravitate to urban areas. In the industrial areas, the bulk of labourers still continue to live apart from their families. It is, therefore, essential to provide a worthwhile incentive to the educated young men to work in their community areas. It is also very necessary to make it possible for industrial workers to live with their families in their places of employment.

Reference has already been made to some of the changes that have taken place in our older culture under the impact of modern conditions. It has been noted that in the villages, the emphasis on the community has been weakened greatly, and that on the individuals has increased. In the closer unit, family structure also, the same process is in operation. An examination of the changes in the making of even such objects as folk toys and images of deities (in the symposium mentioned earlier) revealed that here also community co-operation or even family co-operation is giving way to individual contribution. At the same time, a wider community co-operation was apparent, in a different field, in the "barwari" worship, the "sarbojonin" pujas of Calcutta. This trend in Calcutta came from a conscious attempt to build such community co-operation, emerging from the newly-developed national feeling

and the felt need of strengthening it through working together. This is in line with the fact pointed out earlier that when an obvious need for co-operation is present, as in a famine, epidemic, or a slightly deferred need, in raising embankments and excavating waterways, the people of rural areas have come forward. But it has needed, in all such cases, the stirring up of that consciousness and guiding the impulse to do something along a planned line of work. I observed ample evidence of it through actual visits during the rehabilitation phase after relief work following the famine of 1943 in Bengal.

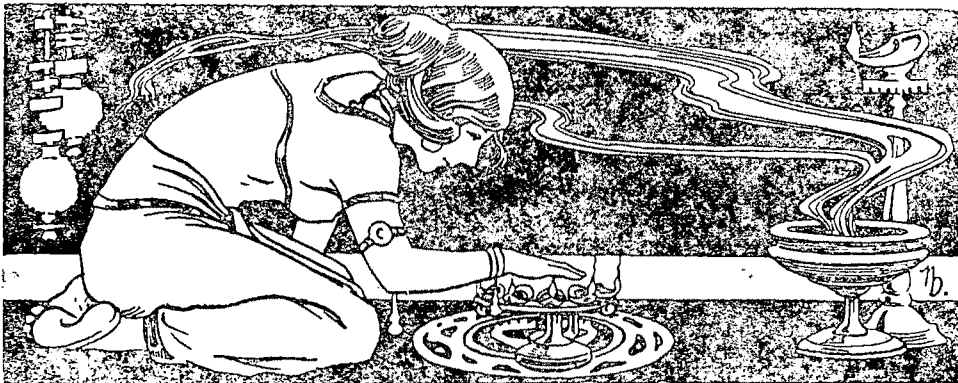
It is, therefore, necessary to make our youth conscious of the need and desirability of work for community welfare. In the backward rural and tribal areas, the desire to imitate the more advanced social group is found to be quite strong. This is not a peculiarity of our country but has been noted again and again in other parts of the world. The object of such imitation, as noted before, is to become like the other group. Such imitation has extended not merely to dress and food habits and other trappings of material culture in our backward areas such as tribal areas, but to other spheres of culture such as the structure of tune and the content of songs, as well as to some religious beliefs, and practices. Education has been a potent force in culture contact as it is the means of bringing minds together and it is partly responsible for such imitation of the people of advanced cultures. But education has also led to other changes, including an awakening of the need of better community integration. The old feeling of limited community life, among Santals for example, had, in the last century, found expression in widespread revolt to end common oppression. Here, the bringing together, earlier of large numbers of tribals in railway construction and similar works had led to a broader concept of the community. Education among them although limited even now, has through mental contact, now developed in those areas where literacy is high, a better perception of the needs of

the community. This has been observed in the course of my study of Santal culture. Such visualisation of needs has been largely coloured by the ideals set up, which are those of the middle and upper class groups of advanced people who play the effective role in the life of modern India. It is, therefore, necessary to change the emphasis, among this leadership, and leading social groups, from the individual to the community. The individual will naturally develop as an individual and have his place in society but this should be as a worker for the welfare of the community. The shift will, therefore, have to be from individual profit disregarding community interest, to emulation for better service to the community. The economic framework of a national plan has to supply the basis for such changes. The greater emphasis on the public sector in industrial planning is undoubtedly helpful in this respect. But the operative details have to be worked out with care to ensure the attainment of the change in emphasis in cultural environment. If such an alteration in the emphasis can be secured, it should be possible to reach the other objective, of making stable family life possible. In the economic field, a shift of emphasis from profit motive to welfare of the community will enable larger shares

of the total national wealth produced, to be employed to improve the economic condition of workers and to enable them to live with their families. In the case of tribals, the same type of changes will occur if there is spread of education and of improvement of economic condition, provided there is the shift of emphasis noted above, in the people admired and sought to be approximated to by them in their cultural life. A scientific random sampling study of Santal culture, carried out by me with the technical help in the matter of sampling by the Indian Statistical Institute, fully supports such conclusions.

I have earlier mentioned the question raised, of the link between religion and culture and asked, what should be our attitude in this respect. I have to note here that the shift in emphasis from individual profit to community welfare will bring the outlook on life close to the essential philosophic beliefs that have been the force behind the best expressions of our culture in the past, in the recent past, and also in the present.*

*Based on a talk given at the Indian Statistical Institute.



SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

By JOGES C. BOSE

I

The history of India tells us the melancholy tale that she bowed down to all attacks from outside. It was so for the paramount reason that she was split up into numerous states, each aloof and often hostile to the other.

England brought India under one rule on a more comprehensive scale than Asoka or Akbar. The same law, currency, postage, system of education, increasing facilities of travel and, above all, the dynamics of Western nationalism fostered a sense of fellowship among peoples of different parts. The ruling power, however, made no bone of its pleasure to stand in the way of Indians developing a national unity. The Indian National Congress, in fact, achieved it in the background of a cultural oneness and the misfortune of foreign rule. One of the towering patriots, who built up this great institution, is Surendranath Banerjea. An estimate of his contributions in respect of this has been made by C. Rajagopalachari in the first lap of our freedom in November, 1948. He said at the University Senate Hall, Calcutta, that in the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea.

Surendranath was born on 10th November, 1848, at Barrackpur, 24 Parganas. As he finished the English alphabets, he was sent to a school, where all the teachers were Englishmen and the medium of teaching was English. His difficulty can better be imagined from the fact that English was not the spoken language in the family; and his father Durgacharan, an eminent physician of Calcutta, provided no tutor for him at home. He left the boy to fend for himself, giving him what assistance he was sought to render specifically. The son treasures up the memory of

this to say that this exercise in self-help was of great value to him in after life.*

Intensely devoted to class-work, Surendranath was not the goody goody bookish type. He and his brother Jitendranath founded a gymnasium in their residence and took to physical exercise as earnestly. The Calcutta Wellington Square—now the Raja Subodh Mullick Park—was in those days a favourite resort of the Anglo-Indians. They resented Indians using it and handled them roughly. The two brothers, bent on a showdown, would go into the Park and walk about in an obtrusive manner. In the inevitable tussles, they proved what metal they were made of; and gradually, as they were reinforced by other friends, the Anglo-Indians gave in.

After graduation, Surendranath went to England and passed the Indian Civil Service Examination. Because of a certain discrepancy between his age and the eligible age for service, the Civil Service Commissioners removed his name from the list of successful candidates. As the Governing Body did not accept his explanation, he fought out the issue in a Court of Law, Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar swearing for him an affidavit in the Calcutta Police Court.

Surendranath was posted as Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet, Assam. Bepin Chandra Pal, who was then reading in a local school, says in his autobiography that Surendranath eschewed English dress outside office and made it a point to cultivate the acquaintance of non-official gentry. It grated on the nerves of local Englishmen. Even if this could pass, what looked like an affront would not. His wife used to ride a pony for her constitutional. It therefore clearly indicated that she did not belong to the orthodox school of living. She, how-

*A Nation In Making.

ever, refused to hobnob with the English club, the focal point of Western convivialism in a muffed town. It so happened that one day an English tea planter's wife insulted her in the race-course. The long and short of it was that the English lady had to apologize openly. It was like a sore that festered.

The District Magistrate fished out an irregularity—a signature with back date in the order-sheet of a case Surendranath was trying. Obviously, the Bench clerk was to blame. But it was pretty certain that some dark forces were at work to create trouble for him. A commission was appointed and on its finding he was dismissed.

Nothing more conclusive to suggest that this dismissal was wickedly planned is the fact that well within ten years Surendranath was made an Honorary Magistrate for the town of Calcutta. **The Statesman**, then held in high esteem for its balanced views in matters of conflict between the Government and the people even if it was the mouthpiece of English people in India, wrote editorially on the 2nd October, 1882, that this appointment was regarded as a rather late admission that he was very harshly dealt with when he was dismissed from the Civil Service. Sir Edward Baker told Gopal K. Koghale, "We have done Surendranath a grievous wrong, but he bears us no malice." Allen Hume of the Indian Civil Service, famous as one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, was forthright in his appraisal. He noted in this dismissal 'a jealous, determined attempt to oust at least one Indian from the covenanted service.' Was it as well to frighten the new aspirants?¹

Surendranath knocked at each conceivable door in India and England; but to no purpose. The Benchers of the Middle Temple refused to call a dismissed Govern-

ment servant to Bar. He felt convinced that he had suffered because as a people Indians sadly lacked the elements, which make for a collective life and, therefore, there was no protest worth the name. Were others, he addressed himself to the question, to suffer in the same manner? As the dream he had nursed from boyhood broke down, a new vision dawned on him. He resolved to rouse his countrymen to a sense of integrated national life. Verily it was the moment eternal in the destiny of India.

Fortunately, there lived at this time Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar to watch and guide every breath of Bengal's new life. He offered to accommodate Surendranath as a Professor of English in his Metropolitan College. This story goes that Vidyasagar charged Surendranath not to confine to books but to heighten the promise and purpose of Education, so as to inspire the students to yearn for a virile order of existence.

A. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law,² the founder-President of the Student's Association, offered him their forum. Surendranath availed himself of this and delivered a series of lectures on Joseph Mazzini, the Rise of Sikhism, English Education, the Unity of the Indian People and Chaitanya,³ etc.

Divorced from the context of a new birth, these lectures have lost their old flavour in print.⁴ As to the desired effect, which endured, they made the then new Bengal. Sarojini Naidu says, 'They thrilled me when I was young; they thrill me as

2. The first Indian Wrangler.

3. Chaitanya was utilised to help break the barriers of caste, creed and religion.

4. H. W. Nevinson of the **Manchester Guardian** observes with regard to his oratory, 'Sentence answered to sentence, period to period, thunder to thunder. There was no hesitation, no wandering for ideas or words. But the great language rolled without a break and without a drop, each syllable in its exact place and order, each sentence following some cadence of its own.'—**New Spirit In India**.

1. Surendranath, Romes C. Dutt and Behari L. Gupta passed the I.C.S. examination in the same year. Previous to this, Surendranath Tagore had passed the examination.

I recall them even as I am old'.⁵ For the devout, therefore, they have the same historical interest as the phillipics of Demosthenes. People of the day found in him a national hero. The wrong done to him by the alien bureaucracy lent its quota of an additional halo round him. It is small wonder that he was acclaimed as the Prometheus snatching away fire from the lightning of Zeus and giving it to his countrymen for a new initiation.

Surenranath was getting so popular that students of other colleges flocked to his class to hear him read Burke. Round about the time, a Native State offered to make him their Dewan. He declined and stuck fast to the ideal he had set for himself. This choice to live for the Nation, some ten years before the Indian National Congress was born, has been most feelingly referred to by Romes C. Dutt in dedicating his novel *Madhavi Kankan* to Surenranath.

II

By now, it was getting obvious that the Zamindars, as the traditional leaders of the people, would not be able to keep pace with the growing national consciousness. The urgent need of the day was, therefore, to transfer the political influence from the landholders, basking in official sunshine, to the middle class intelligentsia. With this end in view Surenranath and A. M. Bose took the initiative to found the Indian Association. They were fully backed amongst others by men like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore,⁶ Reverend K. M. Banerjea, Durgamohan Das⁷ and others. On the day of inaugural, Surenranath lost his son. All the same, he was at his post

to pilot the foundation ceremony. So many decisions to fight the Government have been taken on the floor of the Indian Association that it constitutes a landmark in the Indian struggle for Freedom.

The first work of great consequence, the Indian Association took up, was the Civil Service Regulations. It was a deep-seated conviction of the old-day leaders that the gradual substitution of Englishmen by Indians in the cadre of Civil Service was a necessary step in the pursuit of self-Government. The reactionary Governor General Lord Lytton proposed to reduce the maximum age-limit of the Civil Service examinees from twenty-one to nineteen. It was bound to be a severe handicap to the Indian students and, in fact, it was designed to obstruct them.

There were protests all over Bengal. Civil Service Regulation, however, was a matter that touched the whole country and Surenranath sought to determine if it were possible to unite India on this common issue. He toured over almost all important cities of Northern India, Bombay and Madras. As he explained the retrograde measure, he explained the opportunity and obligations of the people to the country. It was now that he issued the categorical challenge that much as India coveted peace, she would never bargain for 'the peace of the grave.' 'These tours contain in them,' says Sir Henry Cotton I.C.S. in his *New India*, 'the seed of the Indian National Congress.' No less an event of pith and moment is what Sreenivas Sastry and Lala Lajpat Rai have openly acknowledged that they felt inspired in their plastic youth to work for the Nation because of the irresistible appeal Surenranath made during these tours.

The elders of the Nation thought of presenting a memorial to the House of Commons. Surenranath was their choice to a man. He, however, relinquished the pleasure of unique publicity the occasion would give him and suggested that some one else should go, because his dismissal would stink in the nostrils of Englishmen at home and defeat the purpose of the memorial. To Lal Mohan Ghose was the job

5. As Tej Bahadur Sapru was unveiling Surenranath's statue at the Esplanade, Calcutta, on 6th August, 1942.

6. Father of Rabindranath Tagore. He was the President of the British Indian Association, the Zamindar's organisation. He failed to admit Surenranath and A. M. Bose into the B.I.A.

7. Father of C. R. Das.

next assigned. John Bright helping India, the House of Commons passed the Law of simultaneous examination. What Lalmohan said in a public meeting in England bears recalling. "The Country", he said, "is ruled by an oligarchy, demoralised by irresponsible power, a selfish and unscrupulous community who are for ever snatching away the cup from the very lips of the people of India." The Law of simultaneous examination was subsequently abandoned; and the Rules were oft and on changed to the prejudice of Indian students. And in the words of Surendranath, 'The History of Civil Service Regulations is a history of broken pledges' was India's reaction summed up.

Public opinion in India triumphed for the moment and it nettled Lord Lytton. In consultation with the Secretary of State Lord Salisbury, who had the vulgarity to call Dadabhai Nourajee 'the blackman,' he enacted the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act. The Arms Act denied the right of Indians to possess Arms in the humiliating context of Europeans enjoying it. Boiled to the concrete, it came to this that an Indian notable, treated with all courtesy by the Government, could not own a gun or revolver without license, but his coachman a Dick or Harry could. The Vernacular Press Act took away what right Sir Charles Metcalfe gave the vernacular press to be at level with English newspapers.

On the day fixed for the Town Hall meeting to protest against the measure, news reached Calcutta that war with Russia was well-nigh certain and it would break out at any moment. A. M. Bose was pressed by his colleagues of the Bar Library—people whose voice counted so much in public affairs in those days—to desist from a mass protest, because it might entail them in a criminal proceeding. Closeted together, the two stalwarts decided not to flinch. To back out after having called upon the people to protest publicly would, they felt, compromise national honour, still a sapling needing to be tended with great care. The meeting was held; and Surendranath asked British

statesmanship to take note of the fact that 'a true scientific frontier,' they had been labouriously searching for, could only be had in the heart of a contented people. Gladstone condemned either measure in his election speeches. As, however, he came to power he had the Vernacular Press Act repealed but forbore touching the Arms Act. Sree Aurobindo Ghose, then a student in England, openly denounced Gladstone as a 'traitor'—a phase of mind, which was the beginning of his lack of faith in Britain, ever conceding Self-Government to India unless in the compulsion of circumstances.

It was now imperative that the Indian Association needed an organ of its own. Surendranath on his own account purchased a Calcutta English Weekly, *The Bengalee*.⁸ Fairly within three years, he was hauled up before a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court to answer the charge of Contempt of Court. It happened like this: Justice Norris had had a *Saligram*, stone-deity, brought into the mundane atmosphere of the Court-room for identification. It offended Hindu sentiments and there were strong comments in newspapers. Surendranath went out of his way to compare Norris with the blood-thirsty Jeffrys of the Restoration period. There was no point in such comparison. Possibly, Surendranath worked himself up into an unwonted rage against Justice Norris,⁹ because he had betrayed his leanings for

8. For Rs. 25/-; Sisir K. Ghose purchased the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for Rs. 22/-—C. Y. Chintamony's *Indian Politics From the Days of Sepoy Mutiny*.

9. Norris was otherwise a fair-minded Judge. O'hara, a private of Leinchester Regiment, stationed at Dumdum, got into the house of an Indian at dead of night for toddy. The man was waked up and on his failure to supply toddy, he was shoved into a nearby tank and then shot dead. In the Sessions trial before Norris, the Jury, composed of O'hara's countrymen, returned a verdict of 'Not guilty.' Justice Norris did not accept the verdict and called for a fresh trial.

the rabid opponents of the Ilbert Bill.¹⁰ Surendranath was given a sentence of two months. Justice Romes C. Mitter, the only Indian Judge of the Special Bench, dissented on the question of sentence. He had refused to yield to the Chief Justice Sir Richard Garth seeing him at his residence for unanimity.

Instantly the sentence was passed, there was a wild demonstration within the precincts of the High Court. Among those who pelted stones at the police and broke glass-panes were Ashutosh Mookherjea and C. R. Das, then students. The Indian shops closed for the day. Students walked barefooted, as in mourning; those of the Bethune College put on black badge. The leaders of other provinces vied with each other to congratulate Bengal, adding one more feather to her cap of leadership.

Did the enforced leisure within prison-walls set Surendranath think hard of a stout line of action? What otherwise explains his head-on clash with the Government immediately after release? The Excise department had introduced in the district of Hooghly what was known as the 'Outstill system.' By this the price of country liquor was reduced to half in expectation that cheaper price would augment sale and hence the revenue. The Indian Association failed to rouse the conscience of the Government by a memorial. Surendranath struck a novel line and appealed to the people of the locality to give up drink altogether as a measure of

resistance. He held meetings in the affected area, led procession village to village with songs specially composed and had the liquor shops picketted. The Government realised the awkwardness of its position and abolished the system. The event that followed, however, outdistances all others in importance.

In 1883, under the auspices of the Indian Association was convened in Calcutta a National Conference. Delegates from all parts of India joined it, which had its session for three days. Surendranath, in opening the Conference, stressed the great need of representative Indians meeting to chalk out a concerted line of action in matters that concern the people vis-a-vis the Government. Wilfred S. Blunt says in *India Under Ripon* that 'this Conference is the first stage towards a national Parliament.'

Were the apologists of British rule in India stung with an awareness by this time that a new force was looming large in the horizon? Allen Hume, who had just retired from the Indian Civil Service—the last post he held was that of the Chief Secretary, Home department, Government of India—started negotiations with the Governor General Lord Dufferin on one side and some Indian leaders on the other—Surendranath was not one of them—and founded the Indian Union. On the invitation of this Indian Union was held in Bombay the first Indian National Congress in December, 1885. Surendranath was not even invited to attend it. In the same December was, however, held in Calcutta the Second Indian National Conference. The gathering was so large and representative that the Bombay Congress paled into insignificance. The Muslim Association and the British Indian Association, either of which had hitherto held back from agitational politics, joined it. Delegates like Gopal Krishna Gokhale from Maharashtra, K. T. Telang from Madras, G. S. Khaparde from Nagpur, Dayal Singh from Punjab actively participated in it.

It was an eye-opener to Hume, who sincerely desired the Congress to grow up into a live organisation explaining the Government to the people and the people to the Government, and other-

10. Beharilal Gupta, when he was Presidency Magistrate Calcutta, raised the point and there was the Bill to empower Indian Magistrates to try Europeans. The concept of a superior race had so much seized the European community that they were up in arms against Indians, whom they called all sorts of names. Branson, a leading Counsel of Calcutta High Court, summed up his address in their protest meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall, 'Verily the jackass kicketh at the lion.' Lal Mohan Ghose called Branson in a public meeting 'a pitiful cur that covers his recreant limbs with the borrowed hide of the lion'; Branson was an Anglo-Indian.

wise act as an Opposition in a parliamentary system of Government. He pressed Surendranath with all the warmth of love, he truly bore him, to wind up the Conference and join the Second Indian National Congress in Calcutta. Surendranath appreciated the reasonableness of having only one political organisation in the country and they all joined the Calcutta Congress, December, 1886.

It is not known what, if any, were the terms, mutually agreed upon, as to the objective of the Congress. It was, however, left to everybody to read what Surendranath was for. He announced from the Congress platform, 'Self-Government is the ordering of Nature. It is not new to us; our Panchayet system is as old as the hills and is graven on the hearts and instincts of our people'. Since that day, 'whoever' says C. Y. Chintamony, 'might be the president, Surendranath Banerjee was session after session the central figure.' In the 1895 Madras Congress, he developed his 1886 demand to say point blank, 'We desire to tell Lord Wenlock and all else whom it may concern that we cannot submit to a decision which will have the effect of stereotyping our political servitude. We cannot afford to palter with our birthright or sell it for a pottage'. Let therefore be no confounding the issue that Freedom as 'our birthright is Surendranath's demand for the first time.

III

Fast as the Congress was gathering strength to be a factor to reckon with the clash between the ruler and the ruled followed as a matter of course. In Bengal, it first took a concrete shape in the Mackenzie Bill, which sought to curb the popular control in the Calcutta Corporation. Surendranath attacked the Bill, clause by clause in the Bengal Legislative Council of which he was a member representing Bengal Municipalities. It was passed by the standing official majority. In protest he and twenty-seven others resigned their membership of the Calcutta Corporation. Its impact in point of national honour was tre-

mendous. Poet Hemchandra Banerjee celebrated the occasion by his poem *Sabash Atash, Bravo Twenty-eight*.

The Bill was no handiwork of Lord Curzon. It, all the same, disclosed his Roman hand in many a crucial touch. In any case, it gave a foretaste of what he was going to be in respect of India's newborn aspiration. He divided Bengal into two zones, Hindu and Moslem. With the Muslim zone East Bengal, Assam, the close reserve of English tea-planters, was tacked in to make a separate province East Bengal and Assam. On the 7th August, 1905 Bengal ceremonially protested against it. It was like a spark igniting the powder ablaze. The 16th of October, the day Bengal was officially cleft into two, was observed with a strange solemnity. Shops did not open; ovens did not burn except for the babies and the ailing; traffic did not ply. People gathered in their thousands in all parts of Bengal to reaffirm their vow of Swadeshi—Boycott of British goods—and to vow to live in affirmation of India's right to Freedom.

As the movement gained in volume, volunteers began picketting the sale of foreign cloth and salts. The Government in return bolstered up charges of theft and rioting in respect of the forbidden wares. Students were prohibited to join political meetings or processions and were flogged in breach thereof. Many a school, suspected of nursing an anti-Government feeling, was wiped out of existence; stopping the grant-in-aid was but a normal order of things. Punitive Police and even Military were posted at places where the Swadeshi spirit was most intense, obviously, to frighten, harass and humiliate people. Respected leaders were bound down to keep peace and some of them were commandeered to act as Special Constables. Worse than all these, the hooligan elements of the Mahomedan community were being incited and they made a hell of Hindu life and property.¹¹ On the top of all, the entire

11. Read Dr. Rashbehari Ghose's Congress Speeches of 1906 and 1907 giving illustrations from Court-proceedings.

Mahomedan community was being way-laid and drawn away from the national struggle over the appetising prospects of the Separate Electorate. By this the Moslems were being provided with a separate constituency, where they alone could vote and contest seats with their rights left intact in the general constituency; secondly, to become a voter, besides the qualifications in common with others, a Moslem had to pay Income-tax on Rs. 3,000/- a year as against Rs. 3,00,000/- a year for non-Moslems; and a graduate of 3 years as against 30 years.

The Swadeshi movement reacted most amazingly on Bengal Art and Literature. Possibly no literature anywhere in the world has within a short period of five to six years made such rapid strides in songs, poems, essays, stories, novels and dramas etcetera. They made a lavish use of the patriotic pages of the history of the Mahrattas and the Rajputs. It answered the need of the hour. It forged a link of enduring moments between Bengal and that distant India. Rabindranath Tagore's was, naturally, the mammoth contribution. Besides his discourses of deep, cogent thinking on National Education and Village-reconstruction he gave us in the abandon of his 'native wood notes wild' soul-stirring national songs. In the category of national songs a good many other lyrists, such as Sarala Devi, Man Kumari, Govinda Das, Rajani K. Sen, Kaliprassanna Kabyavisarad, Dwijendra Lal Roy, Kamini Kumar Bhattacharjea deserve no less to be remembered. The historical dramas of Girish Chandra Ghose, Kshirodeprosad Vidyabinode and Dwijendra Lal Roy contributed their virile quota to the national upsurge all too well. Indicative of the temper of the day a picture under the title **Bengal Fifty Years Hence** sold like hot cakes. It was the picture of a mother making over a sword to her son and bidding him go ahead to vindicate the honour of motherland. The Indian School of Art under the leadership of Abanindranath Tagore owes its birth to this Renaissance and struck a new line. Ramsay Macdonald, who came to India for an on-the-spot study of the situation,

wrote in his **Awakening of India**, 'Bengal is idealising politics into Art and Literature.'

The Industry and Trade of a country, says Herr Hitler in **Mein Kampf**, can flourish only if a national consciousness provides the necessary setting. The Swadeshi movement of Bengal paved the way for an industrial regeneration of India. New cloth mills were set up and the old ones rehabilitated with new blood infused into them. The vast weaving class, which was dying of neglect, got back into life. Banking and Insurance, the Industry of Pharmacology, Toilets and Leather had their foundation laid truly and well. Dr. Meghnad Saha, whose name remains associated with the history of Five-Year Plans of India, says that it was for the impetus of the Swadeshi movement that the Tatas were able to raise within such a small space of time the requisite capital for their Plant of Steel Industry, one of the biggest in the world.

Bengal, in the stress of a sudden challenge evolved the techniques of Civil Disobedience. Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya Editor of the Bengali daily **Sandhya**, stated in answer to the charge of sedition that he accepted the full responsibility of the paper and the article in question, but would not take any part in the trial, because, in his fight for swaraj he was not in any way accountable to the alien power. There were, however, another set of nationalists to stoutly defend and fight every inch of the ground. They went to the limit of harrying the Executive as to find out who the editors were and otherwise foil them in proving the charge. At Barisal in April 1906, as the Bengal Provincial Conference was being held, the District Magistrate forbade any procession and the call of **Bande Mataram** in the open. The leaders resolved to defy the order. Surendranath led the procession. It was attacked in the rear. History does not furnish a parallel, where a disarmed people stood shoulder to shoulder to face the flash and steel of such a terribly well-posted rule. The delegates refused to disperse or stop raising the call of **Bande**

Mataram, notwithstanding lathi-charge and mounted Police galloping full length at them.

It so happened that a boy of the name of Chittaranjan Guha Thakurta was hit right on the head and he fell down senseless. Even then he continued uttering **Bande Mataram** in faint to fainter voice and even as the Police were pushing him down with their lathis into a tank close by. As Surendranath was apprised of it, he rushed back. Face to face with the Superintendent of Police, he blurted out "What cowardice! Are you not ashamed of it? I am responsible for the procession; do me what you like." Surendranath was arrested. "But then," said Surendranath, "let the procession pass on; the other alternative is that you have to arrest each one of this vast concourse or, if you choose, shoot them en masse. They shall not break the line." The procession was allowed to pass. Surendranath enjoined on them as a parting message, "Brother delegates, it is the testing moment in the hour of our destiny. Do not flinch; but do not retaliate under any provocation. March on to the goal." They proceeded to the meeting and Surendranath to the house of the Dist. Magistrate under arrest. There he was fined Rs. 400. Sixteen years later, to anticipate events, Emerson, the Dist. Magistrate was requisitioned by Minister Surendranath to act under him as Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust. And none was the worse for it.

While the conference was being held, it was declared an unlawful assembly and ordered to disperse. Their first impulse was again to disobey. As the order was read out, Krishnakumar Mitter stood up to say, 'I refuse to disperse even if I am shot dead,' echoed by thousand voices. It was, however, decided that in view of hundreds of ladies with children having mixed up, they would better not. The Barisal Conference marked, as it was declared in the open session, 'the beginning of the end of British rule.' The real issue since now 'was not,' as Sir Valentine Chirol noted in his **Indian Unrest**, 'whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned province or two par-

tioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure.'

The bureaucracy banned **Bande Mataram**, as though it was a war-ery. It is, truly speaking, an oath of fealty to the Nation. The author of the hymn, Bankimchandra Chatterjea visualised our motherland 'richly-watered, richly-fruited, sweet of smile and sweet of speech,' to change, as the occasion demands, 'terrible with the clamorous shout of seventy million throats and sharpness of swords raised in seventy million hands'—the translation is Sree Aurobindo's. Bankimchandra had incorporated the song into his novel **Ananda Math**. The picture is that of a dense forest, so very dense that the sun fails to pierce through it. The deep eerie silence of the place is broken by two strange voices in the form of question and answer:

'If not life, what then does the motherland call for?

'A life of self-effacing, steadfast devotion.'

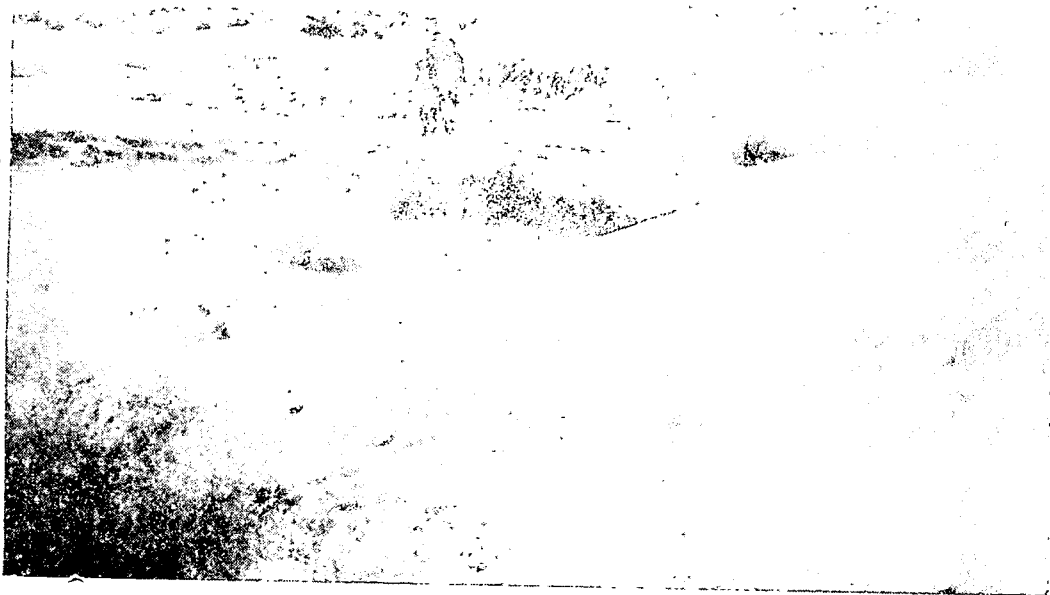
This is the inspiration, Bankimchandra sought to imbue the country with.

"One of the alarming effects of the Bengal episode," says Hector Bolitho in his biographical study of Quaid-e-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah¹² "was on the character of the Congress so mild up to then. The dramatic appeal of Bengal against the British startled all India, and to hold their own as a political force, liberal-minded men like G. K. Gokhale and Dadabhai Nourajee had to assume a more belligerent look." To explain in the concrete, Dadabhai Nourajee, the President of the Calcutta Congress, December 1906, said, "All our sufferings in the past demand before God and men reparation . . . Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our right, the whole matter can be comprised into one word Swaraj." To leave no room for speculation, he further said that by Swaraj he meant 'Self-Government as in the United Kingdom.' The change is significant in view of the

12. This book is written at the instance of the Pakistan Government.



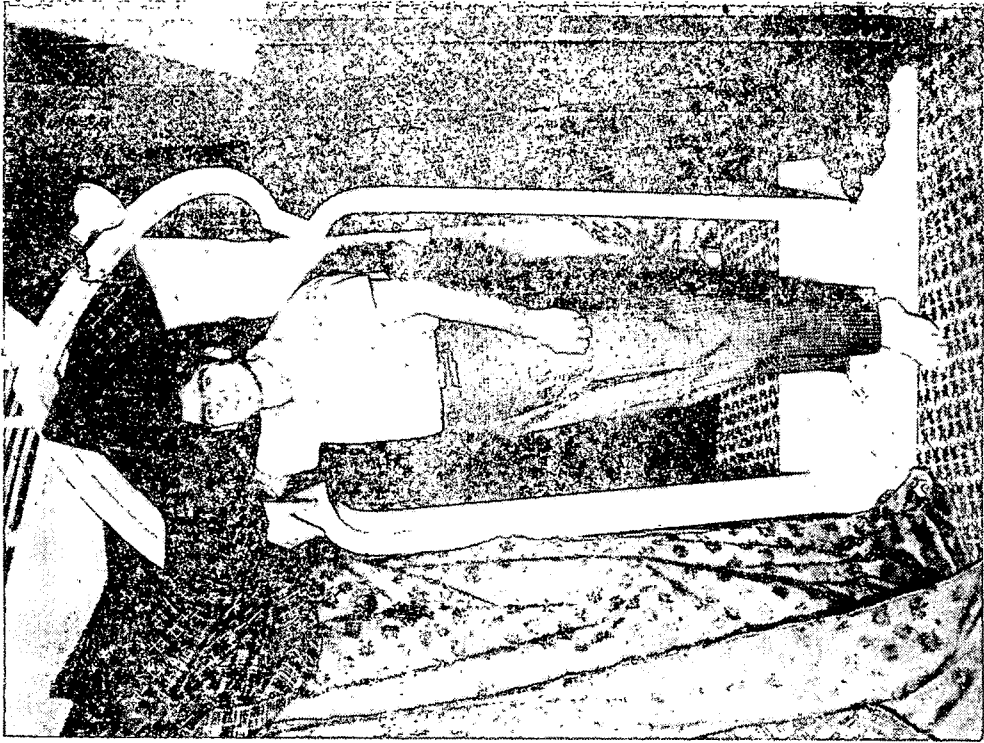
The year 1959 ends: Sunset at Kanyakumari, southern strip of India



In the midst of the arid regions of Rajasthan



Dance and song ensemble from Viet-Nam visits India
Thai folk dance



A student from Bombay modelling a man's wear in a
showing of Indian handloom fabrics in New York

fact that all throughout 1906, he had pleaded that India must not cut adrift from British moorings. In fact, **The Englishman**, a leading British-owned daily (now defunct) of Calcutta, lamented that Nourajee came to warn Bengal but left blessing her. As President of the 1905 Benaras Congress, G. K. Gokhale said, "The Congress fully recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire." Two months after the aforesaid Calcutta Congress, Gokhale made a public declaration, "I set no limits to the aspiration of my countrymen. I want an Indian to be in India what an Englishman is in England."

The long and short of all the above may be indicated in one broad outline. Bengal's answer to the insolent challenge of imperialistic rule may fitly be likened to Martin Luther's voice of protest at the Diet of Worms. Luther struck the Pope at the crown and the monks in the belly. Without pushing the comparison to any length, Bengal struck at British rule and trade in India and breathed into the pages of history the breath of a new life. History, in the final analysis, is really made by a minority with conviction. How many men, Morley asked Minto, were with Cromwell when he beheaded the King?—**Recollections.**

In December 1907, the Congress split at Surat. The new-school leadership was restive of pace. There were, ere long, symptoms of a cleavage manifesting itself in ugly recriminations. Rabindranath Tagore, who did not, strictly speaking, belong to one school or the other, issued an appeal of warning. "If," he said amongst other things, "you want to fight for Freedom, you need a General. I invite my countrymen to gather together and formally acknowledge Surendranath Banerjee as our leader"—(Translation mine). That leadership is highlighted by Dr. P. C. Roy in his **Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist**. "Fortunately for Bengal," he recalls the stirring days of the Swadeshi movement, "her destiny was then in the keeping of able leaders under the guidance of Surendranath Banerjee." What that leadership connotes is emphasised by Sarojini Naidu, a leading protagonist of the Non-co-

operation movement. "There is not," she said, "a single weapon, we have used, which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjee."¹³ It fixes unequivocally, unalterably, Surendranath's place in the history of our Freedom.

IV

In 1909, Surendranath was invited to represent the Indian Press in the Imperial Press Conference, presided over by Lord Morley. Lovet Fraser, I.C.S., who as the Private Secretary of Lord Curzon had a firsthand knowledge of Surendranath's position, influenced the choice. In England, Surendranath availed himself of all possible opportunities to press home the urgent need of a change in the ruling power's angle of vision.

William Stead, an honoured name among English journalists, wrote of him editorially in the **Review of Reviews** that 'none of the editors of the Empire excelled him in eloquence, energy, geniality and personal charm.' Sir Henry Cotton, now M.P., said of him at Westminster Palace Hotel, "If the growth of a national feeling in India and the sense of enthusiasm for motherland was due to any man that man was Surendranath Banerjee."

Morely had played a distinguished part as a lieutenant of Gladstone on the question of Irish Home Rule. He felt that he owed his party to indicate a gesture of goodwill to India. In collaboration with the Governor General Lord Minto he introduced Reforms. They brought into being the principle of election in the Central and Provincial Councils, both of which were considerably enlarged. There was, of course, a hide-bound official majority at the centre. In provinces, it was a non-official majority, which, however, was infertuous, because the non-officials were only a majority with the help of the nominated members; and nominated members were so chosen that they would not say 'no' to the Government. The Reforms

13. Calcutta Esplanade, 6th August 1942.

empowered the Councils to discuss any matter of public interest. The Government's budget-policy was from now subject to criticism. All these amounted to the right of the people to bring home to the Executive the non-official point of view in any question of importance. To control them, however, was as remote. The one gain of incalculable value was that the obviousness of people's limitations whetted an appetite for political power.

Regarding the genesis of Reforms, what Prime Minister Asquith said in the House of Commons is revealing. "It is a step" he said, "which will avert the danger, which has been confronting us for the last few years." Thirty-six years after, Sir Reginald Coupland, in reviewing the then position, observes in his *India, A-Restatement* that 'The Act of 1909 was an attempt to control and canalise the now fast-flowing current of Indian nationalism.' The 'fast-flowing current of Indian nationalism,' which was so deep a concern to England is an eloquent tribute to the leadership, generating this at a time when, as Mahatma Gandhi says, 'the rest of India was almost asleep.'¹⁴

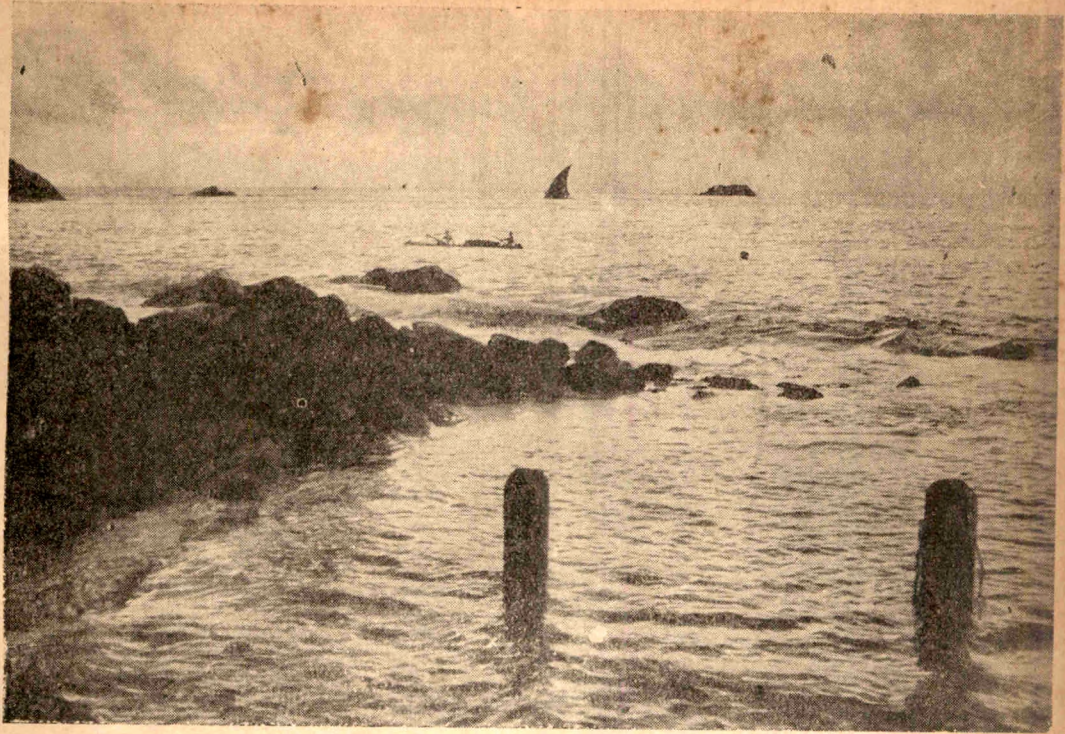
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the House of Lords, "at the idea of religious register. We may wish, we do wish—certainly I do that it were otherwise." And yet he congratulates Minto for the part he has been playing right from having 'started the Mahomedan hare',¹⁵ and then tackling the deputation in the manner he did. Mahammad Ali, who supported the Separate Electorate, calls the deputation 'a command performance.' "It stamps," Morley assures Minto, "your position and personal authority decisively." This is the part honest John played with India. And yet Indian leadership ran into hysterics over his name. When Morley's brother parliamentarians cried 'murder' that democracy was being introduced into India, to which it was completely alien, he said that 'if this chapter of Reforms led directly or necessarily up to the establishment of parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it.' Lord Minto, as well, told the Deputation that 'any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure.' But just ten years after India had thrown off the yoke of England, Prime Minister Macmillan said in March 1958: "It is by the strength of her example and by *her tradition of democracy* (italics mine) and justice that an uncommitted country like India can play an important part in the defence of the democratic way of life."

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14. Prayer meeting 23rd August, 1947, i.e., immediately after India had won her Freedom.

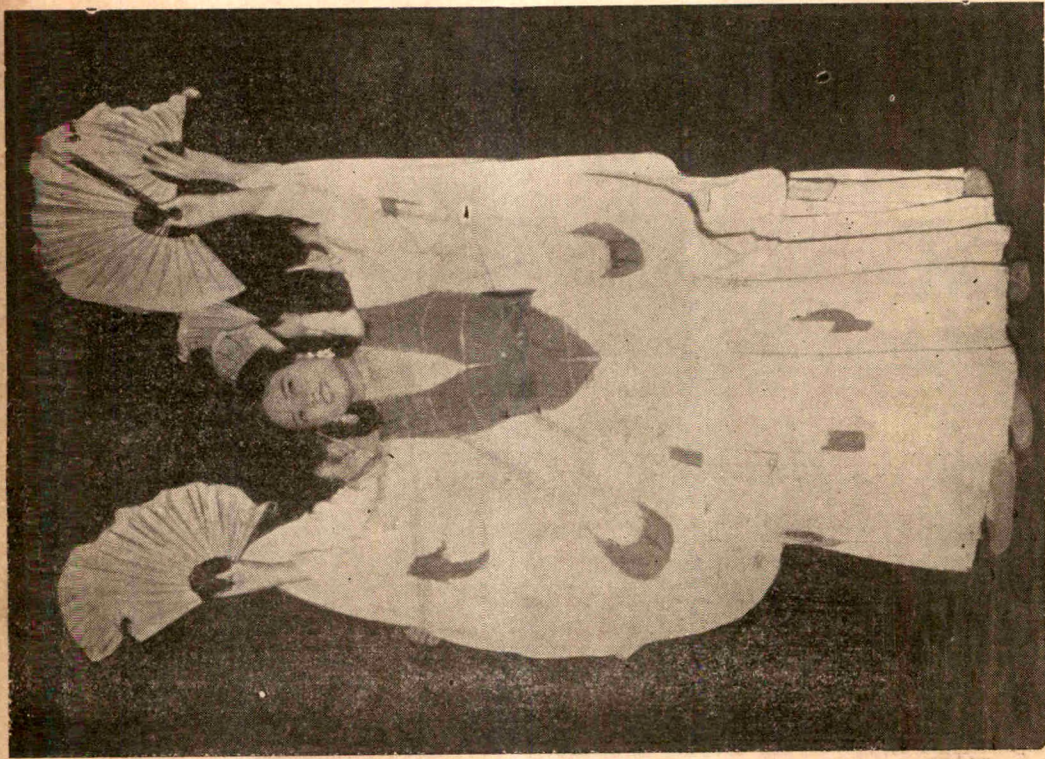
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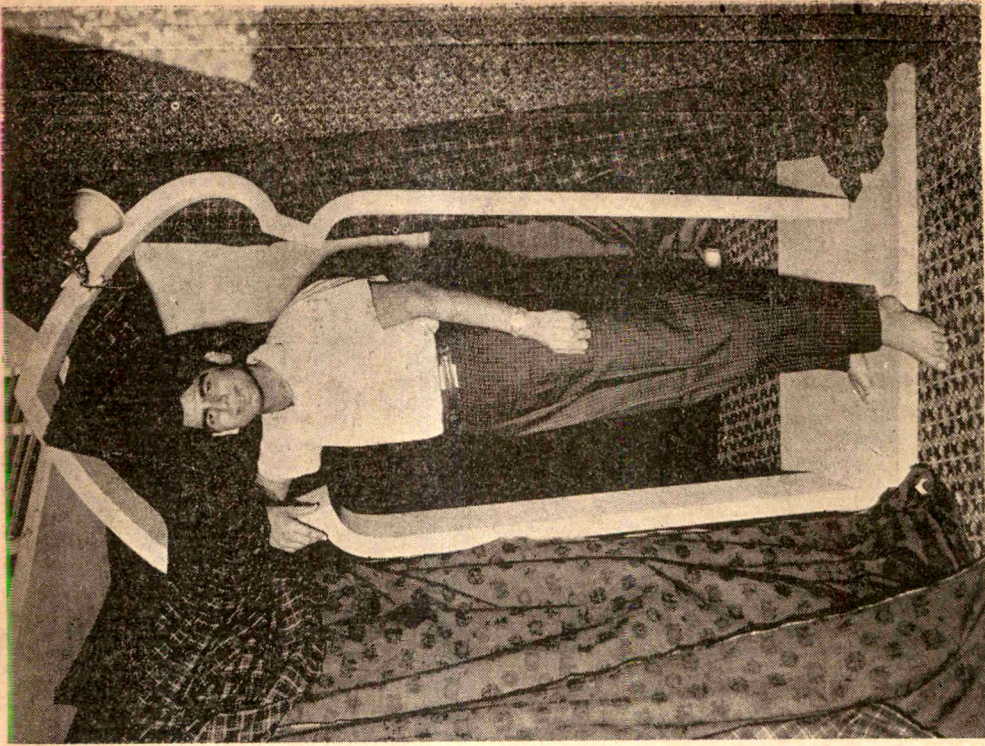
The year 1959 ends: Sunset at Kanyakumari, southern strip of India



In the midst of the arid regions of Rajasthan



Dance and song ensemble from Viet-Nam visits India
Thai folk dance



A student from Bombay modelling a man's wear in a
showing of Indian handloom fabrics in New York

fact that all throughout 1906, he had pleaded that India must not cut adrift from British moorings. In fact, **The Englishman**, a leading British-owned daily (now defunct) of Calcutta, lamented that Nourajee came to warn Bengal but left blessing her. As President of the 1905 Benaras Congress, G. K. Gokhale said, "The Congress fully recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire." Two months after the aforesaid Calcutta Congress, Gokhale made a public declaration, "I set no limits to the aspiration of my countrymen. I want an Indian to be in India what an Englishman is in England."

The long and short of all the above may be indicated in one broad outline. Bengal's answer to the insolent challenge of imperialistic rule may fitly be likened to Martin Luther's voice of protest at the Diet of Worms. Luther struck the Pope at the crown and the monks in the belly. Without pushing the comparison to any length, Bengal struck at British rule and trade in India and breathed into the pages of history the breath of a new life. History, in the final analysis, is really made by a minority with conviction. How many men, Morley asked Minto, were with Cromwell when he beheaded the King?—**Recollections.**

In December 1907, the Congress split at Surat. The new-school leadership was restive of pace. There were, ere long, symptoms of a cleavage manifesting itself in ugly recriminations. Rabindranath Tagore, who did not, strictly speaking, belong to one school or the other, issued an appeal of warning. "If," he said amongst other things, "you want to fight for Freedom, you need a General. I invite my countrymen to gather together and formally acknowledge Surendranath Banerjea as our leader"—(Translation mine). That leadership is highlighted by Dr. P. C. Roy in his **Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist**. "Fortunately for Bengal," he recalls the stirring days of the Swadeshi movement, "her destiny was then in the keeping of able leaders under the guidance of Surendranath Banerjea." What that leadership connotes is emphasised by Sarojini Naidu, a leading protagonist of the Non-co-

operation movement. "There is not," she said, "a single weapon, we have used, which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjea."¹³ It fixes unequivocally, unalterably, Surendranath's place in the history of our Freedom.

IV

In 1909, Surendranath was invited to represent the Indian Press in the Imperial Press Conference, presided over by Lord Morley. Lovet Fraser, I.C.S., who as the Private Secretary of Lord Curzon had a firsthand knowledge of Surendranath's position, influenced the choice. In England, Surendranath availed himself of all possible opportunities to press home the urgent need of a change in the ruling power's angle of vision.

William Stead, an honoured name among English journalists, wrote of him editorially in the **Review of Reviews** that 'none of the editors of the Empire excelled him in eloquence, energy, geniality and personal charm.' Sir Henry Cotton, now M.P., said of him at Westminster Palace Hotel, "If the growth of a national feeling in India and the sense of enthusiasm for motherland was due to any man that man was Surendranath Banerjea."

Morely had played a distinguished part as a lieutenant of Gladstone on the question of Irish Home Rule. He felt that he owed his party to indicate a gesture of goodwill to India. In collaboration with the Governor General Lord Minto he introduced Reforms. They brought into being the principle of election in the Central and Provincial Councils, both of which were considerably enlarged. There was, of course, a hide-bound official majority at the centre. In provinces, it was a non-official majority, which, however, was infructuous, because the non-officials were only a majority with the help of the nominated members; and nominated members were so chosen that they would not say 'no' to the Government. The Reforms

13. Calcutta Esplanade, 6th August 1942.

empowered the Councils to discuss any matter of public interest. The Government's budget-policy was from now subject to criticism. All these amounted to the right of the people to bring home to the Executive the non-official point of view in any question of importance. To control them however, was as remote. The one gain of incalculable value was that the obviousness of people's limitations whetted an appetite for political power.

Regarding the genesis of Reforms, what Prime Minister Asquith said in the House of Commons is revealing. "It is a step" he said, "which will avert the danger, which has been confronting us for the last few years." Thirty-six years after, Sir Reginald Coupland, in reviewing the then position, observes in his *India, A-Restatement* that "The Act of 1909 was an attempt to control and canalise the now fast-flowing current of Indian nationalism." The 'fast-flowing current of Indian nationalism,' which was so deep a concern to England is an eloquent tribute to the leadership, generating this at a time when, as Mahatma Gandhi says, 'the rest of India was almost asleep.'¹⁴

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¹⁴. Prayer meeting 23rd August, 1947, i.e., immediately after India had won her Freedom.

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Bengal majority did not join the rank of 'seditious opposition'—the expression is from Lady Minto's Journal, **India, Minto and Morley**—or, in other words, the nationalists constituted no majority in Bengal. It was so much a success that, to anticipate events, Sir Samuel Hoare, while passing the India Act, 1935, which conceded provincial autonomy, chuckled that he could not imagine of landslide by which Bengal would run counter to British interests, thanks, no doubt, to Lord Hardinge's master manipulation.

Time ran fast. The 'swift current of nationalism,' which by the time spread all over India, made Morley-Minto Reforms outdated and outmoded. As things would have it, the First Great War broke out in 1914. England and France declared that they had drawn the sword to make the world safe for democracy. U.S.A. joined the War on the express understanding that 'her guarantee will be given to a settlement, which puts no people under an alien government without its consent.' All this, naturally, fed the imagination of India. As the War proceeded, Russia freed herself from the autocracy of the Czars and established a new order of awakened humanity. German intrigues penetrated as far as Kabul; and Afghanistan snapped asunder the tie of England's influence. India was awake, astir.

England took a note of all these and thought prudent to rally India to a belief in her bonafides. In any case, she was to be kept absorbed in her own affairs over some promised Reforms.¹⁶ In 1917, Edwin Montagu, as Secretary of State for India, made a declaration in the Parliament on behalf of the British Cabinet that 'the policy of His Majesty's Government . . . is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Govern-

ment¹⁷ in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. Montagu came to India to contact her leaders and draw up a scheme in collaboration with the Governor General Lord Chelmsford. As they published the Report, the Old and New-school-politics, which broke apart at Surat in 1907 and then united at Lucknow in 1916, again parted company. The New school, called the Extremists, had by now won over the country by a decisive majority on the question of the inadequacy of the Reforms. In a special Session at Bombay, they cried down the Reforms as unacceptable. The Old school, called the Moderates, also held their Conference at Bombay, presided over by Surendranath Banerjea, and gave the Reforms their unqualified support.

Surendranath, now seventy-one, led a Deputation to England to face the relentless attacks of the die-hards. Their point of view was that if the majority of people in India did not like the Reforms, they be better shelved. Montagu had several discussions with Surendranath both in India and England and made one very significant observation about him in his **An Indian Diary**. 'There is,' he writes, 'no sign of moderation in him'. Like an ounce of fact, worth a ton of theories, it establishes beyond controversy that at the time, when Surendranath was being attacked in virulent terms for weakening the demand of India, he did not abate it by a jot or tittle.

The India Act 1919 was in many respects a bold departure. By enfranchising a very large number of people it disturbed the 'pathetic contentment' of the inert mass. It crossed the line between the legislative and executive authority. Previously, there were, no doubt, Indians in the high command of the Government, but they were appointed out and out. Now some Ministers were to be called to their jobs from out of the elected members and they were answerable to the Legislature. In other words, some departments were transferred to the

16. Read Introduction to Montagu's **An Indian Diary**.

17. Substituted for 'Self-Government' of the original draft at the instance of Lord Curzon, now the Foreign Secretary.

people's representative. Thus was the parliamentary form of Government conceded for the first time.

On the debit side, the Reforms set a premium upon the Separate Electorate. Montagu, while in India, wrote Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, warning him in time to beware of its extension and also to note how it had proved fatal to the growth of democracy. "Division by creeds and classes," the Montford Report says, "means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens." All the same, they extended it, such as to justify Josiah Wedgwood to say in the House of Commons, 'the very idea of India has vanished from the Bill to be replaced by disunited communities of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the Europeans.'

Before, however, the Act was put into operation the Punjab Martial Law intervened in all its ugliness. "It subjected Indians," as Rabindranath Tagore puts it, "to degradations not fit for human beings." Consequently, it brought about a cataclysmic change in the outlook of India vis-à-vis Britain and made the Reforms, on the whole, a damp squib. And yet with the bleak shadow of the Punjab lengthening over India, Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi pleaded for working the Reforms at the Amritsar Congress, December 1919. Gandhi went so far as to delete the word 'disappointing' from the Resolution of C. R. Das. Montford Reforms were finally accepted as worth a fair trial. Gandhi even got over the Hunter Committee's Report and Montagu's halting denunciation of Dyer at Jallianwallabag as an 'error of judgment'. What, however, looks somewhat baffling, is that England's 'betrayal of the Khilafat,' as he called it, changed him lock, stock and barrel and made him 'make the final choice'.¹⁸ He inaugurated the Non-Co-operation movement and was instantly hailed as a Messiah bringing in new light and vision. In him,

in fact, people smarting under the very painful, humiliating Punjab episode sought the last ray of hope. There was an unprecedented upheaval. Surendranath was hurled down. He yet said, if the Reforms would bring us nearer the Swaraj—what else does the support of Tilak and Gandhi at Amritsar indicate?—it was religiously incumbent upon the Nation to make the fullest use of it in a cool, composed atmosphere. He stoutly protested against bringing in the Khilafat into Indian politics. He warned that it would inflate Pan-Islamism and complicate the Indian situation. A new-born Turkey, by the way, dropped Khilafat. Naturally, it died of inanity in India, but left behind the trail of a bitter, aggressive communalism. Be that as it may, Surendranath accepted Ministry and Knighthood. The country reeked with the cry, for a handful of coins and meretricious honours he has left us.

It is said of Cincinnatus that as Rome was threatened with danger from within and without, the choice of the Nation fell upon him. He was living the life of a cultivator in a far-off village. He came and staved off the crisis. When, however, what contributed to an easy stately living was within the hollow of his hand, he spurned the lure and to the plough he went back. Sreenivas Sastri desired Surendranath to stick to journalism as the Tribune of the people. He was the symbol of the people's demand for Swaraj. Therefore, to argue, before that demand was fulfilled, on the point of his personal obligation to prove the worth of Indians in the responsible conduct of administration, when there were so many others who could easily do it, is a sophistry. It may, however, be nearer the truth that early in life, he was cloyed with the pleasures of ambition to be some body in the ruling hierarchy of his country. He strenuously qualified himself for this. But the Government of the day flung him down, in the very first round of success, to the depth of ruins. Such was the position, that a friend of his seriously suggested that he should change his name and go to Australia to earn his bread. He, however, squared his shoulders and lived, resolutely

18. Gandhi's *The Story of my Experiments with Truth*, Part V, Chapter XXXVI.

bent on bending the hard-boned oligarchy to admit him, as the representative of his people to share the control of administration. And as the triumphant moment came, he could not rise above it. There was the other and no less a weighty consideration. All his life, he had passionately pleaded for British Parliamentary system of rule in India. It was definitely initiated in the Act of 1919. In fact, the transfer of power, even if for the moment limited to a few spheres only constituted an act of faith. Was it becoming of him to refuse to shoulder the responsibility of the new set-up? He had, however, no illusion. As he was about to accept ministry, he made clear, while unveiling the portrait of Dadabhai Nourajee in the Convocation Hall, Bombay, that he had meant nothing more regarding the Reforms than to suggest that only the beginning was laid. 'The first streaks of dawn', he said, 'are almost visible'.

Surenranath, as Minister, avenged his defeat of the Mackenzie Bill and gave the Calcutta Corporation a truly democratic shape and colour. He Indianised the Indian Medical Service to proportions considered revolutionary at the time. But, thanks to Gandhi, what now mattered most was what Bengal leadership had posed during the days of the Swadeshi movement, 'How long was the British rule to endure?'

The country forgot his past; forgot how he first raised the demand for Swaraj and manfully spanned the stressful period of our national evolution. He was caricatured, lampooned, vilified and made responsible for all the sins of not only the

Bengal Government but of the Central Government as well, such as the increase in Railway fares, postage etcetera. The result cumulatively was that he, who was returned at the head of the poll on the mere asking since 1885, lost the 1923 General Election.

The gentleman of seventy-five, however, lost no time in mourning his repudiation. He again took up the editorship of *The Bengalee*, which had passed into other hands. During one of these days, Gandhi, who had all along strongly disapproved of the conduct of some fussy, flashy politicians vilifying Surenranath, paid him a visit at his Barrackpore residence. He walked all the distance of sixteen miles. When pressed to take a car with him, he said that he was on his pilgrimage, and a car was a misfit. It indicates the size of either. His days were, however, numbered; and on August 6th, 1926, he breathed his last.

The evening of Surenranath's life was strewn with the wreckage of heated controversy. The impatience of his countrymen for Independence was the measure of their impatience with him; and passions ran high. It destroyed the perspective. If, however, it is true that posterity fixes a man's place in history not by counting what number of people applauded or jeered him in his lifetime, but what factor he was in the making of his country, Surenranath's place is very very high. In fact, to bypass him is as amusing as for a child, lifted on the shoulder of his father, to say 'I am taller than papa'.



THE AGE OF GIANTS

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

There are periods in a nation's history when men whose "names (as Emerson says) are wrought up into the verbs of language, whose works and effigies are in our homes, and every circumstance of the day recalls an anecdote of them," appear in clusters. It is equally strange that such periods are usually followed, with the exception of "a village Hampden" or "a mute inglorious Milton" here and there, by an era of small men.

No one can say with any degree of certitude how and why this happens and it is most likely to be a subject for interesting study. It is rather difficult to hazard any conjecture on this point, but it happens not very commonly though, as a fulfilment of the needs of the hour. The yearning of a nation for some particular agency to help it out of gloom, political, economic, intellectual and moral, is at times met by the advent of men "who inhabit a higher sphere of thought into which other men rise with labour and difficulty; who has but to open his eyes to see things in a true light and in large relations; whilst they make painful corrections and keep a vigilant eye on many sources of error." The history of each nation would relate some such story and India is no exception to it.

In India this fact is most noticeable in the sixties of the last century and if the period can be extended by five years preceding and five succeeding it, then these twenty years, 1855-75, puts the whole century into comparative shade and leaves the twentieth as bleak and blank in this respect. Bengal, even as it is now known, may claim a pardonable pride because the number of great Bengalees born during this period far exceeds the total of all other states taken together.

Of the ten years from 1861 to 1870, the first seems to excel all others in respect of

the number of births of persons of versatile genius. The very first month saw Brahmandhab Upadhyaya (20th January) coming to the world. He was followed by Motilal Nehru (6th May) and Rabindranath Tagore (7th May). Acharya Prafulla Chandra came just three months after (2nd August) and Nilratan Sircar was born on 1st October. The others that adorned the different fields were Col. Suresh Biswas, Kaliprassanna Kabyabisharad and Akshoy Kumar Maitreya.

The next year, 1862, produced in the very first month, Vivekananda (9th January) and in the last month Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (December 18); and in between came Shamsul Huda.

Swami Brahmananda (of the Belur Math) was born in 1863 (January 26); (Lord) Satyendra Prassanna Sinha of Raipur on March 24 and Dwijendra Lal Roy on the 19th of July, 1863.

The year 1864 saw the advent of a galaxy of men who illumined every path they pursued, viz., Ramananda Chatterji (May, 1864—Jaistha 1271, B.S.), Asutosh Mookerjee (June 29), Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (August 20), Janaki Nath Bhattacharya, Brajendra Nath Seal and Kaviraj-shiromani Syamadas Vachaspati.

Lala Lajpat Rai, Rajani Kanta Sen (July 7) and the great surgeon Suresh Prasad Sarbadhikari are the products of 1865.

The next year, 1866, did not fare worse in this respect, inasmuch as Gopal Krishna Gokhale (May 9), and Sister Nivedita (October 10) were born in that year. The last month December 24, 1867, saw the birth of Panchcowrie Banerjee.

Hirendra Nath Dutt (January 17) and the great actor Surendra Mohan Ghosh (Dani Babu) were the only two gifts of the year 1868.

The poor crops of the two preceding years were fully compensated by a bumper one in the blessed year 1869 which witnessed the advent of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (October 2), Srinivasa Sastri (September 9), Shyamsundar Chakravarty, Sakhamam Ganesh Dewskar and Jagadnanda Ray.

For 1870 Chittaranjan Das would have been more than sufficient, but we have also Jadunath Sarkar and Suresh Chandra Samajpati in addition.

For the five years preceding the 1860's we have such men as Pramathanath Bose, the great geologist (1855), Swami Shraddhananda (1855), Aswini Kumar Dutta (January 20, 1856), Bal Gangadhar Tilak (July 23), Subramaniam Iyer (1856), Jagadish Chandra Bose (November 30, 1858), Bepin Chandra Pal (1858), and for 1859 there were Bhupendra Nath Basu and Asutosh Chaudhuri.

The first half of 1870's kept the rage fully alive and on the 7th of August (1871) Abanindra Nath Tagore and on August (15th) next year, i.e., 1872, Sri Aurobindo saw the light of day. Syed Hasan Imam was also born in the same year. The next three years presented men very prominent in several fields of life. In 1873 Dinabandhu Mitra and Vithalbhai Patel, in 1875, his great brother Vallabbhai (December 15), Tej Bahadur Sapru, the great singer Lalchand Boral and the man who nearly banished Kala-azar, the deadly disease from India, viz., Dr. Upendranath Brahmachari appeared to leave indelible marks in their respective fields of activity.

The last five years of 1870 were equally marvellous as we find that in 1876 two litterateurs of great fame, Sarat Chandra Chatterji and Md. Iqbal, and in 1877, the great linguist Harinath Dey and M. A. Jinnah were born and the concluding year delivered Sarojini Naidu.

It may be noted in passing that the personages mentioned above are so well-known that no introduction is necessary to make them further known. As the Chinese proverb goes (attributed to Mencius), "A sage is the instructor of hundred

ages. When the manners of Loo are heard of, the stupid become intelligent and the wavering, determined" and all of these inspired the age in which they flourished and have left a saga of great deeds for the future.

It is really a pleasure and a source of inspiration to remember the name of the one or the other in the field of religion, philosophy, literature, art, science, medicine, law, etc., etc., and also because of the fact that through all of them 'one great purpose runs' the overriding sense of serving the motherland, to make the country great in the eyes of the world. Wrote Mr. Rushbrook Williams in the introduction of the **Great Men of India**: "There are among them men who have discarded age-long traditions of caste and creed. There are men who have sacrificed great careers for their convictions. There are men who have given up the prizes the world can offer. There are men who have come, through patient toil, to fame they did not seek. The ranks include scientists, scholars, poets, authors, founders of universities and schools, princes (among men) and great ministers. They are all of them working for the advancement of India.... Whether of the past or the present, India's great men are such as would do honour to any country known to history."

Now it is for the astrologers to say if the stars and the planets in the firmament had been propitious enough to shower their benedictions in bringing about such a constellation of celebrities on the earth within such a short period. But the study of mundane influences on this momentous event may throw some light.

The influence of the parents on the young minds has all along been very great and the opinion of most of the top-ranking men all over the world is that they had imbued the best qualities in them in their childhood from the parents, especially the mother. If one takes the trouble of searching the biographies of these glorious men in India, he will, I am sure, not fail to discover, as is the case with Vivekananda, that he "was blessed with noble parents" and that is true in India as elsewhere.

In the days when persons of outstanding qualities of head and heart were not scarce, the parents knew their share of responsibility in a measure which has since almost vanished. With them reading of books by boys did not constitute the entire education, but just a mere part of it. They fully realised that their duty was to "call forth power of every kind" in the youngsters under their care, "power of thought, affection, will and outward action; power to observe, to reason, to judge, to contrive; power to adopt good ends firmly and to pursue them efficiently; power to govern themselves and to influence others; power to gain and spread happiness."

With the parents, there were the teachers or **gurus**. These unostentatious people mostly keeping themselves in the background would try to mould the character of their pupils. And their number was large indeed. Not only with their depth of learning but by the force of character could they influence the minds of young boys placed in their charge as if by Providence. They would try to inculcate the best traits of character, a love of study, sense of duty and discipline and a largeness of outlook. They opened the minds to the vista of fulfilment of life's aim and unfoldment of the best that lay dormant in youthful hearts. As a rule, says Channings, the teachers knew that "the young are to be made, as far as possible, their own teachers, the discoverers of truth, the interpreters of nature, the framers of science. They are to be helped to help themselves. They should be taught to observe and study the world, in which they live, to trace the connections of events, to rise from particular facts to general principles and then to apply these in explaining new phenomena." Further, "in proportion, as the child gains knowledge, he should be taught how to use it well, how to turn it to the good of mankind."

Subhas Chandra Bose, the last 'great man' of the 19th century in India writes with a good deal of emotion about the headmaster of his time in his School and

it is true of many such teachers whose disappearance has caused such tremendous deterioration in students' behaviour. In Subhas Chandra's words: "Of the teachers there was one who left a permanent impression on my youthful mind. That was our headmaster, Babu Beni Madhav Das. The very first day I saw him taking his rounds—and I was then just over twelve—I felt what I should now call **an irresistible moral appeal in his personality**. Up till then I had never experienced what it was to respect a man. But for me, to see Beni Madhav Das was to adore him. I was not old enough then to realise what it was that I adored. I could only feel that here was a man who was not an ordinary teacher, who stood apart from, and above, the rest of his tribe. And I secretly said to myself that **if I wanted an ideal for my life, it should be to emulate him**." Continuing in this vein Subhas writes: "He succeeded in rousing in me a **vague perception of moral values—an inchoate feeling that in human life moral values should count more than anything else**. In other words he had made me feel the truth of what we had read in our Poetry Book:

The rank is but the guinea's stamp
The man is the gold for all that."
(Italics mine)

The list of teachers in those days comprised not only Indians but some of the best minds amongst foreigners that are long past thus leaving in the field of education a great void that has remained so during all subsequent years.

The mutual relations of the parents and teachers on the one hand and the sons and pupils on the other were very charming. The parents together with the teachers deemed the youngsters as their sacred trust placed to their care as a divine gift. And the little mites in their turn looked upon the elders as the living gods on earth whom they have to love, to obey and do reverence. The boys were rewarded by the blessings that flowed like a spontaneous stream carrying the humble and the reverent to the irrigated pastures of rich intellectual, moral and spiritual harvests.

Thinking of teachers from overseas it naturally brings to one's mind the enormous benefit that was derived from the contact with the English people. Speaking on the 6th of July, 1831, at the City of London Tavern, Raja Rammohun Roy said, "Before the period in which India had become tributary to Great Britain, it was the scene of the most frequent and bloody conflicts. In the various provinces of the Eastern Dominions, nothing was to be seen but plunder and devastation; there was no security of property or for life, until by the interference of this country (U.K.), the great sources of discord were checked, education has advanced and the example of British system of dominion had a conflicting effect on the natives of the east." Dadabhai Naoroji truly said that "To the enlightenment of the country, the results of the Universities and educational establishments bear witness. In place of the old general darkness and ignorance, thousands of natives have derived and millions will derive hereafter, the benefit of the highest degree of enlightenment which man has obtained."

The young plant of intellectual life was watered and nurtured with the best of sustenance. In the wake of the expansion of English education, the young minds drank deep into whatever was best, with shortcomings here and there, and came out fully prepared for the mighty battle of life that awaited them.

Fortunately for the country there were not so many distractions in those days to split young minds to tatters. Acquisition of knowledge through single-minded devotion was the main aim during the student

days. The pull of 'isms' was absent and students were only 'students' and not young patriots and leaders, organisers of 'societies' and agitators in all sorts of movements, defenders of justice in Malay, Madagascar or Mauritius. Student or Youth 'Leagues' for school and college boys were far far removed from the portals of learning. Cinema houses were not there to serve as hurdles to the path of our knowledge. Children are children and the 'little' amongst them had not to appear annually on theatrical stages to display their skill in histrionic arts. Extracurricular activities, except healthy sports and other modes of physical culture were rare. Simple unostentatious life was the aim of the students which was encouraged by the parents and teachers alike. It was their aim to banish all forms of luxury themselves so as to be regarded as embodiment of the best qualities in man and provide models for young minds.

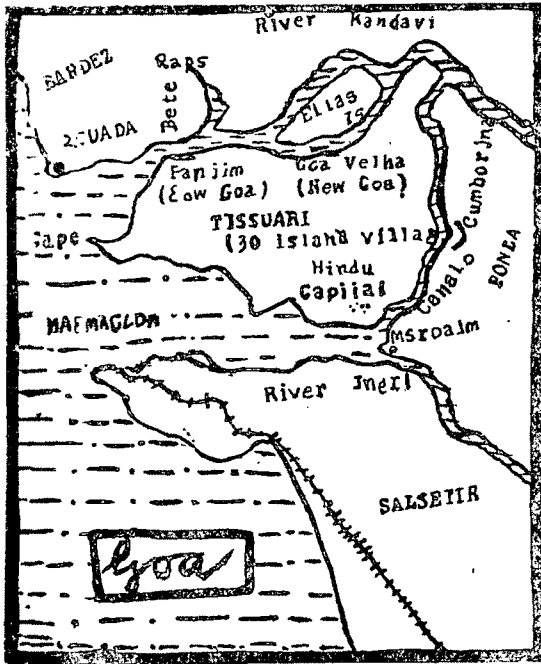
With the drift from the lofty ideals of the past, the deterioration in the calibre and capacity of young men and women has been steady with the result that with the exception of one single instance, Syama-prasad Mookherjee (July, 1901), the whole of the present century, up till now, has failed to produce any Bengalee, nay any Indian of the stature of the legion of master-minds, of the previous century who not only shed lustre to their main vocation of life, but could also adorn other fields by their versatility. The land where even unto the other day the giants roamed with mighty strides has become the parade-ground of vain-glorious pygmies.



GOA

By ADINATH SEN

Goa like Kashmir has been a canker in the blossoming of Indian independence. No cure appears to be in sight. The little patch of ground has in it no profit, but the name.

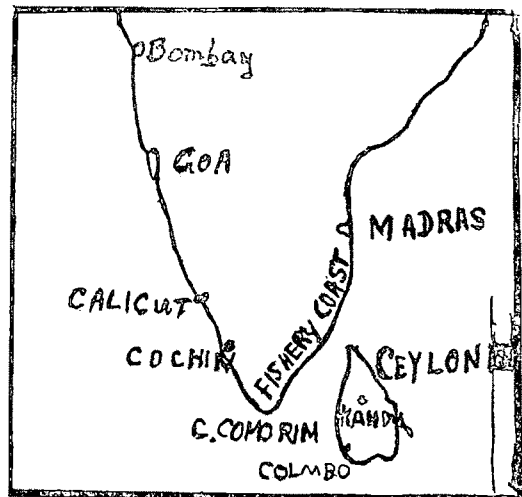


Map of Goa

Goa territory is roughly 60 miles long and 30 miles broad, along the Sea on the West coast of India, about 200 miles south of Bombay. There are now in Goa, about 210,000 Christians, 200,000 Hindus and 8,400 Moslems. The Hindus, Moslems and the Europeans ruled in succession. The original capital of the Hindus was on the banks of the river Jauri in the south. No trace of the buildings remains. Five miles to the north of the Hindu capital, stood Goa Velha, the Moslem capital, or Old Goa on the left bank of the river Mandavi, in the north. The present Portuguese capital, New Goa, at Panjim, is also on its left bank, 3 miles from the mouth. This portion of Goa with the capitals, is on the island Tistari (meaning 30-island villages), so called from the many intersecting rivulets and fountains and final separation by the canal of Cumbarjoa, from the main land

of Ponda and Salsette districts, extending from the Ghats, from where the two rivers (about 30 miles long) start and enclosing the islands, fall into the Sea. The important port of Marmagaon is on the tip of the promontory, below the lower estuary to the south of the island, where ends the railway line from India from Bombay by Bezwada. Aguada is the other tip over the upper estuary in the promontory in the district of Badez. The cape of the island is half-way between the tips.

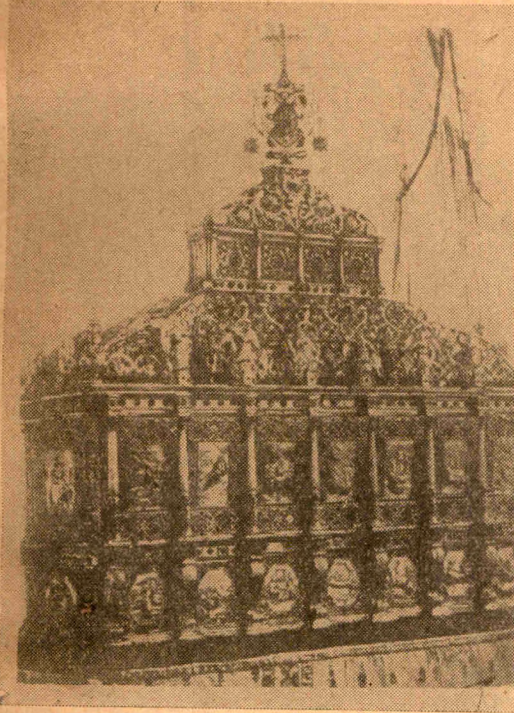
India claims Goa for 'consolidation of India after independence. The Portuguese call Goa, one of their metropolitan territories or Provinces, scattered over the continents, all absolutely of equal status, though only in 1951, the official designation of colonies was changed by law to that of a territory. In reality the majority of the people have not the political status, even of a self-governing colony and are exploited by foreign Pro-consuls for the benefit of foreign masters. Now counting on an ancient treaty with Britain (1703 A.D.) and membership of the North Atlantic Treaty



Position of Goa in India

Organisation (every member will fight when any one is involved), Portugal is showing its teeth against peaceful intentions of India. Nehru counted on the public

opinion of the United Nations Organisation, which was not forthcoming and has now withdrawn restrictions of travel to Goa for the benefit of the suppressed Goans.



Sarcophagus of St. Francis Xavier at Old Goa

It would be interesting to trace the history of Goa from the earliest times as a part of India. The occupation of Goa by the Portuguese interlopers will stand out in sharp contrast if we consider how and why the contact with the Europeans came about and how the Portuguese possess it.

Goa is a very ancient city, mentioned in the Skanda Purana, under an almost identical name. There is a legend that Parasurama brought Aryans to settle in Goa from Mithila (present Tirhut in Bihar). An inscription dated 119-120 A.D. mentions the first king Trilochana of the Kadambas. His dynasty ruled until 1312 A.D., when Malik Kafur captured Goa. The Moslem rulers were, however, ousted in 1370, by Vijayanagara. A hundred years later, Goa fell under the Bahmani Sultans of Deccan. Pilgrims for Mecca used to embark from here. Adil Shah of Bijapur

built Old Goa, called Goa Velha, about 1479. In 1498, 18 years later, Vasco de Gama rounded the cape of Good Hope and landed at Calicut. Goa was under the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, when Albuquerque conquered it in 1510. But he was soon ousted by the Bijapur rulers. However, invited by a treacherous Hindu king and reinforced, he took the city again and fortified it. It soon rose to great importance, which reached its summit towards the close of the 16th Century. Goa became one of the leading trading centres and the slave market of the East.

We now turn to the European side. The importance of the Mediterranean cities (Alexandria, Carthage, Marseilles, Genoa, Venice, &c.) or countries (Greece, Italy, France, Spain, etc.) of Europe was due to their trade with the East since the time of the early sea-faring Phoenicians, (who



St. Francis Xavier

also settled in those centres), because a country thrives on its trade. The other alternative way to thrive is by war (always condemned). When Sea-power weakened by competition of the various Mediterranean states, trade also suffered



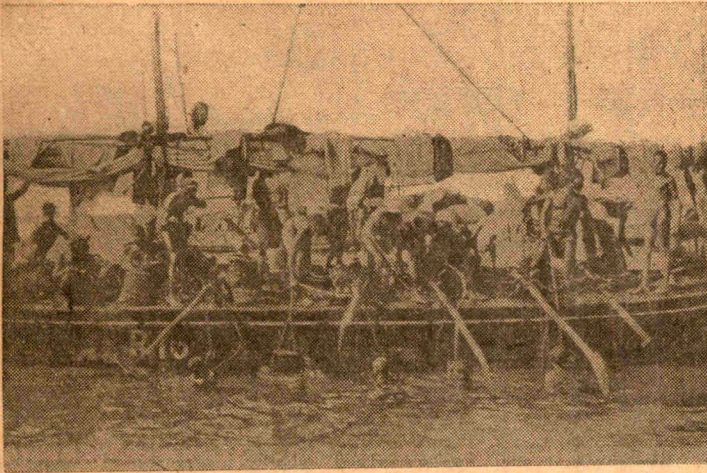
Church and Monastery of St. Xavier at Old Goa

and Eastern trade took a new channel through the city of Constantinople, the Byzantine capital (originally a Greek settlement, falling in turn to Roman, Greek and Latin hands) of the Eastern Roman Empire, flourishing for a thousand years, while the Western Roman Empire dwindled. This trade was however cut off abruptly in 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople just as Nasser cut off the Canal trade recently. In the beginning of the 15th Century, Central Europe was also in turmoil (Secular Vs. Ecclesiastical). Now came the opportunity of the Atlantic States. They sent men voyaging out for trade, rather than for colonisation. This led to discoveries and immigrations. Traffic and regular trade thus succeeded prevalent piracy, often connived at by the expanding European states. Spain was first in the field. Columbus mistaking the New World for India, discovered America and Spain

claimed the whole of the New World. The Pope arbitrated. Brazil and countries east of 50 degrees West Longitude in South America, were to belong to Portugal and the rest to Spain. Owing to dynastic succession, most of Europe was also under Spain, but after the disastrous failure of the Armada in the English Channel, Spain rapidly declined and practically disappeared from the scene, but others appeared. Other countries, even "Catholic" France, did not pay any heed to the proposals of the Pope; it was contended that Oceans were free to all nations, outside the gun range of any country. The question is still undecided and has led to devastating wars.

Portugal owed its early pre-eminence to its unique position on the Atlantic Sea-board and eventually founded a vast Colonial Empire in South America in the West and Africa and Asia on the East. In the quest for trade, India was

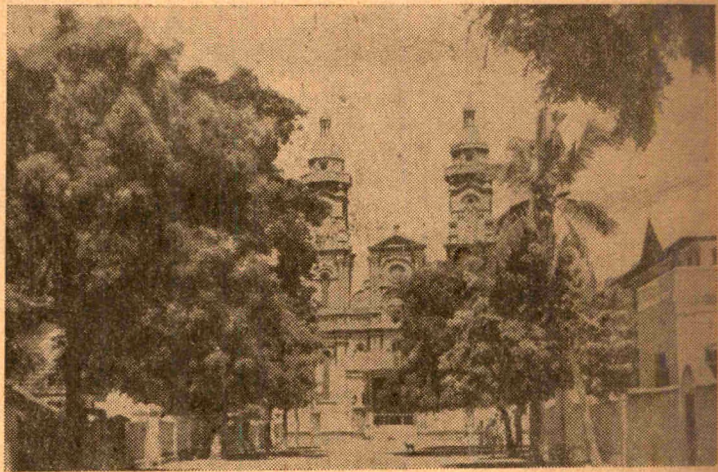
first visited by Europeans in 1486, Pedro landing at Calicut, south of Goa. The Portuguese expansion had started about a century earlier towards the West Coast of Africa. Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510, establishing a number of stations, retaliation for the Moorish subjugation of Europe) was "to clean the land for the tranquillity of the gentiles," as was reported to the king. Albuquerque was however said to be a wise firm ruler, because he not only built prison houses, but also raised



Fishery Coast, Cape Comorin

Cochin, Ceylon in Southern India and Malacca on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal in 1511. He destroyed Ormuz at the head of the Persian Gulf in 1515. This was the jewel of Persia and a great centre of trade (horses, fruits, spices) between East and West through Bagdad (and the Red Sea) and Cairo to Venice and Genoa. This also weakened the Mediterranean trade again and helped the ocean-borne trade. Albuquerque found that the Indo-European trade was all in the hands of the Moors, which he could not displace even with all his might. He next attempted to spread the Catholic faith to convert the Moslems. The Hindus were also not exempted. He had the Pope's benediction and funds for spreading the faith. The quest of Portugal was thus for spices (trade) as well as for the souls of men (conversion) and later for land (expansion), backed by their fleet. Spices predominated, but the wholesale massacre of the Moslems (as if in

magnificent hospitals, convents, cathedrals and churches, ruins of which now abound in Old Goa. Along the road from New Goa (Panjim is a narrow strip with a few high hotels) by the coast, over the cause-way of Ribandar (300 yards), buses with pictures of St. Xavier or Sri Krishna, over the driver's seat, according to his religion, run daily to the deserted city with visitors to see the Diocesan Canons sing the office and for divine service at the Cathedral. The atrocities of the early conquerors like Albuquerque



Cathedral at Cochin

were due, it is said, to fear.

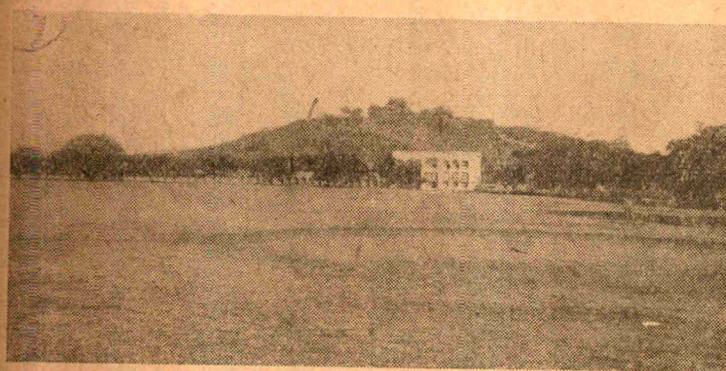
St. Francis Xavier came to Goa in 1542 after a most trying journey of 15 months. He stayed at Goa for 5 months, when hospitals, prisons and slaves in the market kept him busy in his own way, that is, preaching and tending the sick. The Portuguese rapacity was notorious, as was their cruelty inhuman. St. Francis Xavier repeatedly

brought the profligacy of the 'doughty conquerers' to the notice of the king and the Pope, but without much result. Next, Father went to the Fishery Coast (Cape Comorin) and for 2 years, lived barefooted, in tattered gowns, sleeping anywhere amongst rats, frogs and snakes, eating whatever was available or fasting. However, he easily made thousands of converts. He moved about a lot, voyaging and on foot to Madras, Ceylon, Malacca, Japan, always returning to Goa, until his last journey to China. On this journey he died of high fever, almost unattended. His body, miraculously preserved from corruption, twice removed, has found a last resting place in the shrine of Old Goa.

lish, French and the Dutch cornered the Portuguese. In the West, the Portuguese colonies rebelled and became independent. No attention was paid to Goa by Portugal from 1794 to 1815, during the disturbances in Europe (Napoleon's Peninsular War), the Royal family having fled to Brazil. The king returned but Brazil soon became independent of Portugal under his son. The vast Portuguese Empire really vanished in the struggle for the mastery of the seas, just as Spain and particularly France lost practically all their colonies.

Subsequent history of Goa is luxury, ostentation, decay and squalor. There were wars with the Marhattas. A capital, New Goa, was built at Panjim at enormous cost

by 1759, during a century of fruitless efforts and foolish expenditure. People shifted to the new capital. Goa was subjected to internal forces and external troubles. Pride of the previous (16th) Century and succeeding poverty induced shabby devices. Frequent plagues, malaria and other diseases, mosquitoes and rats reduced the population of the 16th century metropolis from 200,000



St. Thomas's Mount near Madras

By the middle of the 16th Century, a long line of trading posts was established from Europe to China and later converted to military stations as a protection from rival colonial powers. Panjim or New Goa became the metropolis of the East, long before Calcutta was born.

Holland, throwing off the Spanish yoke, by 1580, assumed a war-like attitude towards Portugal, owing to its connection with Spain and began to assert herself in the East. The British East India Company was struggling during the last years of Queen Elizabeth for a foot-hold in the East. The Portuguese and the Spaniards were very cruel and haughty, because their religious beliefs were lost before their greed for gold; so when after a century, the Dutch, French and the English appeared on the scene they were looked upon as deliverers. In the East, the Eng-

lish, French and the Dutch cornered the Portuguese. In the West, the Portuguese colonies rebelled and became independent. No attention was paid to Goa by Portugal from 1794 to 1815, during the disturbances in Europe (Napoleon's Peninsular War), the Royal family having fled to Brazil. The king returned but Brazil soon became independent of Portugal under his son. The vast Portuguese Empire really vanished in the struggle for the mastery of the seas, just as Spain and particularly France lost practically all their colonies. Subsequent history of Goa is luxury, ostentation, decay and squalor. There were wars with the Marhattas. A capital, New Goa, was built at Panjim at enormous cost by 1759, during a century of fruitless efforts and foolish expenditure. People shifted to the new capital. Goa was subjected to internal forces and external troubles. Pride of the previous (16th) Century and succeeding poverty induced shabby devices. Frequent plagues, malaria and other diseases, mosquitoes and rats reduced the population of the 16th century metropolis from 200,000 to 20,000. There were only Jesuit Fathers, who were later taken back to Portugal as captives. The land became a burden to the Home Government. The unpopular dictator President, Dr. Salazar, in Portugal appears to be keeping for over 25 years, his position secure in Portugal, by inviting trouble outside. Unbearable conditions under which the Goans are living, such as exploitation, misery, squalor and demoralisation led to the liberation movement in 1946 (really started 200 years earlier), even before India achieved her independence. This was met by indiscriminate arrests, inhuman torture, mutilations, locking up of thousands without trial, sentences of imprisonment with hard labour (some for 20 years), deportations, etc., to suppress the independence movement. Outside interest (of India) manifested itself only in 1954, when the Goans in Bombay joined the

movement. Economic conditions however reversed in 10 years, mainly due to the smuggling trade between India and Goa and exploitation of Iron and Manganese ores with Indian capital and management. So Goa has been able to meet the heavy expenditure of fortifying the state with men, guns and heavy armaments and munitions, enough to deal with a regular army and not meant for checking internal troubles in Goa, where peaceful and non-violent oppo-

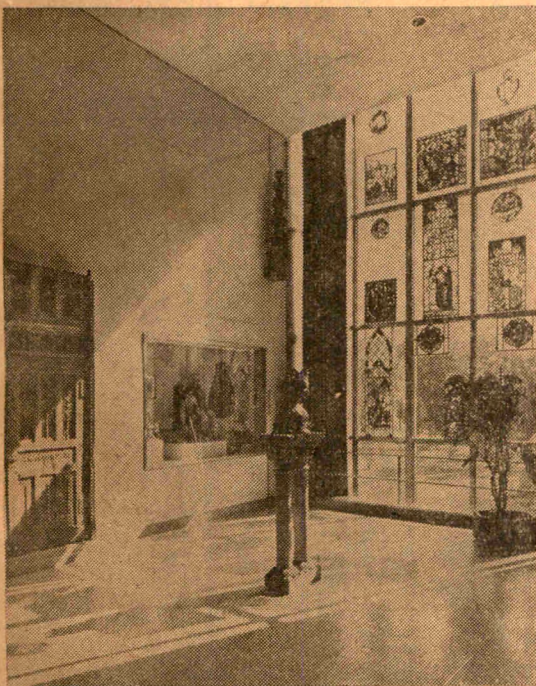
sition was met with detention in jails, prisons and lunatic asylums with heartless brute force, at Mapuca, Bete and Panjim, discrediting the Gandhi cult. India's peaceful methods are also perhaps politic. For, if the Portuguese were forcibly driven out of Goa, and they did make no peace, Indian Navy would have been put to an unequal combat and her growing trade, badly mauled.

GROWTH OF AN ART MUSEUM

Near-Eastern, South-Asian and African Art

The Museum of Art in Cleveland—the State of Ohio's large, industrial city which sprawls for miles along the shores of Lake Erie—has long ranked high among

smaller museums in the United States. It has been known for the quality of its collections, its extremely fine educational program, and for the support it has given Cleveland artists and craftsmen.



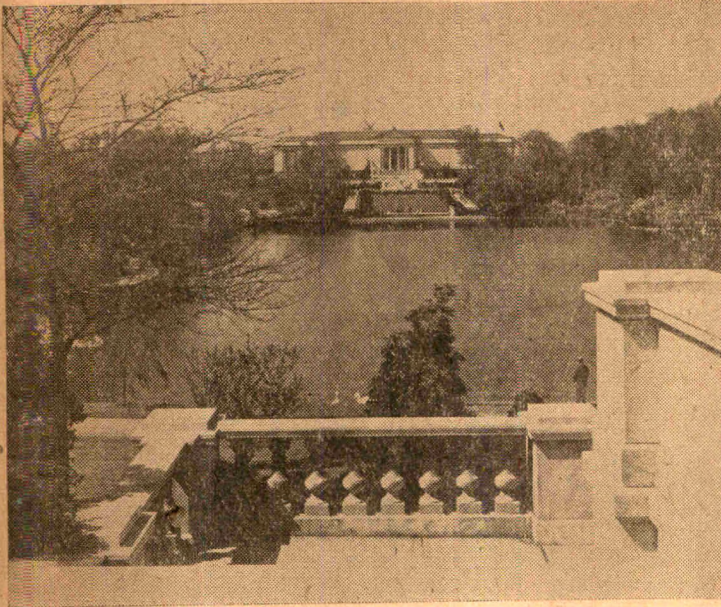
Light filters through stained glass windows at the end of the Gothic Art Gallery



Students from one of the free Saturday morning art classes

But now it has outstripped its old classification of "smaller museum." The opening of a new wing—shaped like a square

is not represented). Distinctive examples of Buddhist art, medieval Hindu stone sculpture and Mughal (Muhammadan) miniature painting are included in the collection.



The main building, beautifully situated in a Landscaped Park

and enclosing a garden, sculpture court—has doubled its original size.

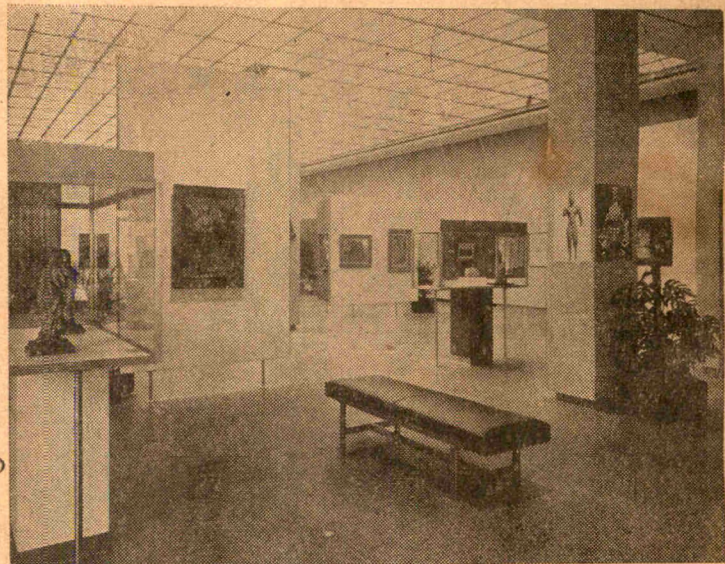
As a result, wrote "Time" magazine, the Cleveland Museum of Art has "moved into a position close behind the 'big three' in the United States—New York's Metropolitan, Washington's National Gallery, and Boston's Fine Arts."

The quality of the original works of art the Museum acquires has given it a unique reputation. "It is not so much a matter of occasional striking masterpieces," "Art News" said, "as it is of a consistently high average."

The Indian collection at the Museum called a "considerable and important" display, traces the development of Indian art beginning with the Gandhara period, in the late first and early second centuries A.D. The Indus Valley culture, the earliest art,

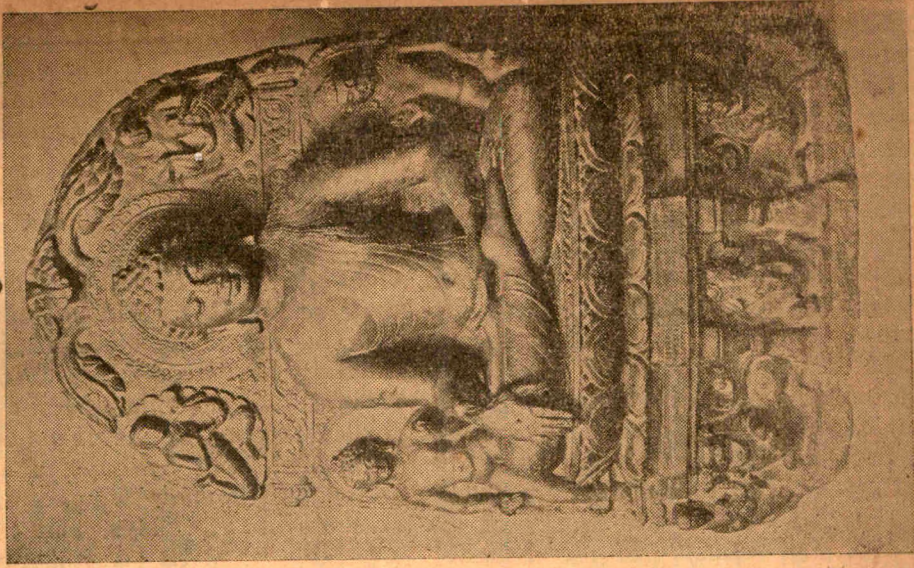
Early Indian sculpture in the Museum emphasizing Buddhist art, highlights one of the earliest representations of Buddha, of the type which established the seated 'lotus' pose as the norm. Shown also is a fragment in the Andhra style developed at the great Stupas in the South on the banks of the Krishna River. Sculpture of the Gupta Dynasty (320-647 A.D.) is represented by such examples as the "Head of a Bodhisattva" of red sandstone, as well as purely decorative forms of the lotus, cushion, and jewel.

Representative of the Pala Dynasty of Bengal (730-1197) the last repository of

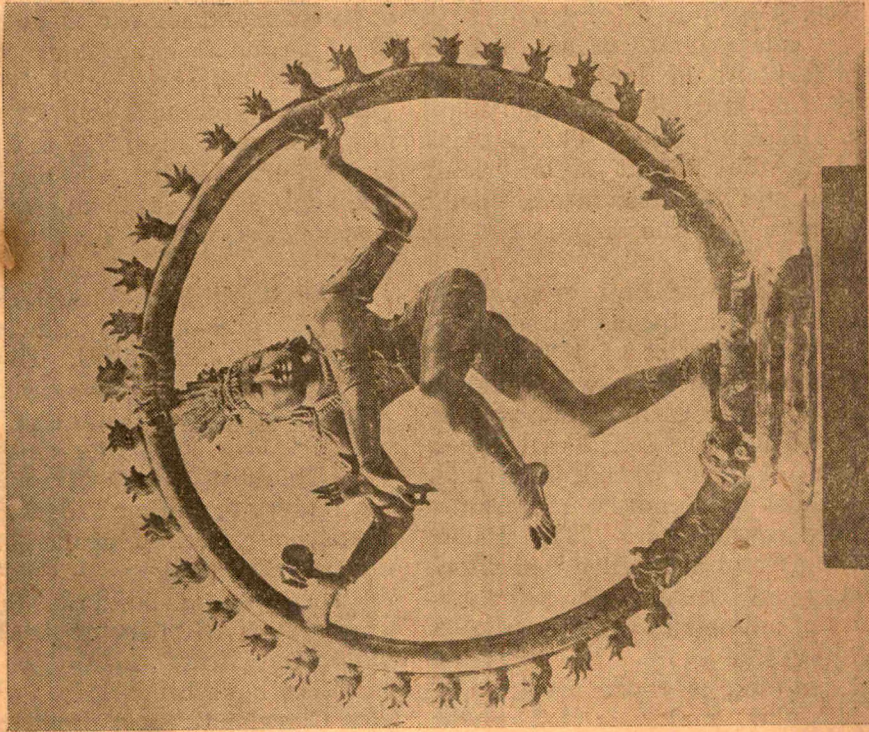


Special Exhibition Gallery in the New Wing

Gupta style in India and the great black chlorite steles of this period, is the beautiful "Buddha in the Earth Touching Pose." Also in the Gupta style of painting, the



Buddha in the Earth-touching pose
(Pala Period—9th Century A.D.)



Nataraja, Lord of the Dance, from South
India (11th Century A.D.)

Museum has rare, palm-leaf manuscripts.

Medieval Hindu stone sculpture, the culmination of Indian organic style, is demonstrated by the styles of Rajputana and Gujarat. A Museum catalogue describes outstanding examples as "Agni: God of Fire" of cream sandstone and the "Female Figure" of marble, adding that "the former is especially well-preserved and while the main figure of the 'Fire God' shows an iconic rigidity, the subsidiary figures display that curvilinear grace of pose and perfection of detail that mark the sculptures of the Khajuraho region."

The Museum has a noteworthy collection of copper images ranging from the Chola (C. 850-1310) to the Madura (1646-modern) period. These are works of art of the flourishing schools of metal-casting in South India which produced fine images in sizes ranging from miniature to almost life-size, usually by the lost wax process. Among these copper works at the Museum, is one of the greatest known images of the "Dancing Shiva" demonstrating the Tanjore style of c.1000.

Glowing colors and varied subject matter are featured in Indian miniature paintings of the Mughal (Muhammadan) and Rajput (Hindu) styles. The Museum catalogue calls the Rajput style "richly colored, lyrical and very decorative, though much influenced by the more realistic Mughal School."

The Rajputana miniature grouping at the Cleveland Museum begins with a page from a Malwa manuscript of 1634. Pages from the famous Coomaraswamy set of c.1660-70 and a Narsingarh manuscript by Madhava Das of 1680 are considered imposing art work of the period. The later Rajputana School of Bundi is represented by one of its masterpieces, "The Palace Ladies Hunting From a Pavilion," in which the fecundity of nature is expressed through pairs of animals in a richly detailed landscape.

Mughal painting is represented by 22 examples of the major styles under successive reigns. The art covers a full range of subject matter, including portraits of historical figures, narratives, animal

portraiture, and hunting scenes. The Mughal style which reached great heights under Akbar and Jahangir (1606-27) is demonstrated by the pastoral "Noble Inspecting His Herds," a painting described as a "marvel of probity of observation and uncanny control of the brush." A Museum catalogue says that "the decorative arts of this period are much admired for their technique, their formal yet rich design, and their remarkably vivid use of color."

The old, long, Neo-classic, rectangular building has stood since 1916 high on a ride of land looking down over the tree-shaded lagoon of the Fine Arts Garden. Connected to it by bays of stainless steel and glass, the new wing of the Cleveland Museum of Art lays claim to no special architectural merit on the outside. But the interior has been designed to give an air of both charm and intimacy to its large galleries.

Within the galleries are partitions, curtains, various kinds of cases so constructed that they can be moved or changed as to color and texture to suit the character of a particular exhibition. The floors are of plastic terrazzo and throughout the galleries a pleasant variety of materials has been used, resulting, said an art critic, in a "noticeable increase of one's attention span, which is apt to suffer in a big museum the way it does on a long highway."

The lighting is filtered daylight (reinforced if necessary by fluorescent lights) coming from clerestories. Through a series of television cameras installed in the galleries, a master guard in the basement is able to survey eight rooms at once.

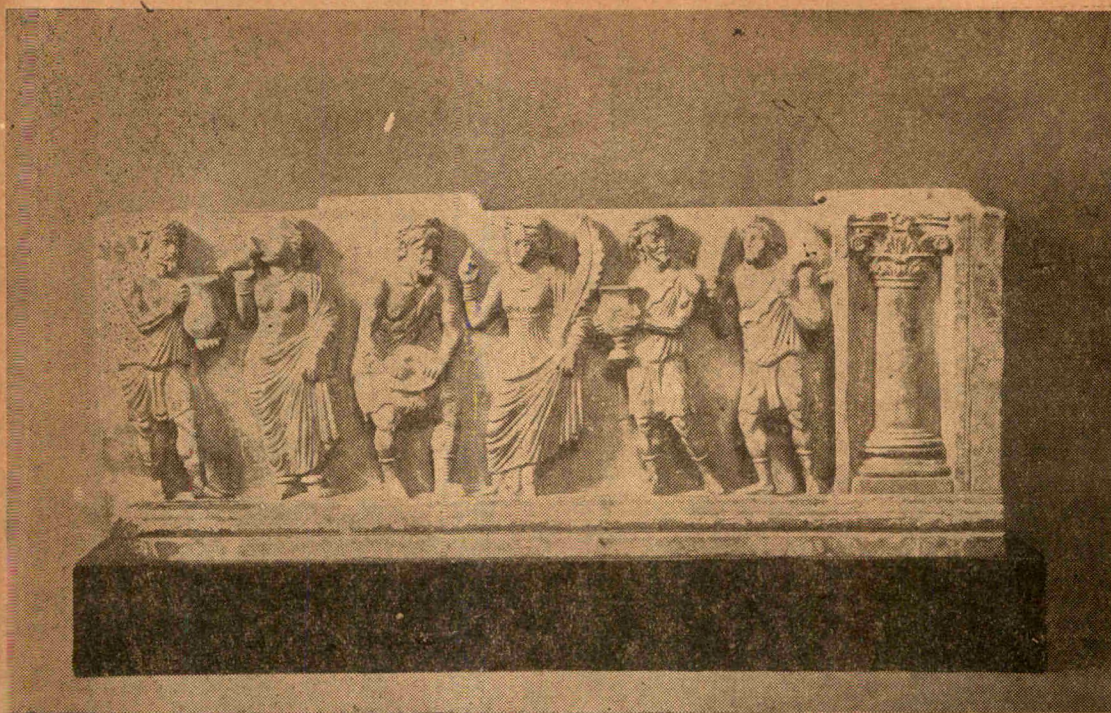
Like most American museums, Cleveland's receives neither Federal nor State aid. It exists only because of the generosity of its citizens.

The original building, the landscaped acres around it, many of its choicest possessions, and trust funds to maintain its activities, have been gifts to the Museum from Cleveland's most prominent citizens.

Its greatest benefactor has been Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., who did not live to see the new wing actually completed.



"Vangala Ragini : Musical Mode"
(Malwa School, India, 1680 A.D.)



Indian Relief of gray schist

Himself a collector of exquisite taste—which he never tried to impose on others—his interest in the Museum had been long-standing. Through the “Hanna Fund” he set up during his lifetime, the Museum was able to make purchases otherwise difficult or impossible to make. At his death, he left an additional endowment fund to the Museum and also his private collection of French Impressionists and post-Impressionists, to perpetuate that interest. Half the money needed to build the new wing came from Hanna. The rest came from public contributions.

But no amount of wealth alone could create the widespread interest in art that exists in Cleveland, whose Museum has the largest supporting membership, in relation to its size, of any American city. The responsibility for this must be traced directly to a program of public education—in the broadest sense—which has been a distinguishing feature of the Museum since its beginning.

Its Department of Education is one of the various main divisions of the Museum,

and its Curator of Education works closely with local schools at all levels: primary, secondary, college, university and graduate. The public school system in turn provides three full-time teachers to work with the Museum’s staff. They spend half their time guiding and instructing school classes at the Museum, and the other half in the schools interpreting Museum materials.

Saturday is “Children’s Day” at the Museum. There are materials, free voluntary classes in drawing and painting for any child, whether his parents are members of the Museum or not. There are special classes for talented children in the morning, and the afternoons find children in the auditorium, watching Museum-arranged programs of plays, dance groups, music, marionettes and selected films.

The Museum maintains close relations with Western Reserve University, whose campus is not far distant; some members of the Museum’s staff also serve on the University faculty, and the University sends several classes to study at the Museum.

DANCE AND SONG ENSEMBLE FROM THE DEMOCRATIC

An equally close relationship is maintained with the Cleveland Institute of Art, recognized throughout the United States for the distinction of its work in both arts and crafts. Annually, for 40 years, the Museum has held a "May Show" where work done at the Institute is exhibited and sold.

Ten times a year the Museum publishes a "**Bulletin**" containing articles on acqui-

sitions, and relevant information. More recently it also assumed the task of editing the "**Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism**," issued by the American Society of Aesthetics. Furthermore, it offers public lectures, gallery talks, courses arranged for members and gives special lecture courses, or holds exhibits for various clubs and groups in the city.—**USIS**.

DANCE AND SONG ENSEMBLE FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM

DANCES have long been a part of the tradition of the Vietnamese people. They reflect the life and the feeling for life of the people whether they are performed by the peasants in their villages or by professional dancers on the stage or in the royal palaces.

From time immemorial, there existed dances such as the "Riding Horse" dance with a stick ended by four wisps of hair representing the horse, the "Butterfly" dance presented under coloured light, or the "Soldiers Bathing Their Horse" dance performed by two young men. There existed also dances such as the "Wine Offering" dance usually performed in temples by heralds or the "Lantern Procession" presented in the religious festivals by the people and the "Fan" dance often seen in royal palaces.

One can find the chivalrous spirit of the Vietnamese people through such dances as the "Stick" dance, "Sword" dance, or their enthusiasm and optimism through the joyful "Lion Procession" at the autumn and spring festivals with the accompaniment of grotesque clowns and bizarre faked animals.

Dances were mostly developed in mountainous areas and performed by the national minorities people during their spare time or in religious ceremonies. Each nationality had its own characteristic dances such as the "Monkey" dance of the Caolan minority people, the

"Spear" dance of the Ede, the "Xoc" dance of the Meo, with a display of wide skirts and umbrellas to the accompaniment of their "khu" (musical instrument), to cite only a few.

August Revolution (1945), marked a new stage in cultural life throughout Viet-Nam. Central and various local artistic ensembles were established after 1950, and many had been appointed to study the nation's traditional arts.

As a result, many folk dances have been adapted; for example, the "Pole" dance of the Muong minority people which under the new form, describes the jubilant atmosphere in the history of the people and the Viet-Nam people's Army or the "Fan" dance in which the joyfulness of the Thai young maids is manifested by the flutterings of the fan representing a butterfly.

Many new dances have been created on the basis of folk dances such as the "Umbrella" dance of the Neo people, the "Turtle Dove" dance of the Caolan, the "Drum" dance of the Bana, the "Lotus" dance of the Khmer people and the "Fan" dance of the Viet people.

There are also dances based on classical dances from the traditional operas such as the "Would-be Son-in-law" illustrating the competition between three horse-riding archers for the love of a beautiful girl.—**PIB**.



INDIAN REACTIONS TO THE CHINESE BORDER INCURSIONS

By SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

The crisis in Tibet (March 1959) tremendously shook India's sense of security—which found reflection in the comments of newspapers and opposition political leaders. Writing as early as March 22 when the news of the Tibetan revolt had just begun to reach India, the "Hindu," a leading newspaper of the South, referred in an editorial article to the grave possibilities of a Chinese advance in Tibet for India's security and observed: "The Chinese Cartographers still include certain parts of India in their maps and their soldiers have even occupied a little of Indian territory. We expect these matters to be settled without much fuss and, one hopes, to our satisfaction."¹

The "Sunday Standard," another English Weekly newspaper published simultaneously from four centres in India, dwelt upon the fact that the developments in Tibet coupled with the grant of military aid to Pakistan by the United States of America had disturbed Indian minds very much. The developments in Tibet had not only given a new insight into the mind and face of China, but also a new awareness of India's vulnerability. "Our studiously cultivated pose of lofty detachment," the newspaper wrote, "has given way to something like panicky concern for our security, which was reflected in the recent defence debate in Parliament. No longer were heard the usual demands for cuts in defence expenditure. On the contrary, M.P.s went to the length of questioning the wisdom of the economics voluntarily effected by the Defence Ministry."² The degree of general

uneasiness about Chinese actions and intentions found expression in the speeches of prominent Indian personalities who participated in a discussion meeting in New Delhi on April 17. "If other people (the reference is to the Chinese—S.C.S.) think they should consolidate their control and military position in Tibet," Dr. H. N. Kunzru, the veteran public leader declared, "surely India has a right to think of her own future position vis-a-vis her north-eastern part."³ Other speakers before the meeting dwelt upon the "profound implications" of the Tibetan developments for the entire Himalayan region of Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim and NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency of India inhabited by the Nagas and other hill tribes south of the McMahon Line).⁴

This reaction was instinctive, because the facts of Chinese border incursions and the differences between the Governments of India and China were not yet generally known. The Government of India which was in possession of fuller facts and information was not, however, ready to substantiate these fears of the public—obviously in the hope of not irritating the Chinese Government unduly over matters which were until then undoubtedly minor, and thereby destroy the chances of an amicable settlement of points under dispute. Yet the Government evidently felt sufficiently uneasy about the Chinese moves which did not allow it to sit completely silent as before. "I do not mean to say that our security is now challenged or in immediate danger," the Indian Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, said in Madras on April 14, "but we have to think of what might happen also in future."⁵

1. "Hindu," Madras, Editorial article on Tibet, March 22, 1959.

2. "Sunday Standard," Madras, April 19, 1959 Editorial article. See also the Commentary of B.G. Verghese, "The National Scene" in the "Times of India," Bombay, April 19, 1959.

3. "The Statesman," New Delhi, April 18, 1959.

4. "Ibid."

5. "Free Press Journal," Bombay, April 15, 1959.

During the following months the fears about Chinese intentions and the problems of maintaining India's territorial integrity from an attack from the north came up again and again in one form or other both in the Houses of Parliament,⁶ in the press⁷ and in the speeches of public leaders.⁸ Tibet again and again came into prominence in these discussions and in the editorial articles of leading national dailies.⁹ Despite all

these uneasiness about developments in Tibet which had also some direct repercussions adversely affecting the movement and trade interests of Indian citizens in Tibet,¹⁰ there was no knowledge or realization of the bigger shock involving a considerable slice of Indian territory that was soon to come.

The first major indication of serious border trouble between India and China was contained in the Indian Prime Minister's reply to an adjournment motion and a short notice question in the "Lok Sabha" on August 28. He disclosed that a small Indian reconnaissance police party consisting of an officer and five others, while proceeding towards the Khurnak Fort in Jammu and Kashmir in India, had been apprehended by a stronger Chinese detachment on July 28, some miles from the border inside Indian territory and that the Chinese had established a camp at a place called Spanggur well within Indian territory. On a protest from the Government of India, the Chinese had released the captured Indians but had refused to vacate the territory claiming it as part of China. No reply had been received to a subsequent Indian note expressing surprise at that Chinese claim. He further disclosed that the Chinese had built a road from Gartok towards Yarkand, that is, Chinese Turkestan which encroached upon a part of Indian territory in north-eastern Ladakh and that the Chinese had similarly arrested one of the two parties sent to reconnoitre the area about a year earlier.

6. Debates in the "Lok Sabha" (Lower House of the Indian Parliament) on April 22 and 27, 1959 reported in the "Statesman" New, Delhi, April 23 and 28, 1959; and "Rajya Sabha" (Upper House of the Indian Parliament) on May 4, 1959 reported in the "Statesman," May 5, 1959.

7. Editorial articles "in the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika,'" Calcutta, April 23, 1959 ("China and India"), "Delhi Hindusthan Standard," New Delhi, July 21, 1959 ("Say out, Please"). "Pioneer," Lucknow, June 25, 1959 ("Dalai Lama Speaks,"). See also the report of the Staff Correspondent of the "Hindustan Times," New Delhi, in the issue of the newspaper of May 15, 1959.

8. Deliberations before the All-India Tibet Convention held in Calcutta, May 30 and 31, 1959 reported in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, May 31 and June 1, 1959; Statement of Mr. H. V. Kamath—former member of the Indian Civil Service, past president of the Forward Bloc founded by Subhas Chandra Bose, former member of Parliament and now leader of the Praja Socialist Party—to pressmen in Bhopal, Capital of Madhya Pradesh on July 19, reported by the "Press Trust of India" ("Delhi Hindusthan Standard," July 20, 1959).

9. For example see the editorial articles in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, June 22, 1959 ("Call to Conscience"), August 8, ("China and the Himalayas"), "The Statesman," Calcutta and Delhi, July 3, ("In Exile"), "Hindustan Times," New Delhi, June 22 ("The Dalai Lama Speaks"), July 2 ("Dalai Lama's Future"); "Indian Nation," Patna, June 23, ("The Dalai Lama's Version"); "Hitavada," Nagpur and Bhopal, June 23 ("Tibetan Problems"), August 9, ("Indo-Tibetan Trade"); "Pioneer," Lucknow, June 24, August 9; "National Herald," Lucknow, June 30, 1959 ("Tibet and U.N."), August 8, ("Indo-Tibet

Trade"); "Free Press Journal," Bombay, August 7, ("Trade with Tibet"), August 14, ("Turning the Check?"); "Times of India," Bombay, July 3, ("Tibetan Affairs"), July 11, ("Changes in Tibet").

10. See the Indian Prime Minister's statement in the "Lok Sabha" on August 6 in regard to an adjournment motion on the difficulties experienced in India's trade with Tibet. "Amrita Bazar Patrika," August 7, 1959 (henceforth cited as "Patrika").

About other difficulties experienced by Indian citizens in Tibet, see the Statement of the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, in the "Lok Sabha," on August 11, 1959, "Patrika," August 12.

The Indian Prime Minister then referred to the latest incidents that had taken place on August 7 and 25. In the first instance an armed Chinese patrol, approximately 200 strong, had violated the Indian border at Khinzemane north of Chuthangmu in the Kameng Frontier Division in Assam in north-eastern India. When requested to withdraw, the Chinese had actually physically pushed back the Indian patrol party which consisted of only about a dozen men. The Indians retook the post after the Chinese had vacated it. But the Chinese had again come back and had demanded immediate withdrawal of the Indian picket from the area which the Indian policemen had refused to do. There had been no firing. In the other case, on August 25 a strong Chinese detachment had crossed into Indian territory in the Subansiri Frontier Division in that area of Assam at a place south of Migyitun and had opened fire. There had also been such forcible occupation of Indian territory at Longju.¹¹

The Indian Prime Minister said that there was absolutely no doubt about India's border with China but as the border had not been physically demarcated along its entire length the Government of India was willing to discuss the question of minor adjustments here and there with China, "But," he added, "from such information as we have received and which I have placed before the House, when their forces come, envelop our checkposts and capture them after firing, it is not the normal peaceful way of approaching these questions (of border adjustments), even if there is a dispute. Therefore this matter becomes a much more serious one than some incidental or accidental border affray".¹²

The Prime Minister's statement was flashed by all the newspapers in India on their first page and many gave an eight-column heading¹³ describing China as aggressor. The Prime Minister's statement was

interpreted in the Parliamentary circles as marking the end of an era of India-China friendship and the beginning of an era of controversy and strife.¹⁴

"A new Menace" was how the Patrika characterised the Chinese border incursions.¹⁵ It drew attention to the Chinese plan for grabbing the territories of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim on the northern frontier of India and endorsed the Indian Prime Minister's declaration re-iterating the McMahon Line as the limit of India's north-eastern frontier and India's interest in the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Bhutan and Sikkim. Practically the entire press in one voice endorsed the Prime Minister's stand.¹⁶ "The Statesman in a leader on August 30 wrote: "As is customary in disputes of this kind, the precise location and sequence of events can be deliberately blurred. But one fact is clear: the Chinese forces involved displayed a hostility that is at marked variance with their country's past protestations of friendship for India and was unexpected even in the coolness between the two capitals since the rape of Tibet.¹⁷ The "Hindu" commended the Prime Minister's "sober presentation of facts" and his "dignified restraint in Comment" and "for the evident anxiety to be fair to the other side" and expressed the hope that "the Chinese Government will soon realise the dangers inherent in the forward policy pursued by their military patrols on India's border".¹⁸

In response to the demand of the members of Parliament a White Paper was published early in September, containing documents bearing upon India-China relations

14. "Patrika," August 29, (Report of its special Representative at New Delhi).

15. Editorial article, August 29, 1959.

16. See also the editorial articles in the "Indian Nation," August 29, ("China's Cold War"); "The Statesman," Calcutta and Delhi, August 30; "Hitavada," September 1, ("Sino-Indian Border Relations"); "The Pioneer," September 2, ("Knocking on the North") and "The Hindu," September 1 ("Border Troubles").

17. Editorial article "Frontier Dilemma."

18. Editorial article "Border Troubles," September 1, 1959.

11. "Patrika," August 29, 1959.

12. "Prime Minister on Sino-Indian Relations, Vol. 1" (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India), p. 95.

13. See for example, the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, August 29, 1959.

since 1954. It was disclosed that there had been minor disputes on the border ever since 1954 which were results of the absence of demarcation of the boundary at the places on the ground. It was further seen that the Indian Prime Minister had written¹⁹ to the Chinese Prime Minister about the withdrawal of Chinese forces from the parts of Indian territory which they had encroached upon forcefully, as early as March 22, 1959 but no reply had been given to that letter even after five months. Immediately after the publication of the White Paper Premier Chou's reply was received.²⁰ It was from that letter that Indians first learnt that the Government of China held almost the entire length of the Sino-Indian boundary to be a disputed area. Not only that, the Chinese Premier put all the blame for the border incidents upon India and accused her of aggressive actions against China. The Chinese Premier's letter was followed by the release of a 2000-word official statement by "Hsinhua" (official Chinese) News Agency which, among other things, accused India of: (i) drawing its map in such a way as to cut 38,000 square kilometres deep into Chinese territory along the Sinkiang-Tibet-Ladakh border, (ii) invading several places which were claimed to be Chinese territory along the Tibet-Punjab-Uttar Pradesh frontier and (iii) annexing 90,000 square miles of Chinese territory along the Assam-Tibet border.²¹ Rejecting these claims as "fantastic and absurd," the Indian Prime Minister said in the "Lok Sabha" on September 12: "When India referred to these (Chinese) maps in the past, she was told they were old maps and China would revise them (vide Chinese Government memorandum of November 3, 1958 on p. 47 of White Paper I-S.C.S.). That was a totally inadequate answer, though it was some kind of postponement of answer. But now the real thing is this it is more definite. They

(the Chinese) hold by it (Chinese map) when we do not exactly know where their line is. This kind of treatment or behaviour—that is claiming a large tract of Indian territory as Chinese—does seem to me very improper for one nation to treat another, even much more so among nations which have been friendly."²² Prime Minister Nehru met the points raised by Mr. Chou in a further letter on September 26. There was a temporary halt in China's forward movements until in late October India was shocked to learn of the attack on Indian patrol policemen by an armed Chinese detachment, resulting in the death of nine Indian policemen and injury to several others. (The Chinese did not disclose the number of dead or injured, if any, on their side). The whole of the nation became angry. The Government of India sent a strong protest note demanding the immediate release of captured Indians and for the evacuation of the Indian territory.

The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" characterised it as "Stabbing while Smiling"²³ (the reference was to Chou's friendly acknowledgment of Nehru's greetings on China's National Day which had been received a little earlier) and asked, "Is it possible to treat such surprise attacks as a prelude to friendly negotiations?" "The Nagpur Times" said that this incident was "the last straw for India's patience and neutrality" and blew up "once for all the fondly nurtured fiction that China may be interested in settling the border dispute with India in any friendly spirit."²⁴

A section of the press strongly criticised the Government of India's lack of firmness in dealing with the Chinese. "The 17 (actually the number was nine as was learnt on verification—S.C.S.) policemen who laid their lives in the heights of Ladakh," the "Hindustan Times" wrote, "are as much the victims of a policy which has wantonly neglected national interests as of Chinese

19. For the Indian Prime Minister's letter see "White Paper" No. 1 (pp. 55-57).

20. Text of Premier Chou's reply in "White Paper" No. II (pp. 27-33).

21. "Times of India," Bombay, September 13, 1959.

22. "Ibid," September 14, 1959.

23. "Patrika," October 25, 1959 Editorial articles.

24. Editorial article "A Call to Arms," October 26, 1959.

expansionist adventures."²⁵ The "Indian Express, another critic of Nehru's policies wrote: "Mr. Nehru's habit of countering each new act of Chinese aggression with a Niagara of words has begun increasingly to dismay India's people and to embolden the Chinese."²⁶ There was no doubt about the nation's anger at that outrage.²⁷ Even the Communist Party of India also condemned this outrage. China succeeded in losing the friendship of even the last Indian.

The Government of India published a second White Paper in November incorporating in it the text of letters and notes exchanged between the Governments of China and India on the Border dispute since September which disclosed a steady deterioration in their mutual relationships.

Parliament

The deterioration in India-China relations over the border disputes was a frequent matter for discussion in both Houses of Parliament during the past four months. There were many adjournment motions and anxious questions about the various incidents. There was strong criticism for the Government's failure to keep the nation informed about the fact of Chinese incursions into Indian territory which had steadily taken place since 1954. The Prime Minister duly apologised for this lapse explaining that he had thought it would be possible to arrive at a mutually satisfactory settlement without undue publicity. The Government of India's China policy was under fire from the Praja Socialist, Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party members who charged the Government with timidity and half-heartedness. India's advocacy for China's seat in the UN and especially

her opposition to the discussion of the Tibetan question in the United Nations were particular targets of attack. Ironically enough, the Communists appeared to be the only supporter of the Government from among the opposition.

Political Parties

All the political parties and groups in India—with the exception of the Communist Party of India, and two splinter groups in West Bengal—known as the Socialist Unity Centre and the Forward Bloc Marxists who have insignificant followings—were unanimous in their denunciation of the Chinese actions. The Congress,²⁸ the Praja Socialist Party,²⁹ the Jan Sangh,³⁰ the newly-founded Swatantra Party,³¹ and the Revolutionary Socialist Party³²—all pledged support to the Government in its stand against the Chinese aggression upon Indian territory. The general criticism of the opposition parties with the exception of the Communist Party was that the Government was pursuing a policy of appeasement towards China.³³ The President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha de-

28. Text of the resolution adopted by the All India Congress Committee at its Nagpur-session in the "Patrika", September 29, 1959. Another resolution was adopted by the working committee of the Indian National Congress on November 10. (See "Patrika," November 11).

29. Resolution adopted at the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Party in Bombay on November 5, ("Hindu," November 7).

30. Resolution passed by the working committee of the All India Jan Sangh on September 20 in New Delhi ("Statesman," Calcutta, September 21, 1959).

31. See the Statement of Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Swatantra Party Leader, while inaugurating the Swatantra Party Convention in Punjab on October 25, ("Patrika," October 26, 1959).

32. Statement of Mr. T. K. Chowdhury, General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Calcutta on August 30, ("Patrika," August 31, 1959).

33. Acharya J. B. Kripalani called the policy "Chamberlain like," "Times of India," Bombay, September 7.

25. Editorial article "How Long?" October 26, 1959.

26. Editorial article, "Failure of a Policy," October 26, 1959.

27. See also the editorial articles of "Delhi Hindusthan Standard" October 25 ("Ladakh outrage"): "Deccan Chronicle" Secunderabad, October 25 ("Pig hunting?"): "Aarada Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, (influential Bengali daily newspaper), October 25, 1959; the "Hitavada" October 27, ("Bellicose China").

clared that the "continued insult" by China "to the sense of our national prestige is a direct proof of failure of the foreign policy of the Nehru Government."³⁴ The Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh were most vocal in demanding a firm policy towards China.

Communists

Even the Communist Party of India also was forced to criticise China publicly. However its ill-conceived policies made it the Chief political casualty and the party found itself in the midst of the gravest internal crisis in its history. The dilemma before the party lay in the obvious difficulty in reconciling its much vaunted "proletarian internationalism" which did not allow it to recognise aggression committed by any communist country (a Socialist country can never be an aggressor was how the party defined its attitude) with the political expediency of retaining the allegiance of the Indian masses who had been profoundly shaken by what they believed, rightly or wrongly, a perfidy on the part of the Chinese Government. Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Deputy Leader of the Communist Group in the "Lok Sabha" told a public meeting in Gaya on August 31—three days after Prime Minister's authoritative announcement in Parliament—that "the much publicised incursion on India's border by China is nothing but a bogey by newspapers and a deep-rooted conspiracy by the western imperialists and vested interests for whom Indo-China friendship is an eyesore."³⁵ The party thought that a revival of the slogan "Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai" (meaning Indians and Chinese are brothers) would remove all the difficulties.³⁶ However the continued violation of the Indian territory by Chinese armed forces opened the eyes of some leaders including the veteran Mr. S. A. Dange, whose sixtieth birthday was recently celebrated throughout the Communist world by the World Federation of Trade Unions, and

Mr. A. K. Gopalan. The Party, however, was yet unprepared to take an honest stand—either supporting or opposing China—but instead its Central executive adopted a resolution in its Calcutta meeting stating that neither the McMahon Line which India claimed to be north-eastern boundary nor the Chinese maps which included a considerable area south of that line within China, should be a precondition for starting negotiations for a settlement of all outstanding issues between India and China. There was no condemnation of China.³⁷ This resolution was promptly greeted as "positively dishonest and mischievous."³⁸

This double-talking resolution shattered the morale of many Communists and the Maharashtra and Poona Units openly passed resolutions repudiating the Calcutta resolution of its Central Executive Committee. This open cleavage necessitated the convening of a meeting of the policy-making National Council of the Party to consider this matter. Under pressure from the general body of members the National Council substantially modified the Calcutta resolution and asserted the McMahon Line to be the limit of India's north-eastern boundary and even with regard to Ladakh it endorsed the Government of India's stand. The Party was not yet prepared to call China aggressor—although it had earlier condemned the Chinese firings in Ladakh—and accused political parties such as the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, the leadership of the Praja Socialist Party and some influential elements inside the Congress of launching a campaign of hatred against China and asked the people to be-

37. Full text of the resolution "Hindu," Madras September 27, 1959.

38. Editorial article of the "Patrika," September 28 ("Parting of Ways") see also Mahesh Chandra's "Political Commentary" in the "Statesman," Sept. 30, 1959, who said: "Had the Communist Party tried to demonstrate its anti-national and un-Indian character it could not have done better than through the resolution which its Central Executive released at Calcutta last week."

34. "Patrika" October 26, 1959.

35. "Patrika," September 2, 1959.

36. Statement of the Secretariat of C.P.I., "Statesman," Calcutta, September 20, 1959.

were "of the activities of such parties."³⁹ This resolution also apparently failed to satisfy even some of the leading party members whose feelings were reflected in the refusal of the Executive of the Maharashtra Communist Party Committee to endorse it.⁴⁰ The party, however, fully upheld the policies of the Government of India—at least on the surface and even the most vocal among the pro-Chinese elements in the party also endorsed Nehru's latest (Nov. 16) letter to the Chinese Premier.⁴¹ Many including the Congress Chief Minister of Orissa State, Dr. H. K. Mahatab,⁴² asked the Government to place a curb upon the Communist Party, but the Indian Prime Minister declined to do so.⁴³

Government of India's Position

The Government of India was at first inclined to dismiss the border incursions as trifling matter arising out of misunderstanding on the part of local Chinese troops. The receipt of Premier Chou En-lai's letter of September 8, convinced it that China's differences with India were not simple matters, yet even then it did not consider that China would resort to deliberate armed intrusion into India's territory. Even as late as October 21, Premier Nehru was telling pressmen in Calcutta that he did not think there was any "major idea" behind the Chinese incursions. The news of the outrage in Ladakh in which nine Indians had been killed completely unawares inflamed public opinion in the country which was further stiffened by the Chinese replies to the Government of India's note. The extent to which the Indian Prime Minister's views about China had undergone transformation since October 21 was given by his remark at the convocation of the Dronacharya

Sanatan Dharam College at Gurgaon, near Delhi on November 29 when he exhorted all to realise that "these dangers are not only for the present, but may remain for many years to come. We have to face this challenge by increasing our strength." ("Hindustan Times," November 30, 1959).

The considered view of the Government of India towards China, was outlined in Prime Minister Nehru's reply to the three-day-long debate on the Sino-Indian border issue in the "Lok Sabha" on November 27.

Shri Nehru accused China of a "breach of faith" against India which had all along championed her cause. He emphasised that it was absurd for the Government of China to imagine, that it could sit on India or crush India as it was equally absurd for any one in India to think he was going to sit on China. He thought that the prospects of a future where the two giant nations of Asia were constantly "at each other's throat" was bad for the future, bad for China and for India, or for Asia, and a war between them would be a great tragedy.

Shri Nehru said that the Government of India realised even when it had recognised the Chinese Communist Government "that a strong China has been normally an expansionist China throughout history. That has been the case and we saw it and felt it." The extraordinarily rapid rate of population growth in China, faced the world with an explosive situation, he said.

"People think," Mr. Nehru added, "that in spite of all that has happened on our borders and elsewhere it has made no great difference. That is not correct. It has made tremendous difference not only to the Government's present relations with China but also to what may happen in the future. That is something very obvious from the widespread and deep-seated reaction in India. There is no doubt about that."

Referring to the Indian reactions against China, the Indian Prime Minister said: "The reaction has been powerful, from children in a primary school to grown-up people. I have ventured sometimes to

39. Full text of the Meerut resolution, "Hindu", November 15, 1959.

40. "Free Press Journal," Bombay, December 2, 1959.

41. "Patrika," November 23, 1959.

42. "Ibid."

43. Reply to a question in the monthly Press Conference in New Delhi on December 3 "Statesman", December 4, 1959.

ask people to be calm. But I might tell you that I was proud of that reaction."

He asked everybody to realize the gravity of the situation created by China: "If," he said, "unfortunately the situation worsens we shall have to become a nation in arms. Let there be no mistake. Every single activity and planning will have to be conditioned by the major fact that it is a struggle for life and death."

He had earlier indicated that an attack on Bhutan and Sikkim would be considered an attack on India. Now he extended that protection to the Himalayan State of Nepal as well with which India is tied with a treaty of friendship.⁴⁴

"The Lead we waited for" is how the "Hindustan Times," the influential daily in the nation's capital greeted Mr. Nehru's speech of November 27. "The country has waited long enough for the kind of lead the Prime Minister gave in his reply to the debate on the Chinese threat on our northern borders. We now know where we stand and, rather more important, so do the Chinese." The newspaper which was a critic of Nehru's lenient policy towards China added: "We have been among those who have not appreciated Mr. Nehru's patient handling of the situation and we still claim that the Chinese did not deserve his infinite pains to understand them and to make them see reason. Nevertheless we are proud today that we have a Prime Minister in whom the people have so much basic trust that he can emerge from the cloud he has been under with his strength unimpaired, his popularity undimmed, his leadership unchallenged."⁴⁵

Commenting upon the debate in Parliament, the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" said that "though the debate took party lines, can it be denied that the Prime Minister has emerged with his hands much more strengthened than before."⁴⁶

The "Hindu" referred to the "triforce note of unity, self-reliance and determination" reflected in the speeches of members belonging to all parties and groups which revealed that they had really no quarrel with what the Prime Minister had characterised as the Government's basic policy—friendship with neighbouring states and non-alignment with any military bloc, "Our Prime Minister has spoken for our people," it said and warned that "China would be making a grave mistake if she believed that India was divided on any issue which affected her honour and integrity. Our country and our Parliament have witnessed such demonstrations of unity as should make her pause and ponder."⁴⁷

Referring to Mr. Nehru's speech as the enunciation of a "Nehru Doctrine," the Times of India said that the extension of the protective wing of India to prevent any aggression upon Nepal, "is nothing more than recognition of physical imperatives and it was addressed as much to the people of India as to foreign powers."⁴⁸

The Government of India all along indicated its willingness to discuss with the Chinese Government all reasonable points about the border but it understandably could not agree to give up substantial portion of Indian territory which belonged to her historically, politically and culturally, for no other reason than that the Chinese wanted that territory. Explaining India's stand Mr. Nehru said in his last letter (November 16) to Mr. Chou: "I should like to repeat what I have said in a previous communication, that this entire frontier was a peaceful one for a long time and there was no conflict or trouble there. It is only recently that conflicts and difficulties have arisen in regard to the frontier. These difficulties have not arisen because of any action that we have taken. The cause of the recent troubles is action taken from your side of the frontier." Expressing his desire for a peaceful settlement of the disputes he stressed the importance

44. See "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta and "Hindustan Times," Delhi, November, 28, 1959.

45. Editorial article, November 28.

46. Editorial article, November 28, ("Basic Policy").

47. Editorial article, November 29, ("Relations with China").

48. Editorial article, December 1, ("Nehru Doctrine").

of avoiding border clashes and for adopting necessary measures to that end. He pointed out that there was disagreement even about the facts of possession which made the observance of "Status quo" exceedingly difficult. But to avoid entanglement on the definition of the "Status quo" the Indian Prime Minister suggested as an interim measure in the Ladak area that the Government of India would withdraw all personnel to the west of the line which the Chinese Government had shown as the international boundary in their 1956 maps while the Chinese Government should withdraw their personnel to the east of the international boundary which had been described by the Government of India in their earlier notes and correspondence and shown in their official maps. He was willing to meet the Chinese Premier but certain preliminary steps had to be taken before such a meeting could take place.

As of December 3, no reply was received from the Chinese Premier.

It may be pointed out in summing up that never before in the past twelve years was the country so angry and so united as it was against the offensive Chinese actions and pronouncements affecting India. People took the border incidents with China far more seriously than they had the earlier incidents on the India-Pakistan border which were undoubtedly of far smaller magnitude and was in an altogether different category. The Chinese outrages caused some—though they were in a minority—even to suggest a joint India-Pakistan defence arrangement against China, but that suggestion was categorically rejected by the Government.*

*Based on an article appearing in the "World To-day" (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London, January, 1960.

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INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL YIELD AND CRAFTS FOR VILLAGES

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABORTY

Possibilities and Difficulties

(1) Mixed cropping:

During the last few years cultivation of Egyptian cotton with Aus paddy followed by kalai has established profitable nature of such mixed cropping, in many unirrigated high lands in West Bengal, specially Nadia, Murshidabad, etc. Two crops as Aus paddy, followed by kalai are generally grown in such areas, which are not remunerative. Cultivators have to struggle hard for their maintainance, for want of work for major part of the year. Cases of suicides are not rare in such periods. They have mostly to depend on relief works, started in such areas. A comparative statement as follows, will show the advantage of such cultivation in a bigha (1/3rd. acre) of land.

Cultivation of 2 crops.

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------|--------|
| Aus paddy May-Sept. | 3 mds. @ 11/- | Rs. 33 |
| Kalai Sept.-Dec | 2 mds. " | Rs. 22 |
| Total | | Rs. 55 |

Mixed cultivation of 3 crops.

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Aus paddy May-Sept. | 7 mds. | Rs. 77 |
| Kalai Sept.-Dec. | 3 mds. | Rs. 33 |
| Egyptian cotton May-Feb. | | |
| 2 mds. @ Rs. 50/- per maund. | | Rs. 100 |
| Total | | Rs. 210 |

It may be noted that success in cotton cultivation depends on heavy manuring and clean cultivation during the whole period of its growth. These require timely harrowing, laddering and weeding which increase yield of Aus paddy and Kalai. If extra expenses

for manures @ Rs. 30/- and labour for cotton Rs. 20/- are deducted from Rs. 210/- the balance of Rs. 160/- is also more than double his usual income.

(2) Crafts in villages:

Regarding work in unemployment period, production of cotton will facilitate working in Ambar Charkha. It is a known fact, that half the cost of yarns, spun in mills or Charkha, is spent in purchase of cotton. By working in Ambar Charkha one now earns by 8 hours work, nearly As. 12 to Re. 1/- after paying for cotton. If one can work with his own produce of cotton, he is able to earn 1/8 to Rs. 2/- daily. Besides, spinning with freshly ginned cotton facilitates easy, speedy, continuous spinning. These will fulfil the resolution of All India Congress Committee and other leaders to increase yield and finding crafts for villagers.

(3) Importance of Egyptian cotton cultivation :

Though Egyptian cotton is being grown with success for the last 20 years and its superior quality highly praised by experts, nothing is being done by Government, to introduce this precious dollar-earning crop, among cultivators, which will positively improve their condition.

(4) Cultivation in big areas indispensable to establish economic value of its cultivation :

The Deputy Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee, when inspecting my Egyptian cotton cultivation in November 1955, accompanied by the Cotton Expert of the State, highly praised the quality of cotton. He advised to cultivate at least 5 acres, without which economic value of its cultivation, cannot be ascertained. On that day, he saw the Director of Agriculture and explained the importance of such cultivation, and assured him of his obligation to bear all expenses of such cultivation.

As advised by I.C.C.C., I submitted a scheme for such cultivation for 1956-57. It was scrutinised by an expert Scientific Committee, appointed by the Agricultural Department. Though the Committee unanimously recommended for its action, the Agricultural Department rejected the same

and gave no hope of its working for the next year also.

On this a scheme was prepared, to introduce the cultivation of Egyptian cotton among cultivators, as mixed crop with Aus paddy and Kalai in the beginning, in at least 10 acres, as never to intrude on the limited food crop area of the State.

(5) Difficulties to introduce such cultivation among cultivators—remedies :

(a) Cultivators, here, are not interested in a new crop like cotton. Though they reap increased yield of Aus paddy, they take little care to preserve the cotton plants during ploughing and ladderings for sowing kalai in September, after harvesting Aus paddy.

(b) Offer of attractive prizes, has been found to be the most economical and effective means to enthuse them to work properly.

(c) It is difficult to find market for their produce of cotton, cotton mills though pay high price, purchase ginned cotton and that also not below 10 maunds. Khadi workers purchase ginned and seed cotton in small quantities, but pay price of ordinary cotton for the superior ones.

(d) Cotton occupies the field for longer period. As the plots are not protected by proper fencing, the crop is exposed to ravages by cattle and goats, when the neighbouring cultivators, after harvesting their own crops, allow cattle to graze in their own fields.

(e) Care should be taken, that they use 3 ft. long ladders in ladderings for Aus paddy and when sowing kalai. Such small ladders will move easily between cotton plants sown 4 ft., apart, without disturbing them.

(f) Spading and weeding the bases of cotton plants at regular intervals from sowing in May till December, conserves moisture in the soil and enables the cotton plants, to penetrate their roots deep into the soil, as to maintain vigour of the plants during dry months of December, January and February.

(g) Provisions for funds available for timely weeding of Aus paddy and sowing of cotton have to be made.

(1) Use of one bullock-driven ploughs and harrows and ladders once every fortnight after harvesting kalai in December, will increase yield of cotton and prolong harvesting period. Irrigation is not indispensable, so this can be effectively introduced in the vast highland tracts of Nadia, Murshidabad, etc., where condition of cultivators is most miserable.

(i) Arrangement should be made to train villagers in Ambar Charkha, in areas where cultivation of cotton has been introduced.

(j) Attempts by individuals are difficult and cannot last long. Government can only make it successful, provided they have efficient officers, who feel for the cultivators.

(6) Funds for cultivation of superior cotton fully contributed by the Central Government:

To stop the heavy drainage of Indian money, spent to import quality cotton, there is a notification to the effect that all schemes for cultivation of cotton with 1½" staples above, will be financed in full by the Central Government through the Indian Central Cotton Committee, for 15 years from 1954. Vide letter No. F-1-14[55]11 dated 15/16 December, 1954 reiterated on 7-6-55 to the Secretary I.C.C.C. from the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi. As the staple length of Egyptian cotton is 1½", the I.C.C.C. if approached by the State Agricultural Department will surely finance its working, so far as cultivation of Egyptian cotton is concerned. Other States in India, even those who have no record of producing quality cotton, as Behar, Orissa, Assam, etc., are also working with the above help.

(7) Agricultural Department of the State biased against Egyptian cotton:

(a) Agricultural Department during British rule, though had been against Egyptian cotton, it is obvious, has not even now undertaken any work on its cultivation, though it has established its suitability for West Bengal.

(b) Padmabhusan Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee discussed in Parliament several

years till February 1958, about the necessity of cultivation of Egyptian cotton in the State, in praise of which much has been said by Experts, Cotton Mills and I.C.C.C. The State Agricultural Department reported to Parliament that (i) Sree Sarada Charan Chakraborty is the only grower of Egyptian cotton in West Bengal and (ii) his cultivation is a failure till 1952.

(c) Scheme to establish economic value of Egyptian cotton cultivation for 1956-57, strengthened by the recommendation of an expert scientific committee was, as stated before, rejected by the Minister of Agricultural Department.

(d) Success of Egyptian cotton cultivation as mixed crop with Aus paddy and kalai was visited by many experts and prominent persons, and Government officials. It was accepted by them, as a means to improve the extreme miserable condition of millions of suffering cultivators of high lands of West Bengal. As requested by them, a scheme to introduce such cultivation among cultivators for 1959-60, submitted to the Agricultural Department in April with the recommendation by A.D.M. Nadia. Late in September, long after the sowing time of cotton had expired, I was informed that the scheme could not be accepted for reasons as follows—(a) Dr. Harland, the world expert on cotton, is against suitability of Egyptian cotton in India.

(b) My cultivation is not a success.

I cannot imagine, from what source they collected news of my failure. It may be, that for their own continuous failure to grow such cotton irregularly from seeds, I supply almost every year, biased them against such cotton. Since 1952 till now 1959-60, I have been requesting them several times every year, to see my cultivation, in different periods of their growth. But they never favoured with inspection during these long years. In these days of progressive science, even if my failure is accepted as true, till 1952 or till present period, there cannot be any reason, to remain inactive in this matter, when it is pregnant with immense possibilities. The Agricultural Department has a well equipped Research Institute, staffed by eminent

scholars, and they can easily mend defects and improve quality of cotton and its cultivation.

It may be mentioned here, that my Egyptian cotton grown as mixed crop with Aus paddy and kalai for 1958-59, was sent by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal, to the Indian Central Cotton Committee, for examination and report. Their remarks are as follows :

"The cotton is very good with 1½" staple. It is fit to spin 803 standard yarns."

Further, Aus paddy grown with Egyptian cotton for this year 1959-60, when harvested on 26-9-59, gave an yield of 10

maunds per bigha, instead of 7 maunds for last year.

The Agricultural Department cannot, from their very high position, even imagine and feel the great strain under which a poor helpless old man of the age of 79 has to continue cultivation of this precious strain. This I am strained to do every year to preserve seeds of this quality, I have succeeded in acclimatizing. I very much hope that before long, Government must improve, and appreciate importance of such cultivation. Organisations like the Calcutta University, Community Development, Abhoy Asram, etc., have already appreciated it.

WHY THE TORIES WON

By DEEPANKAR GHOSE, Dip. in Journalism (London)

The British General Election held in October, 1959 will very probably and justifiably go down in history as one of those political happenings which reveal that it is unwise to foretell about politics. The fortunes of the Tories were never more uncertain than in 1957, when Sir Anthony Eden had to go, following the Suez crisis and a controversy that split the world. Yet, in 1959, they have won with almost a doubled majority.

In gauging why the Tories won it is absolutely imperative to keep in mind three things, namely that the British are the most class-conscious nation in the world, that the British electorate is concerned only about its standard of living and that they are indifferent to whether the standard to living is obtained by fair competition or by monopoly business. These three mass values with regard to life and politics spring from education received in school, traditional insularity and the subtle process of indoctrination that is going on all the time in the Press, Radio, or Television. Before returning home

this year this is the impression I have formed after a long stay in Britain.

It will probably now become easier for the reader to comprehend the broad general features of the British political set-up, which I will right away venture to throw light on. After this is done, specific phenomena like the pressing economic issues preceding the General election, the capability of the different parties to tackle such issues and the opinion of the electorate with regard to the same, and the presence or otherwise of the personality cult, so vital in crisis will be dealt with.

The British intelligentsia have never been dubious of the uses of chauvinism. Indeed, Hilaire Belloc in one of his essays found for chauvinism sterling elements that have led to solidarity and contentment among the electorate, while the Government feel themselves to be in a position to execute a vigorous foreign policy. In a country, where there is cent per cent literacy, only about twenty per cent are educated. The eighty per cent

belong to the very substantial fringe known as the working class, unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled. The average man on the street in Britain, he could be any body from a railway porter at St. Pancras to a millhand in Lancashire, still beaming with pride as he reads in Lord Beaverbrook's "Daily Express" and "Evening Standard" of some Governor-General in the East, Africa, or in the remote Bahamas and Bermuda doing his very best "to guide the indigenous people to self-rule and responsible government." It is true that fifty per cent of the labourers and factory workers vote for the Conservatives and not for the Labour Party. And the figure is increasing.

The second feature of the British political set-up is that the element of projection, a common malaise among people, who are inadequate, or subconsciously feel so, is very cleverly utilised by the Conservative Party Central Office in London, and psychological and sociological experts help in the work. The Labour Party's "Labour offers you Home, Job, and Medical care" is at best passable. The Conservative Party, "If you are interested, write To Lord Hailsham" clinches the issue. Letters addressed to Lord Hailsham, Conservative Party Chairman until very recently, poured in their thousands, to be opened by his secretaries. A standard reply is duly sent. The conservatives justly claim the credit for the rise in the value of the pound; and this factor augments the desire to rise in class, which to the British worker is synonymous with voting 'Tory' at the election. Diligent boys and girls from working-class homes are given state scholarships to go to universities, or recognised educational institutions. In a survey taken in 1953, it was found that at least sixty per cent of the undergraduates from workers' families turn Conservative by the second or third year in the universities. London School of Economics, the brainchild of Shaw, and the Webbs, Beatrice, and Sidney, does not command as good a Labour following as it did twenty years ago. Cambridge is frightfully Public

Schoolish and predominantly Conservative, while Labour still manages to have a stronghold at Oxford, with a large Grammar School contingent present. At a party in Chelsea, a most beautiful area by Thames, I asked a young lady, why she was a member of Chelsea's "Young Conservatives." The reply was earthy instead of being politically enlightening. "Because I want to get my man from among the young conservatives, who almost invariably have a Public School background and as such excellent prospects."

The third feature is the rule of the elite. It used to be closed and limited to the landed aristocracy. The strong English Commonsense decided to forestall sweeping changes in the socio-economic set-up by making the elite open thereby leaving the ranks of the less privileged permanently depleted. General Lord Montgomery is an Irishman, but I do not think that while he lunches at 'The Aethenium' or 'The Carlton' or 'The Turf Club,' the very 'it' of Old England, he thinks of Ireland. Not only Monty, in fact all the Non-Anglo-Saxon fringes of the British nation—the Northern Irish, the Welsh, and the Scots, have accepted the Anglo-Saxon supremacy in good grace. So with the have-nots and the down-trodden. When they cross the threshold and join the 'haves,' they never look back.

From what has been said in the preceding paragraphs it may be reasonably seen that the strong and effective Conservative machinery has been gnawing at the Labour strength for years, and since World War II guided and helped by the progressive mind of Richard Austen Butler, the Leader of Tories in the House of Commons. As the Tories struck at the roots of British Socialism, they accepted the principles of the Welfare State, vindicated Socialistic legislation and have given the people a better standard of living and have justly claimed the credit for a rise in the value of the pound, whenever they have been in office since World War II. Commercial and business interests in colonies and a wide trade chain throughout the world helped but the British worker is not

concerned by it, and the scope of this article does not comprehend a discussion of the ethics of capital investment and the maintenance of colonial pockets.

As against the direct, forthright approach and policy of the Conservatives on every major issue, the Labour Party did not have an effective alternative policy to offer. As democratic Socialists, they rightly recognised the importance of the private sector whose existence is a must if the independence of the judiciary is to be maintained, and if society intends to keep a way out for the individual in the event of victimisation and nepotism. Fabianism became shorn of its natural brilliance and in its zeal to unite the different wings and factions, the Trade Unionists and the Bevanites being rather conspicuous among them, the Labour Party curbed the tremendous personality of the most gifted and dynamic Labour Party figure since the War, Aneurin Bevan. Nye Bevan, the coal-miner's son, self-educated, a splendid orator and a spellbinder and a friend of India's only toes the party line, and is content withholding a position second to Gaitskell. The old familiar chant of women heard so often not so long ago at Labour Party conventions, "Nye, Nye, Nye, Nye, we want Nye Bevan to speak" has been missing lately.

The Suez crisis shook the Tory Party to its very economic foundations and for about a year and a half after that, as evidenced in bye-elections and gall-up polls the country was inclined to be anti-Tory. But

Harold Macmillan most capably steered them through very rough and hostile waters to safety with an aptitude for quick action, a brilliant mind, vigorous leadership, and exuding self-confidence as he went along with that famous phrase of his "We never had it so good." The father-figure of Macmillan was held up as the source from which the fountain runs or else dries up. The Suez Crisis was forgotten, the flow of oil from the Middle East appeared to have never been more assured and the Soviet rocket to the Moon at the moment seems to be only a compensation for the point lost by the Russian Bear in the Middle East to the Lion of England and the Eagle of the U.S.A. The subconscious inclination of a substantial fringe of the masses to rise in class and vote Tory was reinforced with the present economic prosperity of Britain. The Tories scored a point over Labour by having accepted the Welfare State, while Labour dithered over basic policies. And it was for the people of Britain to say on the 8th October, 1959, that they never "had it so good."

It has been enjoyable holding before the reader facets of the British political set-up. It is hoped that the article will not be construed as either a condemnation or a vindication of the British political system. It has only tried to recount in the spirit of Talleyrand's well-known statement "Je ne blame, ni, n'approuve: je raconte."





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1526-1903 A.D.). By A. L. Srivastava. Third Edition. Shri Lal Agarwala & Co. (Private) Ltd. Agra. 1959. Pp. 614. Rs. 10.00.

This monograph, which is a continuation of the author's well-written volume called **The Sultanate of Delhi**, is meant as a text-book for the use of advanced students preparing for University examinations as well as for all-India Service examinations in this country. The author's name is a guarantee of thorough and painstaking work based on first-hand examination of original sources as well as exhaustive study of secondary authorities. Chapters on administration, social and economic conditions, literature and art are aptly appended to the accounts of political history during the successive reigns. The fullest account, naturally enough, is reserved for the reign of Akbar (Ch. V). The concluding chapters (Chs. XII-XIV) sum up the author's estimate of the state of administration and of society and culture of the Mughal empire, as well as of its success and failure. An intermediate chapter (Ch. XI) deals, with chronological accuracy but with some violence to the title of the work, with the period of Maratha ascendancy between the years 1707 and 1761.

Without minimizing the usefulness of this work for those for whom it is intended, we propose to make a few remarks. The volume as a whole could have been condensed a good deal without losing its value. There is a certain amount of avoidable repetition almost in the same words in Ch. V on the one hand and Chs. XI and XIII on the other. In the complete absence of any direct evidence to that

effect, it is difficult to take the author's reference (pp. 202 and 517) to the continuance of self-governing village communities under the Mughals at its face value. Equally unfortunate is the author's contrast (p. 261) between the empire of Akbar knit together by a uniform system of administration and the empires of Chandragupta Maurya and Samudragupta with "an ill-cemented mass" of provinces "held together only by the common bond of allegiance to the emperor." It may again be doubted whether the author has not unconsciously laid himself open to the charge of historical anachronism when he speaks of the Mughal age from the time of Akbar as "an age of struggle between Indian nationalism and the reactionary Islamic attempt" at supremacy in the land (Preface, p. 5), and characterises Akbar as "truly a national king" (p. 260). He seems on the contrary to be on the right track when he at the end (p. 591) describes the Mughal period as "an age of conflict between the Indianisation of administration and the fanatical revival of the principles and practices of an Islamic state in this country."

The author has added to the usefulness of his work by adding a list of books for further reading at the end of each chapter as well as by including a few maps. The addition of an Index would have been welcome.

U. N. Ghoshal

ASIA THROUGH ASIAN EYES: Compiled by Baldoon Dhingra. Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 17.50.

This book is an anthology in which examples of Asian life and thought from the earliest times have been compiled.

The anthology is divided into seven Sections—(1) Thought and Religion (2) The Arts (3) Language and Literature (4) The State (5) Society (6) Everyday life and (7) Science. It consists not only of select aphorisms but also of representative poems and parables. The passages have been carefully selected. For example, there is this passage from Kautilya (spelt incorrectly in the book): "the whole of the science of politics consists in mastery (of the temptations) of the five senses." Ideas on Kingship, Government of great Asian thinkers like Manu, Sukra, Vyasa, Kautilya, Vivekananda, Aurobinda, Tagore and Gandhi have been included in one passage; it would have been better if they were placed chronologically. Confucius said, Men cannot work together until they have similar principles, or, one might add, until they understand where their principles differ. This book will serve a very useful purpose. It will help this work. It deserves to be on every table.

D. B.

CREATIVE EDUCATION: By M. A. Payne, O.B.E., Ph.D., B.Sc. Published by William Maclellan, 240, Hope Street, Glasgow.

There is no dearth of books on Education or on the psychology of the child and the principle of his teaching. The book under review truly adds to the current thoughts on the subject. Thorough reading of the book, I am happy to say, will at once reveal that every word of this publication is the outcome of the author's keen observation and her personal experiences.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first half the author records her thoughts about the principles, special knowledge of the mind, code for parents and teachers, and the way of treatment with the pupil. The author is precise when she begins with the fundamental problem, "What are we educating—is it body or mind or something else? If we want to create free, happy able men and women then we must take into consideration the child himself apart from his physiological and psychological make-up." The main theme of the book is to throw light on this 'child himself' and suggesting ways to the teachers in knowing the child himself. Though all the chapters are relevant and important, some are worth mentioning. In the fifth chapter there are

mentions of some code for teachers. These are mainly regarding the way of imparting knowledge to the child and in allowing them to develop creative urge. Parent's code, dealt in the chapter nineteen with a suggestion that these codes will help not to frustrate the teaching in schools, on the contrary the latent energy in the child will find easy expression.

Miss Payne has observed the pernicious effects of the present system of education with its paraphernalia. The examination now prevalent in schools without being interesting to the students, rouses in them awe and abhorrence for it. She with some apt illustrations shows that the method can be more beneficial and inviting to the child. She denounces all sorts of competition in education saying it to be injurious. The manifestation of perfection already in child is more easily possible with games and exercises for which the child has an innate bent.

The second part consists of some practical methods to which the principles and axioms can be applied. The book is befitting its title. We highly commend it to those interested in child-education. The printing is neat and get-up decent.

ASHIM BHADRA

THE HERITAGE OF INDIA ART SERIES (1959): No. 1. Gupta Temple at Deogarh, No. 2. Pallava Temple at Tiruttani, No. 3. Nolamba Temples at Hemavati, No. 4. Chola Temple at Pullamangai: Edited by Douglas Barrett and Madhuri Desai. Sponsored by the Bhulabhai Memorial Institute. To be had of: N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. Price for the set Rs. 10; Sh. 20; \$4.

The four volumes contain ninety-six plates of excellent photograph-reproductions of India's valuable art treasures. Some of the plates present monuments and sites "off the beaten track but vital for the understanding and appreciation of Indian art." The introductions are well written; they point out the historical background and aesthetic import of these monuments.

D. N. Mookerjee

STORM BURSTS ON THE PEASANTRY: By Prof. N. G. Ranga, Pages 43. Price. 60nP.

WHY RANGA RESIGNS: Pages 87. Price Re. 1/-.

Both published by The Indian Peasant Institute, Nidubrolu, Andhra Pradesh.

Prof. Ranga's views on Joint Co-operative Farming as decided at Nagpur Congress is well-known. It was for a fundamental difference on the subject of peasant's ownership of land he cultivates and land 'Co-operativisation' that Prof. Ranga has resigned from the Congress. He stands for the peasant—his freedom and sincerely believes that if the decision of the Nagpur Congress is given effect, as such it will not lead to increased production and he quotes Soviet Russia to prove his case. The action of the Congress Government is likely to treat the very existence of free, self-employed, non-exploiting and self-reliant multi-purpose producers.

In the first brochure the author lays down his thesis and examines the Nagpur resolution in the light of agricultural reforms and production of totalitarian countries like Russia and China and also in democracies like Japan and Scandinavian countries. He is for service co-operatives which do not interfere, rather help the peasant. In Parliament also he moved an amendment on 13th March, 1959; to that effect to clear his position as regards the Nagpur resolution of agrarian pattern.

In the second brochure Prof. Ranga's speeches, letters, etc., are published to show that his stand for the peasant has not undergone any change so far peasant proprietorship and peasant economy are concerned and his letters to Jawaharalalji clear his difference with the Congress views.

Those who are interested in this burning topic of the day, will find these brochures interesting although they deal in the same subject in different forms.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

BADARAYANA SUTRER PRAYOJANAYATA: *Sri Basana Sen, M.A. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons., 14, Bankim Chatterji street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 144+14. Price not mentioned.*

Out of four famous *Siddhi* works on Advaita Vedanta entitled "Ishtasiddhi" of Viruktatman, *Naishkarma Siddhi* of Sureshwaracharya, *Advaita-Siddhi* of Madhusudan Saraswati and *Brahmasiddhi* of Mandan Mishra, the last named one was first published by Madras University several years ago with an editorial introduction of the late Mm. Kuppuswami Shastri. In the illuminating introduction, the learned editor blunderingly observes that though Mandan Mishra

was an orthodox Advaitist, yet he never supports anirvachaniya Khyati in his "Brahmasiddhi"; but on the other hand he establishes anyatha Khyati and nowhere in his great work anirvachaniya Khyati is mentioned. Pandit Kuppuswami ignorantly thinks that Mandan Mishra points out the knowledge of illusion as anyatha Khyati and supports it by refuting the akhyati. It is astonishing that an acknowledged authority on Advaita Vedanta like him should misunderstand Mandan Mishra and make such a wrong remark. In order to contradict this unfounded observation, Sri Vasana Sen was prompted to write this long, learned essay on Advaita Vedanta which, for its logical treatment and sound judgment, was approved as a Doctorate thesis by Calcutta University.

At the end of the preface to her maiden work the erudite authoress remarks that Pandit Kuppuswami's observation is as absurd as a 'golden cup of stone' and concludes that to establish Advaita Vedanta and at the same time to support the anyatha Khyati, which is nothing but a kind of *Sat Khyati*, is as futile as a mad attempt.

Out of a variety of Khyatis advanced by different schools of Indian Philosophy as respective theories of epistemology, anirvachaniya Khyati, which means that illusory knowledge is inexplicable, is adopted by Advaitavada and the aphorisms of Badarayana were necessitated for the refutation of all other Khyatis and consequent establishment of anirvachaniya Khyati alone. It is only that Khyati, which is favourable to Advaitavada. All other kinds of anyatha Khyati are reduced to anirvachaniya Khyati by irresistible force of logical scrutiny of Sankaracharya in his celebrated commentary on the *Brahmasutras*. According to this immortal commentator, illusory Knowledge is nothing but the supreme super-imposition which means apparent presentation to consciousness, by way of remembrance, of something previously observed by some other thing. Its inexplicability or illusoriness is finally proved by subsequent falsification. In the opinion of Vachaspati Mishra, this is indeed the fundamental characteristic of super-imposition. Ramananda Saraswati, author of the tika named "Ratnaprabha" on the said Bhasya takes apparent presentation in some other thing as the distinguishing mark of Super-imposition or anirvachaniya Khyati. This seems to be more in keeping with Sankara who says elsewhere that super-imposition is the

apparent presentation of attributes of one thing in another thing.

In accordance with the anirvachaniya Khyati the substratum or the subject alone is real and all super-imposed objects are unreal or illusory: Whereas all advocates of anyatha Khyati are *dvaitists* or realists since they admit that the substratum and the super-imposed both are real. Vimuktatman at the outset of his *Ishtasiddhi* has clearly shown how all knowledge of illusion are ultimately inexplicable or anirvachaniya. The knowledge of Brahman alone is absolute and all knowledge is relative or illusory. In order to refute diversity of knowledge Mandan Mishra has offered strong arguments which have all been quoted by Chitsukhacharya in his famous "Chitsukhi."

In the Niyoga Kanda of *Brahmasiddhi*, Mandan Mishra does support anyatha Khyati for the sake of refuting Mimamsaka Prabhakar's akhyati. Vimuktatman has observed in his *Ishtasiddhi* that once anyatha Khyati is accepted, one is forced to admit mysterious Maya the Mother of triple Sat Khyatis. Had Mandan Mishra supported anyatha Khyati, he would have certainly laid an axe at the root of his Advaita Siddhanta and the purpose of writing his *Brahmasiddhi* would have been frustrated. In fact he has not done so at all. This has been made crystal-clear by Sri Basana Sen in the course of her scholarly thesis with suitable quotations from as many as fifty-five outstanding works on Advaita Vedanta and other schools of Indian Philosophy.

The book, under review, has shown beyond a shade of doubt that Pandit Kuppaswami's statement is totally erroneous and unwarranted and should not have come out in an University publication. The language of the present book has been unavoidably somewhat stiff and technical on account of its philosophical dissertation. The book should have been much more detailed and developed like an original work. It is a very valuable addition to the growing philosophical literature in Bengali.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

Hindi

PREMPANTH: Compiled by V. G. Desai. Translated by Someswar Pundit. November, 1958. Navajiban Mandir. 64Pp. Price 40 nP.

Observations of different kinds and on various topics connected with the ways of love and non-violence compiled from Gandhiji's writings have been already published. This is the second in the series

and it follows the same pattern. The topics include khadi and non-violence, tobacco and drink and their pernicious effects, fear of death, etc.

SARDARKI SEEKH. Excerpts from Sardar Patel's letters. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. November 1958. 116Pp. Price, 80nP.

This is the Hindi version of the original Gujarati volume of the same name, the letters from which the excerpts had been made dating from 1924 to 1950. Naturally brief and to the point, they cover a wide field and breath comfort and cheer though at the same time they point to the need of leading down to the inevitable. But there is a deep and abiding faith in God's will. It is tempting to refer to a few statements: "Self and service may not go together; they cannot be mixed up. You want to mix them up; in doing so one is likely to forget the difference between what is pure and what is not." "Who can kill when Rama protects? I have still something more to do; until that is completed, it is not possible to leave this world. Hence I have been saved from this accident." (Referring to an aeroplane accident.)

The last letter written in August 1950 says: The burden of work laid on me is growing beyond my capacity. I shall be shouldering it as long as God's kindness will permit it. We are unable to keep up the integrity of the State. We have to break through many barriers like provincialism, casteism, etc. One by one they present themselves before us. Still, if God wills, everything will be all right. If we can march together with all, we may complete this great work."

For adult education classes, this volume should prove a useful text, offering sage counsel to the youth of our country.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

SHRIMAD RAJACHANDRANI DRISHTANTAKATHAS: Edited by Mukulbhai Kalarthi. Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-14. April, 1959. Price Re. 1.25nP.

Anecdotes from Jaina Shastra literature have been told by Rajchandra (born 1867) of Morvi, Saurashtra. He was a man of prodigious memory and great compre-

hens on and also profound spirituality. Ganchiji has recorded his appreciation of Raichandbhai.

The anecdotes are suitable for both Jains and non-Jains. Vaishnav and Jaina cultures met in Raichandbhai through heredity. The anecdotes are never lengthy and they are told in a very easy style. The editor has rightly pointed out that such anecdotes belong to a special class of literature from Aesop's Fables to the anec-

dotes of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. In that perspective they gain a hold on men's attention and make a change of heart possible.

Sukhlalji's preface tunes the key to the placement of these anecdotes. An appendix is placed at the end of the book showing the names of the Jaina scriptures drawn upon.

P. R. Sen

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for January 1960: (Book Reviews), p. 77, Col. 1:

The book, *Rashi Gyanadarpan* is written in English. Hence, instead of Bengali it should go under the heading of English.

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Indian Periodicals

New Year's Resolves

"Chowringhee" writes editorially :

It is customary, for all hypocrites, to take every advantage of changing circumstances, to give better and more elaborate shape to their pretensions; and, that is how Hebreidians take their vows of leading a better life on the last day of the year and Sassenachs on New Year's Day. On New Year's Day, all deserving men and women as also their colonial and other counterparts are honoured by their heads of State and such persons as are honoured assume a new dignity and description in Who's Who without actually adding to their financial, intellectual or spiritual outlook or dimensions. All honour to those who excel in swimming with the current and greasing their way to success; for, more often than not they do good only to themselves without interfering with the pattern of life of the greater masses of their own country or of other lands.

In an entirely different class fall those who have a mission in life or a commission from a political party to change the face of the earth and to egg humanity on to greater heights of folly, unwisdom or misconduct. Such men are known as the makers of history and when they stop making history, from time to time, humanity picks up the threads of civilisation anew and makes a bid for real progress. Verily has it been said that evil men thrive in good times **and vice versa**. For, when there is relative peace and good will on earth and a semblance of an easy affluence, the most evil among the makers of history get busy to take advantage of the somnolent gullibility of the masses. It is then that they, the makers of history, can display their goods to the greatest advantage. "See, how everyone can be a millionaire! See, how we plan to abolish poverty, disease and ignorance! Do vote for us!" say one group of history-makers. Another bunch say, "Look, we have made every man a multimillionaire in Ruritania by inflating the currency ten million times. We shall not only abolish poverty, disease and

ignorance; but also Death and Sorrow. We shall so hypnotise you with meaningless slogans that you shall never know when you are dying or suffering. We have invited foreign armies to invade this land, so that we can all be fully liberated."

On a New Year's Day, we can all take a vow to be anything but ourselves. For we are a poor, sick and ignorant nation. We are also mortal and victims of sorrow. The best way to get out of our difficulties, therefore, would be to change our identity. If we can cease to be ourselves and become a cooly in the wheel of a fake Socialism, we shall automatically shed our difficult and unsavoury personality. Or, again if we can become Puertoricans or Polynesians, rather than remain common garden Indians, we shall surely achieve true liberty. For who can be truly liberated while he is weighed down by his nationality, raciality and similar personal characteristics? If we can liberate ourselves from our bondage to our own past and to our own intellectual and spiritual aspirations, then and then only can we be truly free and elevated. A diet of lizards and snakes will also help.

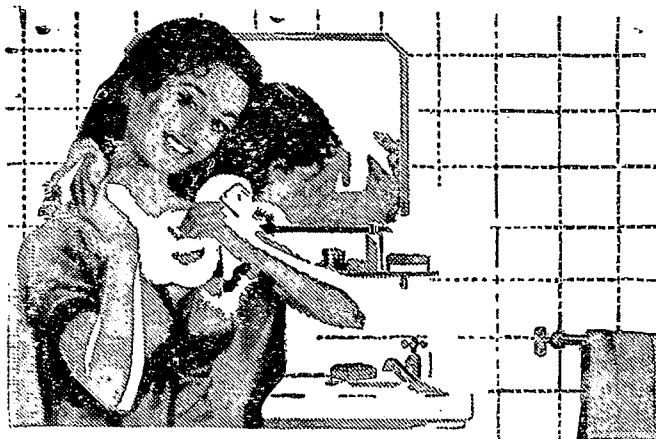
All those who dare not look at their own image in the mirror for fear of a landslide in their ego, usually like to dress up and be made up so that they cease to look like themselves and look like some one from Peking, Moscow or Washington. Before 1947 they tried to look and behave like **Pucca Sahibs**; but since that fateful year they have adopted the ways and assumed the airs of peoples more in the lime-light. They have simulated the accent of one country and the sartorial mannerisms of another and they have learnt to talk familiarly of authors and thinkers about whose existence we had no knowledge half-a-dozen years ago. In the year 1960, let us swear to our utter devotion to everything that is not naturally our own. May we be most unlike ourselves in 1960 and may we succeed fully and well to deceive ourselves as to our own true wishes, desires and ideals!

1959 has given us some new illusions

and confirmed us in some of our more antiquated pet superstitions. We know now that some races are superior to all others, though, we do not believe that the Germans were the true **Herrenvolk** or that the British-American-Scandinavian **Nordics** were any better than the Australian Bushmen. The really superior men are those whose superiority is self-evident. Even if some of them live in the back lanes off Bowbazar Street of Calcutta and rank as world champions in dirt, filth and squalor. Breeding too many children had been a sign of backwardness for many generations; but in 1960, and thereafter, those races which bred the fastest should be considered the most progressive. We used to think before 1960 that the glory that was India or the greatness of the Chinese civilisation referred to be composers of the **Vedas** and **Upanishads**, the builders of Sarnath and Nalanda, the painters of Ajanta and perhaps to Kalidasa, Bhatabhuti, Chandidasa, Rabindranath, or to Lao Tse, Confucius and to the master artists and craftsmen of the Han, Tan, Sung and Ming periods. But no; we have now realised that the 2"×4" master minds

of India and China, who parade the streets and back lanes of Calcutta and Peking today are the true repositories of that Glory and Greatness. For haven't they thought of "abolishing" everything and establishing nothing. And it is, after all, nothing that is the original fountain-head and source of everything.

The Chinese discovered in 1959 that Tibet was China and that much of India was Tibet and therefore China. The Chinese also discovered that the Indian frontier was not properly marked and therefore, any line could be the frontier of India and Tibet (China) and the more into India one could push the line that did not exist the nearer would Peking come to Calcutta. Our N. B. T. (National Brain Trust) **Wallahs** (also known as N. B. G.s to some) immediately knew that Chinese aggression really was an attempt on their part at coming closer to India. This friendly gesture so overwhelmed the N. B. G.s that they are still recovering from their bout of **Bhai-Bhai** which was more potent than even **Vodka**. President Rajendra Prasad who has been a strong believer in Bengali-Bihari **Bhai-Bhai** and in all



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attempts at bringing Bihar closer to Bengal over the territories of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Purnea, looked upon this Chinese gesture of friendship with great serenity and hoped for the best at all cost.

Our National Plans in 1960 will be more advanced than in 1959. We shall have more steel, more taxes and more V.I.P.s than ever before. Sri Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis has even thought of granting unemployment benefit to industrial workers, in case, they did not find employment in our fast growing industrial market. Statistically speaking our factory workers are about 5 per cent of our population and agriculturists vastly outnumber them. Yet the factory workers are more important, being essential and integral parts of our planned economy as opposed to our real economy. We believe in our new superstitions more ardently and devotedly than in the ancient **Bhakti** cults which induced us, in the past, to act in a manner not clearly logical in the eye of cold reason. Shri Tushar Kanti Ghosh will now remain as the last stronghold of **Bhakti** and things divine, in so far as Baghbazar has now come closer to the Chowringhee by virtue of the aggressive actions of the C.I.T. In 1960 we shall make our choice between Chow and Hot-Dogs and poor curry will stand in pitiful desolation at the door of our Assembly Halls like Tagore's beggar girl near the rich-man's Puja Pandal. Alas, India!

Henri Bergson

Dr. L. J. Beck writes in *UNESCO Bulletin*:

Henri Bergson was born in Paris a hundred years ago, on 18 October, 1859. He died in 1941, also in Paris, probably the most famous philosopher of his time, having refused to be made an exception to the wearing of the yellow star which the occupation authorities imposed on all people of Jewish origin. His philosophy is contained mainly in four works, all of which have been translated into English: *Time and Free-Will*, which appeared originally in 1888, *Matter and Memory* (1896), *Creative Evolution* (1907), perhaps the best-known of his works, and the *Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (1932). The earliest of these works set out clearly the distinctive principles of his strikingly original philosophy; the latter constitute a development of his thought applied to different types of problems.

Bergson is a profound thinker but his works appeal to a much wider public than a small circle of professional philosophers. He brought to philosophy a clearness of expression, a captivating charm of style and a great wealth of imagination and insight which make him the most readable of philosophers, and *Creative Evolution* is one of the great masterpieces of literature and philosophy which can be read by the ordinary cultivated person. Stripped of Bergson's own lucidity of expression and the wealth of detail which supports the ingenious argument, any summary of his philosophy must give a bare-bone and necessarily inadequate view of the immense richness of his work. In these days, however, when scientific methods and thinking have a tendency to carry all before them, it is refreshing to read a man whose aim was to shake off the over-oppressive chain of cause and effect and to assert the primacy of Free Will against mechanistic determinism.

Bergson does not set out to give an account of the ultimate nature of the universe. He does not elaborate a vast system of logical concepts. On the contrary, he believes that we cannot get at the nature of reality by elaborate constructions of thought. Concepts used by philosophers in the past, or by scientists, tend to hide the

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real nature of the world. Concepts, or the words we use to express them, may be useful for the practical purposes of life or for science, but they give us little or nothing of the pulsing life and continuous movement of the real: they are the dead ash of the living sparks and they tend to give us a patchwork of dead fragments, an artificial reconstruction which we take to be real and in which we find difficulties and insoluble dilemmas which are really figments of our own creation.

Reality is not a fixed solid bloc of objects: it is an active and continuously creative principle. Like the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, Bergson regards everything as in a state of flux. There is ceaseless change and flow, a creative impulse which proceeds always onwards. At certain points the flow is interrupted and broken but like the recoil of a spring, it turns back on itself. It is, in Bergson's simile,

like a rocket whose extinguished remains fall to the ground and these ashes are the dead matter. Life is like a fountain which expands as it rises and partially breaks or delays the drops which fall back. The "elan vital", or vital activity, is the fountain, the living reality; the drops are the dissipation of this creative activity, they are the static remains which we call matter. To try to pin down and immobilize this active principle for the purpose of inspection and classification, for dissection by the scalpel of the intellect with its vocabulary of concepts, is to falsify the real. Matter is not a pure figment of the intellect. It is the vital-impulse arrested. Bernard Shaw, in *Back to Methuselah*, argues the same theme in stating that the Life-Force manifests itself in higher and lower potentials which conflict with each other for all the world, as if they were different and hostile forces of nature.

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Instead then of attempting an intellectual solution, Bergson calls upon his readers to ignore these broken static fragments of reality and immerse themselves in the living stream of consciousness, into "the continuous progress of the past which gnaws into the future." The chief task of philosophy is to do what science cannot do, grasp and comprehend life. Knowledge, he insists, is for life and not life for knowledge. Life is not a thing, nor the state of a thing. Its nature can be better grasped in many ways by the instinctive insight of the ordinary man, by the vision of the saint or even by the wisdom of the peasant, than by the abstract intellectual dissection of the scientist. Even great scientific discoveries seem to lie in the sudden conscious awareness of the deep significance of a familiar fact as the homely instances of Archimedes and the bath, Newton and the falling apple, Watt and the steaming kettle, and other examples. Because we are living beings, we belong ourselves to the stream of duration. If we pay sufficient attention to this living pulse of consciousness, we can penetrate to a reality which is hidden from us by our workaday concepts. This attention is called by Bergson "Intuition." "Instinct is sympathy. If this sympathy could extend its object and reflect upon itself, it would give us the key to vital operations." And intuition is instinct conscious of itself, capable of reflecting on its object, capable of grasping the ceaseless flow of reality.

The intellect, on the other hand, is evolved for purposes of a practical nature. It has been formed by a narrowing, a shrinking of consciousness. It cuts across

the living flow of reality and carves out of it objects, which we call material. It traces the lines of our own interests and selects those suitable for our practical purposes. Things, constant laws, separate states of consciousness, are views of reality which serve legitimately the purposes which we decide upon in order to act. This picture of the world, of a static, fragmentary piecemeal world, is a reality in one sense, but it is a limited reality. The intellect is cinematographical. It takes views of a moving scene, snapshot views. Each view represents a fixed position. If we were to arrange these snapshots in a film and screen them in rapid succession, we could create the appearance of a moving picture. We can only do this by restoring the movement which the fixed views destroyed. These snapshot views represent the physical objects with which science deals and the method of science is akin to the technique of films. This distortion of reality is necessary since it supplies us with a language and symbolism that serve the mind as tools serve the body. It allows us to articulate our past experience and plan our future activity. But we must not let ourselves be deceived by the constructions and transformations of our own practical means and ends.

For, as Bergson says, "Human life is a perpetual becoming" and human nature cannot find ultimate satisfaction in the static and material. The right of the individual to realize all that he has within himself constitutes one of the foundations of the claim to personal freedom. Bergson was one of the ablest defenders of this right.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The "Burst" of the Southwest Monsoon : the New Perspective

George Thambyahpillay writes in the *University of Ceylon Review*, January-April, 1959 :

The onset or the more dramatic "burst" of the southwest monsoon (SW monsoon) may with justification be considered, perhaps the most outstanding and long-known meteorological phenomenon in the world. In the south-Asian region—India, Burma and Ceylon—the "burst" marks a meteorological event of tremendous significance, both from the climatic and economic standpoint. It initiates the major rainy period and hence also the most important agricultural season in this region. The dating of the "burst" has, therefore, accrued vital importance throughout the centuries that this phenomenon has been observed, and even to this day the Indian Meteorological Department attempts to 'forecast' or rather 'foreshadow' the onset of the monsoon.

Certain significant aspects of the meteorological circumstances must be taken into account in attempting to seek a solution to the *modus operandi* of the "burst" of the SW monsoon. It has been demonstrated that three sets of circumstances are involved, namely :

- (i) a westward displacement of an upper-air trough from about 90° E.L. (in winter) to about 75° to 80° E.L. (in summer).
- (ii) a northward migration of the Upper Westerlies and the Jet Stream, from south of the Himalayas to north of it;
- (iii) northward displacement of the NCZ (ECZ), from about 10° N.L. (in April-May) to about 23° N.L. since late May.

It has also been shown that these 'changes' are effected rapidly and take place, coinciding in time with the "burst" of the SW monsoon over India. It was also brought out that large-scale upper-air circulation patterns in the northern hemisphere exhibit remarkable 'changes' during the period between late May and early June. It may, therefore, be surmised that the SW monsoon does seem to be related to meteorological circumstance taking place as far north as the Siberian region. The question, however, still remains whether the large-scale readjustments in the Siberian region are the cause of the result of the adjustments that have been noticed to take place in the Indian environs. Or, are the Indian-area displacements in fact, readjustments effected to conform to the large-scale changes that have been found to take place in the Siberian region? It may even be justified to consider whether the total atmosphere of the earth itself is involved. The latter consideration is warranted in view of the concept of the Circumpolar Vortex Circulation (in some way related to the High- and Low-Index Circulation patterns), as providing the clue to climatic aberrations. If this new concept of the General Circulation of the Atmosphere may be accepted as an alternative to the tri-cellular concept first propounded in 1735 by Hadley, then it may be suggested that climatic 'singularities' like the SW monsoon must surely be related to the total atmospheric activity.

In the light of the evidence presented here, it may be claimed with justification that the new perspective does provide some of the answers that cannot be explained by the 'thermal' concept of the SW monsoon "burst." The Thor Low, therefore, while it must not be considered an uninvolved factor in respect of the "burst" characteristics, may be regarded to perform at most only a secondary role and not any

more the main role, in the onset of the SW monsoon.

While these suggestions are based on the findings of an investigation in respect of meteorological events of 1946, substantiation of the new perspective must be provided by analyses of other years. The sequence of the circumstances that preceded and followed the "burst" of the SW monsoon in 1946, have been resolved not merely in terms of statistical and time correlation, but also in the provision of a fairly tenable physical reasoning. Nevertheless, there yet remain a number of unresolved features relating to the "burst" of the SW monsoon. Hence, while an attempt has been here made to present the new perspective, it may be concluded that the providing of a completely satisfactory *raison d'être* for the "burst" of the Indian monsoon—the meteorological singularity *par excellence*—must needs await further research.

America's New Image of Russia

Here are some of the excerpts of an article in *The New Leader*, August, 1957

The post-sputnik wave of enthusiasm in U.S.A. for the Soviet Union is the product not of the intellectuals, but of the Babbitts. The Babbitts loathed the Soviet Union and Communism and bawled McCarthy as long as they thought of Russians as either primitive peasants, or cast an eager eye on American wealth, or degenerate intellectuals with a penchant for incomprehensible avantgarde art or free love—that is, as long as they were in contempt.

It is that the new admirers of this Russian are to be found in social groups that before felt nothing but revulsion for Soviet Russia: corporation directors, managers, engineers, practical politicians. Hence, too, the curious spectacle of the leaders of American industry welcoming warmly the Soviet leaders, while trad-

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unicon representatives refuse even to meet with them, and American students risk their necks infiltrating the Communist Youth Festival in Vienna.

The evil of Communism is not that it is less productive than our system, or that, after 40 years of sacrifices it cannot create a decent standard of living, or even that it does not offer the individual the rights and liberties we in the West consider natural. It is, rather, that it denies all those elements of life which in every civilized society, Eastern and Western alike, have been viewed as essential: respect for truth, tradition, privacy, old age, good manners, taste. The striving to acquire the physical by-products of civilization—and only them—is just the quality which distinguishes the barbarian from primitive man on the one hand, and from civilized man on the other.

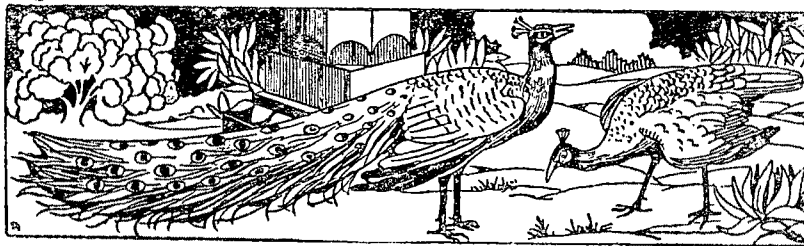
If the religious-rationalist ethos of American civilization were to suffer the fate of the socialist-ethical ethos of Marxism, and both yield to a race for greater productivity and faster economic development, then whichever side should win, mankind will certainly prove to be the loser.

Slaves to Ideology

German News Weekly in its *Bulletin* of the Federal Republic of Germany, Nov. 14, 1959 writes editorially:

According to a message from the NAFEN Agency, published in Indian newspapers, not only has a spokesman of the East German Government explained why his Government considers India to be the aggressor, but the *Neues Deutschland*, the foremost mouthpiece of the Communist (SED) Party, has published only the Chinese version of the clash in the Ladakh Region in which nine Indians were killed. This newspaper made no reference to any official statement from India on the subject. Even Mr. Khrushchev's recent speech on Indo-Chinese relations was so edited as to preserve the illusion that China is the victim. The East German spokesman said:

"We do not see any reason why we should doubt China's version of the border incidents. We firmly believe India committed aggression. Ideological and political unity between East Germany and China makes us believe the Indians wrong and the Chinese right."



Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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A pretty rubber-tapper of Kerala



Men and Women lend a helping hand in the building of an approach road in Rajasthan

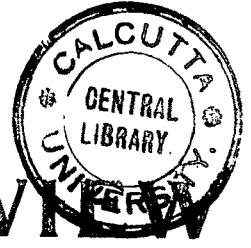


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THE MODERN REVIEW



MARCH



1960

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NOTES

Promises and the Fulfilment

There is a most excellent and ancient Sanskrit saw regarding the test and proof of quality. It says "phalen paricheeyatey" which might be freely translated thus: "By results alone shall ye judge all things that have been promised or postulated."

It is about time that this test was applied to all promises and pretensions of those who hold the reins of our Union. Lest we be accused of generalisation in the abstract, let us give a concrete example.

We have before us an excellent bilingual journal, which has been published by the **Adimjati Sevak Sangh**, namely, the January 1960 issue of the illustrated quarterly **Vanyajati**, which carries the sainted memory of **Thakkar Bapa**, who dedicated his own life to the service of the downtrodden Harijan at the behest of the Father of the Nation and carried out his faith unto death.

On the back cover of this issue we find the following principles, captioned **Panch-shila for Tribal Development**, postulated by our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We hasten to add that this quarterly is published as a record of the plans, efforts and results, for the uplift of the forest-dwelling tribal peoples of India.

The principles are:

(1) People should develop along the lines of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage, in every way, their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

There is the signature **Jawaharlal Nehru**, appended at the end, to authenticate the origin of these Five Principles.

Now in the same issue, No. 1 of Vol. VIII, we have an article by Shri Dharmadeva Shastri entitled **Makrai Ke Adimjati Kshetra**

Men, giving an account of a survey made by him in the tribal area of Makrai in Madhya Pradesh.

Shastriji is evidently an old-fashioned worker, of the sincere and plain-spoken type, with no ambitions for political advancement under the present set-up, which can be attained only by sycophants and boot-licking yes-men. He has given a factual account of his observations, therefore, describing the misery of the tribal people after the change-over. Indeed, we can only see the working of the noble principles enunciated by Pandit Nehru in the breach and negation thereof.

The article is in Hindi and therefore we give a translation of certain conclusions arrived at by the writer himself. He writes :

"At Makrai I met many Adibasi brethren, who told me of the multitude of difficulties they have to face. Of them the following three need special mention :"

(1) "There has been no change in the status of the Adibasis living in the so-called 'Forest villages,' after the attainment of Freedom. They are leading the life of slaves and serfs."

(2) "This slavery is brought about through the yoke of debts."

(3) "The condition of the landless **Thalua** Adibasis is pitiable in the extreme."

Of course, the paternal Government has made plans and arrangements to relieve the poverty and to liquidate the debts of these poor children of Nature. But the working of those plans and arrangements have been left in the hands of those that Pandit Nehru and his sycophants deem to be above reproach. And, therefore, the shape that they have taken have produced the results recorded by Shastriji, after twelve years of Freedom!

The tribals are reluctant to go in for Government "betterment loans" he says. And why? We give a translation of another part of his report.

"A Gond from the village of Chabora told me that 3 years ago he had taken a loan of Rs. 150/- from the (tribal) Development Fund. But he had to spend nearly fifty rupees in the following way to obtain it :"

"Rs. 5/- to the Patwari."

"Re. 1/- to the writer of the petition."

"Rs. 1.50 each to the cashier and paying clerk, at the time of getting the money."

"Rs. 10/- to the Munshi of the office of the B.D.O."

"Rs. 27/- in motor fares and expenses for witnesses in the several trips to the office from his village."

Now we have seen what this poor tribal has had to pay in the form of **bribes** and **extortion**. What is left to our imagination is what would have happened to him and his people if he had dared accuse those myrmidons of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of corruption, or Panditji himself of hypocrisy. The Hindi proverb "Rajaon ki bat, Hathi ki dant, Khaneka ek Dikhaneka aur" is undoubtedly appreciated by our poor miserable Adibasi brethren, for whom Pandit Nehru has enunciated the Five Principles as given above.

At the time of writing there is much debate and **halla** about the Third **Five-Year Plans**. The Second Five-Year Plans have advanced nearly half way. But has the misery of the Common Man—to say nothing of the unemployed or of the man with fixed income—been at all alleviated? We would like that a survey be made by independent persons with no eye for political advancement or of illicit gain. Can there be no formation of such groups in all the States, wherein the members are of the disinterested type of pure research workers? The Congress is as effete and tainted, with lust for power and gain as any group of gamblers. Could not there be an independent group of scholars, sponsored by learned societies, who could do this work?

China and India

China is a very large country with an area which is eight times bigger than India. China has 50 per cent more people. Per capita income and tax-paying capacity are more than proportionate in China, but generally speaking, India is proportionately more advanced in industry, science and economic development.

In point of military strength, China has a regular army, which is 10/15 times

larger than our regular army. China's militia is of 10 million men. India can always recruit regular army men in large enough numbers as and when necessary. The Territorial army can also be increased whenever required. India is not in a helpless position as compared to China, but she needs better adjustments in the industrial field to be entirely self-supporting. With a little effort India can have everything for the army and air force produced in India. The compactness of China's forces and their cohesion and mobility are of a doubtful nature. Chinese soldiers are also lacking in martial tradition. The fighting races and castes of India can produce 30 million men of the age group 18—36 whose ancestors have been fighters for 3,000

years. They provide a formidable war potential in view of the fact that under the Independent Republic of India they are not likely to be divided and conquered.

China is definitely planning a Himalayan expansion. India has no such plan. Though the Himalayas can provide homes in a cool and bracing climate to 100 million Indians, if the Government of India will only think and act wisely. Power generation can be easily carried out in the heart of the Himalayas. Industries can be developed in the mountains. Dairies, creameries, cattle breeding, sheep farming, poultry farming, piggeries, etc., etc., can be set up all along the Himalayas, and the entire length of the range populated within a few years.

The following facts will give proper dimensions to the vague ideas that people have about China and India :

| | China | India | Remarks |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Area | 9,736,000 sq. m. | 1,269,640 sq. m. | India (1951 Census) |
| Population | 601,938,035 | 356,891,624 | 574,205,940 in China proper (1953) |
| Urban population | 77.3 million (13.3%) | 16.25 mill. in 360 municipal areas | There are more urban people in India |
| Rural population | 505.3 " (86.7%) | | |
| Schools | 510,000 (Primary) 53.1 million students (1956) | 47,813 basic schools with 5,060,807 students (1956) | India also 239,118 primary and pre-primary schools with 21,000,000 students |
| Universities | 15 (1956) | 36 (1956) ✓ | |
| Students sent abroad | 10,100 (1953-1957) | 1,598 (1945-1951) | |
| Engineering and Technology | 48 Engineering colleges ✓ | 14 Engineering and Technological institutions. ✓ | |
| Revenue (Central and Provincial) | 30,000,000,000 Yuans (1 yuan=2 rupees) ✓ | 13,000,000,000 rupees ✓ | |

| | China | India | Remarks |
|---------------------|---|--|---|
| Defence expenditure | 7,960,000,000 Yuans (of which a portion went for administration) | 2,500,000,000 rupees | China spends at least 3 to 4 times more on defence. |
| Army | 35 infantry divisions, 10 armoured and 3 airborne divisions and militia. 3 mill. and 10 mill. men in all. | About 500,000 men | |
| Navy | | 800 officers and 8,000 ratings | |
| Air Force | 2,500 front line aircraft mostly fighters (MIG—17s) | Not known | |
| Production | Iron, steel, cement, paper, cotton yarn, power generation. | Iron, steel, cement, paper, aluminium, locomotives, cars and trucks, cycles, aeroplanes, jute, cotton, sugar, arms, munitions. | China gets equipments and munitions from Russia |

A. C.

Kerala

It is quite clear that the leftists in Kerala acted in concert against the Communists out of fear and dislike of pro-Chinese-pro-Russian Communism and not on account of any love or admiration that they harboured for the Congress. The record of administration and management of public affairs of the Congress has been very poor during the last 13 years. The Congress has deliberately put persons of no merit and often of admitted demerit into positions of power; and these persons have blackened the face of the Congress by their unscrupulous, immoral and corrupt behaviour and by their total lack of ability and willingness to work for the good of the people. The Congress management has lost to the people of India thousands of crores of rupees, by extravagant, unnecessary and useless expenditure upon schemes which were thoughtless, whimsical, purely experimental and for the benefit of party men and their proteges. The plans and schemes were, in so far as industries or power generation schemes went, drawn up by foreigners who

could exploit and bluff into agreement their employers, the gullible and ill-instructed Congress leaders and their **sabjantawallah** flatterers. The Congress, therefore, cannot expect to rule the country any longer without a good deal of checking by the general public. The leftists of Kerala as well as the public of that province have no faith in the Congress (or in any political party) and they voted for these parties only to oust the Communists. **It was an awakening of the people to a greater consciousness of their Rights**, which were being usurped by the political parties in an organised and conspiratorial manner.

The difficulties which the Congress leaders are facing and have faced in Kerala in fighting the elections and for forming a ministry, have been caused by their deviation from the moral and social path. They have tried to build up a pattern of socialism without eschewing anti-social behaviour. They have tried to set up a moral code for the public, by sanctimonious recitals against drink, gambling, cow killing and meat eating; without having any moral code for their own guidance. Cornering the poor

man's food, allowing criminals to carry on their business of crime, allowing tradesmen and others to cheat the revenue and harassing those who willingly pay taxes in order to lay a red-herring across their trail of bribery and corruption. Contracts and commissions to "friends" in India and abroad and a general disregard of public good, public utilities, public health, public safety and public self-respect and honour have been the common characteristics of Congress Raj. If Pandit Nehru must continue to govern India by his fellow party men and his favourites, he should set up a special court of justice before which Congress-protected men could be denounced for apprehension and trial.

A. C.

Hapless Kerala

Kerala is a portent and a pointer. We, therefore, consider it worthwhile to discuss it from another stand-point:

Under the Indian Constitution a Government is guaranteed a term of five years if it continues to command the majority. There is no direct reference to a situation as it obtained in Kerala, namely, that the ruling power enjoyed a majority within the Legislature but not, as the Central Government held, in the country. On the strength of this—doubtless a weighty consideration—a General Election was ordered. People of all shades of opinion responded with an enthusiasm, which is without a parallel in India. More than 80% of the electorate have committed themselves to a verdict one way or the other. In some constituencies as many as 90% went to the polls. Such a heavy voting proved the undoing of the Communists; and it is an unerring index that they had but touched the fringe of the nation.

Ballot box is a rough and ready method to test the hold of a party; but in the absence of anything yet devised to the country or as counterpart its validity goes unchallenged. The people of Kerala must, therefore, be presumed to have said a decisive 'No' to the Communist rule. If, however, it is a good policy to weigh the strength of the ruling party by a General

Election over the head of the Assembly whenever there is a loud, insistent cry against it or even 'a popular upsurge', if you so choose, others being equally within their rights to designate it as an organised lawlessness, the Congress Government of many a state would fare worse. In fact, it is difficult to combat the notion that the Congress Government at the Centre cared little for the niceties of constitutional propriety and would not resist the influence of their brothers-in-faith in Kerala. They were chafing at the deprivation of power. On their own admission they spent over fifty lakhs of rupees to rouse the people to such a frenzied height as to make it well-nigh impossible for the Government to function save by brute force; and this is how they paved the way for a General Election. All the same, no house can be set on flames save by its own inflammable materials. The Communists alienated a vast section of the people by their abrupt manner of doing things. They stampeded the people into legislation. They sought to travel days in the track of decades. Obviously, their one aim was to all intents and purposes, for quick returns to stand to their stead and their comrades outside to make the next General Election easy. They too were not free from plausible charges of corruption and nepotism—may not be to the extent as the Congress and P.S.P. Governments had to face. People at large are too much in a hurry to bother about difference in degree; what they care for is the difference in kind, if any. Both the Congress and the Communists have been guilty of moral transgressions in swelling their party-funds; and people know to their cost what flagrant abuses they lead to, telling upon their nerves and resources in day to day life. The Communists, however, brought to bear upon their task hard, unremitting toils; and duffers in the Cabinet were conspicuous by their absence. They were a disciplined lot and very little, if any, was heard of their internecine squabbles and what ugliness they connote. Except for some flirtations with a well-known capitalistic concern no sharp deviation from their professed creed could be spotted out. It is also

true that they made one genuine attempt to lighten the burdens of the poor—and Kerala is incredibly poor. But these good points were completely overshadowed by their conduct in the Sino-Indian border dispute. They have so behaved in this matter as to make them suspect and have been consigned to a sinister isolation.

The Congress—at least the West Bengal Congress has celebrated a day of deliverance. The one way the Congress, in our humble opinion, can celebrate the occasion is for their leaders to recall their plighted words to the nation and live in affirmation of the same. They would better reflect to what pass they have dragged down the Congress, such as to justify rubbing shoulders with the Muslim League—definitely not the Muslims—which, to quote the words of the late Mr. Jinnah, 'checked and held in abeyance the party that stood for complete independence'—First Round Table Conference. And all this to beat down the Communists, who, only some years back, were just a few trivial exotics.

J. B.

Revenue and Expenditure

All governments have to incur expenses for running the administration and for providing against internal disorders and foreign incursions. The governments of civilised and progressive countries have to grant social security to nationals, spend fairly large amounts for the country's education, health, sanitation and for setting up such industries and carrying out such projects as private enterprise cannot or should not undertake on grounds of public well-being and safety. Contrary to what we find has been done in other countries which are now in very good position in point of progress and popular well-being, India has chosen to go in for a certain state monopolistic development of major industries and for social welfare and economic development measures, ignoring the essential priorities that other countries have granted to mass education, unemployment relief, old-age-pension, comprehensive medical aid and a general elevation of the standard of living. The Indian thesis has been that if the State

controlled the production of iron and steel, generated power on a large scale, developed the railways and bored for oil, the country would prosper and all people will be able to pay even more taxes by which the government will, later on, provide all those facilities of education, medical aid and social security which humanity associates with civilised politics. During their first and second plans the government have spent about Rs. 250 per capita on their own and exclusively thought-out schemes. Had these monies been spent in a businesslike manner on sound industrial and social progress schemes, there should have been some substantial return from these investments and the national income (Real, not Money) should have gone up noticeably. Employment and the development of other industries should also have followed at a faster pace. In fact, the increase in the national money income has been achieved mainly by inflation brought about by the government's policy of deficit financing.

The Budget that will be introduced while we shall be in the press will have for its main objectives, finding means for expanding expenses on further industrial and other projects and revenues for meeting increased expenses on National Defence. The attitude adopted by the Prime Minister in meeting the Chinese aggression appears to be mellow and soft and we may assume that he will give up territory to the Chinese rather than risk the use of force to safeguard our territorial integrity. We may, therefore, expect that Defence expenditure will not go up so much in the Budget, as we may expect in the face of foreign aggression. The Third Plan will loom large in the Budget and we shall be told how soon we shall be free from poverty and the other ills of material want. We may expect that the country will spend at least as much on these Plans as it has been spending so long. The increased taxes will be fairly heavy in order to yield 300/500 crores more per annum. These point definitely to indirect taxation which will fall mainly on the masses of India. For taxing the so-called wealthier classes has possibly reached its limits and increased income, capital gains,

wealth or expenditure taxes will not yield enough to meet the increased collection charges. If, on the other hand, indirect taxes are levied on essential articles of consumption the realisation will be less costly and the total gain in revenues appreciable. Assuming that the average person in India spent 70 per cent of his income on these essential commodities an extra 5 per cent realisation from these will give the exchequer about 400 crores more in revenue. The realisations may average even higher and one may collect as much as a 1,000 crores without destroying all life in this sub-continent. But that does not in way justify any extortion from a poverty-stricken people for fanciful purposes. A guarantee that every naia paisa paid will be spent for a high priority purpose must be there. The costs must be checked by independent persons of unchallengeable wisdom, knowledge and integrity all along the line. Dud projects and drone personnel must be cancelled and removed entirely from the Public Sector and Government Departments.

A. C.

Increased Freights

The Black Market has established the fact that consumer goods for which the demand is highly inelastic will carry any amount of loading in price, if the suppliers act in concert and if their cornering of the particular article or articles has been effectively carried out. We have been made to pay absurd prices by our profiteers and black market dealers and one may judge from the following from the memory schedule what can happen in the field of loading prices (See Table Next Column).

With all this experience and knowledge at their disposal the Ministers of India and the Merchants should know that the increased freight rates will be shifted quite easily on to the poor consumers. The howls of protest set up by Chambers of Commerce were quite unconvincing. The merchants have loaded prices already by 5% of the entire value and not merely 5%

of that portion of the value which is for freight charges.

| Article | Normal price | High black market price |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Rice | Rs. 16/- p. m. | Rs. 35/- p.m. |
| Flour | Rs. 17.50 p. m. | Rs. 30/- p. m. |
| Sugar | Re. 1.10 p. seer | Re. 1.75 p. seer |
| Butter (imported) | Rs. 3.50 p lb. | Rs. 7.50 p lb. |
| Medicine (,,) | Rs. 2.50 p. unit | Rs. 15/- p. u. |
| Motor cars (,,) | Rs. 16,000/- each | Rs. 48,000/- each |
| Cosmetics (,,) | Rs. 3.50 each | Rs. 23.50 each |
| Gold | | |
| (State controlled) | Rs. 66/- p. tola | Rs. 135/- p. tola |
| Steel | Rs. 700/- p. ton | Rs. 1,300/- p. ton |

A. C.

Tibetan Gold

It is rumoured that Marwaris have already bought the stock of gold in question through Sikkim or some such party. If this is true the buying Marwaris must have paid the duty to the Government of India or carried out the transaction unlawfully. The Dalai Lama is not subject to Indian Law, but all Marwaris are. If the Marwaris have bought up the gold and kept it in Sikkim, Bhutan or Nepal, they should declare their profits to the Government of India for Income-Tax purposes. If they have not made any declarations, they should be prosecuted and fined heavily.

We are completely in the dark about this affair. The Government of India should make things clear to all and see that no private persons, other than His Holiness,

The Dalai Lama, make any profit out of this Tibetan gold.

If the Dalai Lama has brought to India a million tolas of gold, and it is very likely that he has, the Government of India will have certain difficulties in getting over the problem of all that gold going into the Indian market. The Dalai Lama has come in with all his entourage, his moveable wealth and that of his entourage, seeking asylum in India and the Indian Government have granted asylum to His Holiness and his followers. In the circumstances it would look odd if Indian Customs Officials charged the Dalai Lama either Customs duty on his possessions or prosecuted him for illicit import of precious metals and gems into India. If the Dalai Lama then sold his gold to the people of India at the inflated rate established by our Government, we shall be paying a tribute to the great dignitary which may amount to several crores of rupees. If the Government of India took over this gold on a duty-free basis and released it for sale at bazar rate, they would be making profits on the goods of a Theocratic Ruler to whom they have granted asylum. If on the other hand, they kept the gold in the vaults of the Reserve Bank of India and paid out several crores of rupees to the Dalai Lama, the effect will be inflationary. They can also ship the gold to America and obtain foreign currency for it; but, then, whose foreign currency will it be, the Government of India's or the Dalai Lama's?

A. C.

Bhilai Firing

The workers at Bhilai according to press reports felt and experienced that safety arrangements were insufficient in Bhilai and that workmen's compensation monies were not paid out to the sufferers or their heirs within a reasonable period. This led to a dispute, and, government and government officers having different standards of employer-employee relations for government-owned factories as against those owned privately; possibly ignored

the demands with an air of superiority and almightiness. This must have been the case at least to a great extent as it all led to a **satyagraha** by fasting on the part of one worker. The Bhilai officers supported by their fellow government servants evidently tried to break down this resistance. One officer tried to see the fasting man and the public got enraged and burnt down two government owned jeeps. The police started firing immediately and "brought the situation under control." We are not convinced ever that the government have any right to **create situations** and, then, bring them under control by use of brute force. They say (pedagogues) that children should not be beaten, for that teaches them to use violence. These firings teach our simple folk that violence is nothing very bad. For what is good for the **Rajah** is also good for the **Ryot**. In fact, the Bhilai situation is not quite so simple as has been made to appear in the first press reports. There are not only the matter of workmens' compensation and the lack of safety arrangements, but the workers of Bhilai have been feeling that they were not being treated fairly and humanely in many ways. Employment, promotions, increments, retrenchments and all those other factors which determine good relations between employers and their employees, must have been mishandled by doctrinaire personnel experts and those who worship Red Tape. Otherwise the workers are not inclined to indulge in rioting, sabotage and general lawlessness. They often make unreasonable demands, in the hope that the two sets of unreasons on the two sides, employers' and workers', will cross each other out and a settlement will be made which will be reasonable. In the present case, the unreason clouding the brain of government officers, apparently did not clear up and allow the light of reason to illuminate industrial relations in Bhilai. Government management of industrial relations have been far from satisfactory in more than one field since the 1920s. Our independent Government have been maintaining the British imperial tradition and that is why we have

trouble. In Britain itself industrial relations have developed and are very good and reasonable.

More Bhilai

If one were given some straw and bamboo instead of a house to live in, one might legitimately harbour a grievance. The more so if other people in the same locality lived in houses built by builders. It appears that Bhilai workers who were employed by the State for construction work were living in houses which they had built for themselves with material supplied to them by their employers. Contractor's labour in the same area lived in well-built houses put up by the contractors. This has been going on ever since Bhilai began and the State officials have been basking in the sun-shine of their own genius which enabled them to think out such a cheap solution for the housing problem at Bhilai! And, they paid them Rs. 48/- per month "in all" to build a steel factory! Considering that chaprassis who sit and belch in Bombay in Calcutta in Mercantile houses receive about Rs. 150/- per month and that even women workers earn double of Rs. 48/- in Jamshedpur, we feel the Bhilai workers had a grievance. Now that the relations between workers and employers have been ruined by the bureaucrats we suppose they will try to spend more public money in the wrong places to "arrest any worsening of the situation". A lot of people also died of accidents in Bhilai due to their "negligence and intransigence". What about their superiors, who are now writing such illuminating "post mortem" reports? Did not they suffer from any physical or mental shortcomings? Or, why did they allow the poor workers to march to their lawless destiny along the path of unreason? A bad workman quarrels with his tools!

A. C.

Cost of Public Constructions

After a full "yuga" (12 years) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has suddenly woken up to the facts that public constructions are habitually carried out at such costs as are neither necessary (nor, perhaps, are really

and truly the genuine costs) nor supported by reasons of modern requirements of sound construction. He has not said, even now, that the Congress-sponsored contractors have been cheating the public of India or that they have been permitted to cheat because they purchased the silent connivance of Government servants. Nor has he said that he knows and surely suspects that a lot of Congressmen, including persons holding important posts have been guilty of participating in the "loot." Pandit Nehru likes to slur over things and to make things easy for criminals. In this he is an equal of the late lamented Count Leo Tolstoy who said, "Resist not evil," for evil will cure itself through an awakening of the soul. Poor Count Leo Tolstoy and his follower Pandit Nehru never realised that the only method by which the soul can be awakened is a generous and vigorous use of the rod. We may say at this point that public works all over India and the work done for the public sector in industry have enriched more thieves in 10 years than have been enriched through the laxness and willing co-operation of the Indian police during the last one hundred years.

A. C.

No Shirking Please

It looks very much like things moving in a vicious circle. The more Mr. Nehru opposes a tribunal to inquire into the charges of corruption, the materials of which Mr. C. D. Deshmukh claims to be in possession of, the more is the desire of the lay public tightened for one such. The moral authority, that belongs to Mr. Deshmukh, tips the scale in its favour. We do not feel happy to see how Mr. Nehru consistently shies at any tribunal. His observation with regard to the Chagla Commission going out of bounds, his lack of balance in respect of Mr. Krishnamachary's alleged part in Life Insurance investment scandal and his rather intemperate language against Justice Vivian Bose still rankle in public memory. He flares up at the suggestion of an investigation into mal-practices, imputed to his colleagues, nay, once even against a Secretary of his. All this, we have no hesi-

tation to say, is possibly for the reason that he is too refined a taste and is constitutionally averse to any dirty linen being washed in the public. Nonetheless, as the administrative head of this vast country, it is religiously incumbent upon him to track down the morally undesirables. They tend to make it inevitable to tar all with the same brush.

It is an unwritten Law, but which has the sanctity of one of the musts in a civilized set-up, that those who are at the helm of affairs must conduct themselves such as to justify the rank and file to believe that they are aboveboard. Nothing spreads so contagiously as corrupt deals invariably do from the top to the level below. This is why we are always for a thorough inquiry into all such charges. It is sheer petulance to stigmatise those who make the charges as bazaar people. We are, however, definitely of opinion that it is only when a *prima facie* case has been made out that there is room for a tribunal or commission of inquiry. A permanent tribunal is too ponderous a charge. Rather, we suggest, for what it is worth, that an all-India Standing Committee with a judicial leaven, functioning in circuit, be instituted. Pitted against Pakistan's relentless drive for a clean sweep of corrupt personnel in the administration, Minister downwards, judgement has gone against us in default. We certainly do not approve of any harshness or wholesale screening. It is sore against an enlightened rule, but the other unsavoury end is as much and a blot.

J. B.

Ceylon Measures Against Indians

Ceylon has about 2 million Indians who form 25 per cent of the population of the island. Of these half are born as Ceylonese subjects and the other half are immigrants who have gone over to Ceylon to work in their rubber, tea and coconut plantations. To the best of our knowledge the Ceylonese gained quite a lot by the labour that the Indians put in their soil. Now the Ceylonese want to get rid of the Indians. A very good way to get rid of workers who have enriched their country would be to

give the workers a share of that wealth (the values that were created by their effort but not given to them in the shape of wages) and to let them go. The people of Ceylon have been getting work done by Indians over a hundred years. Even if a hundred thousand men and women had put in work there on an average for 50 years in all, the surplus values of that work will be nothing less than Rs. $500 \times 100,000 \times 50 =$ Rs. 25,000,000,000 (Two thousand and five hundred crores of rupees). Half of that will be 1,250 crores. This amount may be paid to the retiring workers or to the Indian Government who will then repatriate the immigrant Indians from Ceylon. Ceylon can also settle this for an annual payment of 125 crores for ever (10 per cent on capital) which will be used to rehabilitate these workers who have helped to enrich Ceylon and are now required to be discarded on racial grounds.

But the Ceylonese wish to disclaim responsibility and want to forcibly eject these men without paying suitable compensation to them. They have even suggested that a lot of workers or their relations are still entering Ceylon without permission of the Ceylonese Government. If they are, there must be a good reason for it, viz., that the Ceylonese Government are not permitting them to enter Ceylon to visit their kith and kin. The Ceylon Government are also entertaining a proposal for legislation against such entrants which will permit the Ceylon police to **shoot such entrants at sight!** The clever proposer, of course, has not taken the trouble to describe the methods by which the Ceylon police will know **at sight** that a person has entered Ceylon without proper permit papers. Nor whether only Indians entering Ceylon unlawfully will be shot or the entire world will be informed by Ceylon that whosoever has the temerity to violate the immigration laws of the mighty island government will be shot at sight! We had been worrying about the mental balance of Ceylonese politicians ever since the Bandaranaike incident, but we had no idea things had gone so far.

A. C.

"Unnatural"

The word "unnatural" has different meanings. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the word came into use in the late middle English period (1350—1450 A.D.) and meant "not in accordance with the physical nature of persons or animals." In 1513 A.D., it was used in the sense "not in accordance with the usual course of nature." In 1516, it acquired the meaning "monstrous" or "abnormal." In 1746, it was used to mean "Devoid of natural qualities or characteristics; artificial." It also meant at different times "outraging natural feeling or moral standards, monstrously cruel or wicked (1529). At variance with what is natural, usual, or expected, unusual, strange (1586)."

Acharya Vinoba Bhave recently pronounced an opinion on ownership of land. He said, "Whenever I find people owning land, I do feel that they are committing an offence. Nobody takes away land with him after his death. The very idea of ownership of land is unnatural." He said ownership of land was not prevalent in ancient times in India and that it had been brought to India by the British rulers.

It will, of course, be unkind to criticise the opinion given by a good man; but we cannot agree with Acharya Bhave about his theory of unnaturalness of all ownership of land. It is not contrary to human or animal nature to own land. It is not monstrous or abnormal nor is it devoid of natural qualities and characteristics. It has perhaps "outraged" Acharya Bhave's "natural feeling and moral standards" but for that humanity at large cannot be held to be guilty of unnatural conduct. For, it has not been "monstrously cruel and wicked" in all or even in the majority of cases. Some ownership of land has been bad, cruel, anti-social and so forth; but that is true of all ownership as well as of lack of ownership. For, many have been the cases of ownership of houses, boats, rice, wheat, taxis, lorries, clothes, jewellery, knowledge, physical strength, political power and all else that can be owned, where the owners have used their material, intellectual, spiritual or moral possessions for the degradation, ex-

ploitation, persecution and harassment of fellow human beings. Religious teachers, faddists, politicians, scientists, generals, industrialists have all caused great sorrow to humanity; often without owning anything. We do not think that people must cultivate whatever land they own. Animals do not cultivate but they "own" their habitat lair, stable, kennel or wherever they stay. If one tried to push the lion out of his "home" or the bear out of its cave or even a bull-terrier out of its kennel, one would soon understand how natural it is for animals to own places, areas and domain. A man may own a large garden with magnificent non-fruit bearing trees or a large reservoir or pond. He may also graze his cattle, rear his stock, dig for stone, coal or other minerals or just build a sanctuary for birds, wild animals and trees in his own land. The **rishis** and **acharyas** can also build **ashramas** in their land. And there will be no question of cultivation of all such lands: nor can anyone, say that the ownership of all such land was "unnatural", cruel, monstrous and contrary to the nature of men and human beings.

A. C.

A Happy Augury

Britain in unexampled stress obeyed the signal of history and conceded India freedom. It was an act of statesmanship, which refused to line up with what Clive understood, as he instructed the Court of Directors of the East India Company to 'encourage', what he called, 'rivalship between the Gentoos and Mussalmen to obviate the danger of any cabal being formed': the statesmanship, Morley and Minto perfected to a logical finish by their Separate Electorate, gearing mediaeval fanaticism to make the common man act as a fuse for barbarous communal explosions. It involved them some loss no doubt, but it saved them their Indian commerce. Round about 1930, Viscount Rothermere, in collaboration with Sir Michael O' Dyer of the Punjab Martial Law fame and other diehard Tories, pressed home by an intensive propaganda the folly of slackening the grip of British rule in India, let alone her Independence, because it would mean the end of her trade

with us. And what that trade means? By this trade, he said, Britain provided for her old-age pension, unemployment relief, education grants and other allied state allowances as part of an automatic routine of existence. Nothing, in fact, has, therefore, been left undone by the Conservative Party to thwart, waylay and circumvent India's struggle for freedom. Sir Winston Churchill could ill-afford to conceal his chagrin even when the passing of the Indian Independence Act was a question of days. As the leader of the party he would not endorse it in the Parliament; Mr. Macmillan did it. It is not known to what extent he was in sympathy with it. But any way, he is one of those to acknowledge the value of dividends it yielded them. In his Indian tour in 1958, he felt overwhelmed with India's goodwill and said that England's trade position with India was better than it was in the British regime.

Mr. MacMillan's recent African tour has its one great significance if it is viewed in the light of this experience. He repudiated the shibboleth of the whiteman's burden and the theory of trusteeship. And what is so eloquently to the point, he told the white settlers of South Africa that England would not subscribe to the ideology of a master race. He spoke with utmost freedom despite his listener's reaction, he must have foreseen. Mr. MacMillan strikes us as the true Briton, whose gift of resilience with boundless capacity for adjustment has so enormously helped the British people to tide over crisis which confronted them from time to time. If what he avers now is followed up with some earnestness, England will add to her moral stature.

J. B.

More Make Believe

Food Control, Guest Control and all such Controls are mainly of a make believe variety. Some call these control hypocritical, sanctimonious and by other names. In fact the Guest Control rules are quite senseless. If 500 persons are fed on "pillao" and "parathas" by their host; those 500 persons forego their 500 meals at home, and no more rice or flour is consumed than would be if they ate at home. Rather less

rice or flour will be consumed as there will be other varieties of food at a banquet and people will also eat less out of considerations of good manners. Of course, no one appears to observe these rules and one may say that these orders are made to be violated. That is bad for National discipline.

A. C.

The One Shortage

The trite old saying 'Doctor, heal thyself' is no longer a retort with us. It has by the sheer force of circumstances acquired the ethical value of an adage. We are led to think like this, as we reflect that everybody who is anybody has taken to counselling the students of today on the virtue of obedience, discipline and character, etcetera. What, however, is fundamental and conveniently lost sight of is that those who deserve to be black-listed shout accusation the loudest.

We have passed through a great revolution, which ended by a chapter of untold misery for a vast section of the people inasmuch as the country was cleft into two. Revolution by itself is a disintegrating force. It induces loose ends and violently disturbs the psychological equilibrium of a country—it is a crime when it fails. As a matter of fact, freedom in all spheres of life is seedy and boisterous in its incipient stage. It becomes, therefore, the bounden duty of the protagonists of change to conduct themselves with utmost wariness and restraint. In fact, how the Congress leaders acted and made use of the new opportunities reacted as inevitably upon the country as a whole, the impressionable youth particularly.

As they assumed office, they felt no scruples whatsoever to go back upon the word of honour, they had pledged with the Nation in respect of their austerity programme. Barring some luminous exceptions, they thought of making hay while the sun shone and ere the day of reckoning and retribution overtook them. Entrenched in the new set-up, they billeted their own on Government institutions, commercial houses and places they could lay their hands on, let alone the maximum yield Licences and Permits gave them. And as some of them were literally flooded in the General Election, they were brought in as meticulously

by the trap door of the ruling party's pocket boroughs for the Upper House in negation of the A B C of democracy. All these had a disastrous effect on the morale of young generation. No less shattering in their cumulative effect were the painful disclosures, made by Commissions, how some University authorities abused the trust and responsibility, reposed in them, in financial matters, examination results and, what is still more nauseating, in their behaviour with girl students. It may be said that they were dealt with. No; they should have been so dealt with as to deter others walking in their footsteps and their students to believe that their University is their sanctum and no emporium. In these circumstances, we refrain from spinning out, it is so unfortunate that student delinquency is diagnosed by Mr. Nehru, of all persons, as due to, what we rather consider an inspiring fact, that families which had hitherto no education are now sending their wards in increasing numbers to the University. We all the more regret that Mr. Nehru is being echoed. Such a way of thinking argues a mind, ill-fitted to accept without vital qualifications a socialistic pattern of government. On the point at issue, however, we are perfectly at one with those, who view with alarm the galloping deterioration of the students in their physical, moral and intellectual calibre. Things have gone far, but not yet far enough to be beyond redemption; and they have to be toned up with a sense of purpose in life and a back-to-the-wall resolution to start anew on an even keel. No further denunciation or pulpit lecture please! They are to be commiserated. They share in common with others the myriad shortages, the country is subject to. What, however, has proved fatal to their healthy growth is the appalling shortage in their surroundings of Noble Forms, which, to look on, make noble.

J. B.

The Four Faces of India

The Hitavada has given the following extract:

Manhattan, Kansas, Feb. 16.—The outcome of the cold war with Communism is being decided more surely in India today

than on the weapon testing sites of Cape Canaveral, according to Mr. James McCain, President of Kansas State University.

Addressing an allschool assembly of the University, he added 'whether India can solve her problems within the framework of her free institutions is a matter of vital importance to our own nation and the entire free world'.

Mr. McCain, who recently returned from a four-week tour of India, said India 'presents four faces to the world'.

The first face, he declared, was one of 'indescribable physical beauty and cultural charm,' but this contrasted with another face 'scarred by poverty, hunger and disease.'

One of the free world's pressing problems, he said, was whether India's food problem could be solved before her people rejected their free institutions and sought their salvation in Communism or some other form of absolute Government.

Mr. McCain said India's third face was that of a major battleground in the cold war, while the fourth was that of a show-place for democracy'.

Nehru and China

Mr. Nehru was replying to the debate on the President's address in the Rajya Sabha. The House adopted the motion of thanks.

Mr. Nehru said: "To say that we will not have anything to do and and will issue ultimatums to them is not wisdom or statesmanship. That kind of thing is not done by responsible and mature countries."

Earlier, Mr. Nehru deprecated the tendency of people to think that a friendly settlement meant appeasement, and said: "I do not consider that it should be thought that there are only two policies open to us—one of ignoble submission and the other of flagrant aggression in word, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left, only weak surrender or the uncivilised approach of brawling and shouting."

Mr. Nehru said: "We feel, and the President has given expression to it that China has not behaved properly with us. We have been let down in many ways.

You may say our policies were such that we permitted them to do it, though I do not see how any policy we could have pursued could have made any major difference. But the major thing is, we feel we have been let down and injury has been caused to our principles and indeed to our frontiers. And we have to face this situation, facing it with the right policy and right strength, and facing it, as everyone says, with a measure of unity which comes as the result of the right policy. No doubt, so far as strength is concerned, we shall try to build up our strength and utilise it to defend our frontiers."

"When we say that we should always aim at a peaceful settlement, it does not mean appeasement or giving in to anything we consider wrong. I do not consider that it should be thought that there are only two policies open—one of ignoble submission and the other of flagrant aggression in words, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left. Only the weak surrender or the uncivilised resort to brawling and shouting. I hope we shall function in a more civilised manner, adhering to our principles and yet functioning in a civilised way."

Mr. Nehru said that very recently the Government of India had sent a communication to the Chinese Government in reply to their last letter and "in due course we will place it before this House."

"It will be unbecoming of me to talk rashly about the steps that we are going to take and what we are going to do. That is not normally the language of responsible people speaking for a Government. I need not repeat here what the President has said so well in his address. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did not like one or two phrases in it. What the President says, does not lack any firmness anywhere. It is a firm statement of India's position in this matter, at the same time laying stress on our desire for a friendly settlement. But it does not mean giving up a basic principle or basic interests. Nevertheless it is, and should be the function of every Government to try for a friendly settlement because there is no other alternative, in India, in Germany, France, Asia or elsewhere. Friendly settle-

ment may take a long time or it may be upset by the opposite party and war may begin. That is a different matter.

"The President has said about our deep sorrow about what we consider to be a breach of faith by a country we considered friendly and with whom, we laying down those very principles which are talked so much as Panch Sheel, nevertheless desire to have a friendly settlement.

"But let it be understood quite clearly when I talk of a friendly settlement, I see no ground whatever at the present moment, no bridge between the Chinese position and ours. That is, the present positions are such that there is no room for negotiations on that (Chinese) basis and, therefore, there is nothing to negotiate about. But to say that we will not have anything to do and we will issue ultimatums to them is not wisdom or statesmanship. That kind of thing is not done by responsible and mature countries."

U. G. C. Recommendations

New Delhi, Feb. 23.—The University Grants Commission in its third report has stated that new colleges, each reasonably well-equipped and well-supported to look after a restricted number of students, will have to be established to meet the increasing demand for university education.

It points out that the number of students, at the 35 Indian universities, which has been increasing in the last few years at the rate of over 50,000 per annum, will touch the million mark very soon if this rate of increase is maintained.

The report points out that it is necessary to determine the principles on which the admissions are to be made into a university so that unnecessary wastage of national resources may be avoided. The university should not be treated, the Commission states as though it were some kind of "waiting room" in which young men and women collect before entering upon a wage-earning career.

It favours university education being restricted to those who, by any acceptable test, have the necessary aptitude and from amongst whom the nation may draw as

many as may be needed to fill the various professions.

Secondary education of a diversified nature as well as education of a technical character might be expanded and made easily available for ordinary students.

It is of the opinion that in the foreseeable future, the teaching and affiliating type of university shall have to be depended upon to carry on university education. While a unitary residential type of university may be the ideal, it is more expensive. Further, unitary universities cease to be academically satisfactory or administratively manageable when their student numbers increase appreciably beyond 5,000.

Recently experience has shown, says the Report, that some of the most difficult instances of student indiscipline have occurred in the unitary universities in the country.

The Commission urges that it should be seen to it that the numbers in the existing unitary universities are limited and high standards insisted on in admitting students.

The Commission feels that there should be widest possible consultation and careful examination of all aspects of the problems involved in the establishment of new colleges. The Commission states that several instances have been noticed of unplanned and hasty establishment of universities, largely as a result of improper or irrational pressures. In this connexion, the Commission draws attention to the establishment of a new institution at Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh called "Indira Kala Visva Vidyalyaya."

The Commission notes with satisfaction that some improvement has been brought about in a large majority of universities in the matter of giving higher scales of pay to teachers. Twenty State universities had participated in a scheme for upgrading, on a sharing basis, the salaries of their teachers.

Another national aspect of teachers' salaries, says the Commission, is that the pay scales of teachers compare unfavourably with pay scales in other walks of life. The point at which most men and women

enter the university teachers' profession is that of the lecturer. The Commission states that the basic time-scale of pay for university and college lecturers should compare favourably with that offered for Class I posts in the administrative services of the States and the Central Government.

The Commission points that the problem of general behaviour of students continues to be a serious one. It appeals to politicians and to parents to assist the university authorities in maintaining the right atmosphere in the universities.

The Commission states that it still adheres to the view that the changeover from English to an Indian language should be carefully prepared for and should be made only gradually having regard primarily to the effectiveness of teaching and learning. The Commission proposes to have the whole question examined thoroughly by a working group in the near future.

The Commission emphasises that the medium of instruction is an academic and not a political question and that any change that might be considered necessary should be introduced only after reaching full accord on the matter with the universities.

The Commission recommends the establishment of a convention, as in the U.K., by which the Government entrusts to the Commission the whole responsibility of determining the financial needs of universities without interference in matters of policy or in the detailed administration of university affairs. In order that the Commission may be truly responsible for co-ordination of standards of teaching and research in the universities, the Report says it is desirable that grants-in-aid should not be given by any of the Ministries of the Government to any university directly and without consultation with the Commission.

Nehru's Second Thoughts

The Statesman reports:

New Delhi, Feb. 24.—But for a firm declaration that the Congress would never form a Government in Kerala with the Muslim League's co-operation, "come what may," Mr. Nehru's monthly Press conference today was largely a repetition of his earlier statements in Parliament.

However, on the two major subjects of discussion—his invitation to Mr. Chou En-lai for talks in Delhi, and the demand for a permanent tribunal to combat corruption in high places—he reiterated his stand with greater emphasis than during the Lok Sabha debate.

He still adhered to his view, the Prime Minister said, that negotiations between India and China would be "fruitless" unless the Indian territory forcibly occupied by the Chinese was evacuated and preliminary steps taken to settle facts.

Yet he had agreed to a meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister because, he added, sometimes "discussions may not be fruitful and yet they may be desirable."

"Do you understand that"?, he inquired and some in his audience, at least said that they did not. A correspondent commented: "If negotiations are fruitless, then what are you going to talk about?"

Mr. Nehru pointed out that there were several difficult problems in Europe about which summit meetings took place, even though nobody expected any results from them.

While declining to anticipate the likely response of the Chinese Premier to his invitation to Delhi, Mr. Nehru told a questioner that he did not object to the meeting being held in Rangoon, although he would not like to go out of India.

Last time, he explained, he had refused to go to Rangoon chiefly because that invitation was against the background of a Chinese Note that he could not accept. Any meeting now would take place against the background of the Indian Note, even though the acceptance of this Note was by no means a precondition.

Rejecting the demand for a permanent tribunal to prevent corruption—"I will not be bullied into taking a wrong step," he said—Mr. Nehru argued that such a tribunal would be undemocratic and injurious to the country, because it was bound to foster authoritarianism.

He deplored "the constant, but vague," talk of corruption, and invited public men as well as newspapers to make specific

allegations and take the consequences. Meanwhile, he conceded, existing procedure for dealing with corruption could be improved. In special cases, he would consider appointing a special tribunal.

In this connection, Mr. Nehru blamed a Bombay weekly for making baseless allegations against "one of our most able and energetic Generals"—Lt.-Gen. B. M. Kaul.

About Kerala, the Prime Minister said that the triple alliance emerged from the tremendous feeling in the State against the previous Communist Government. Only after the elections did the Congress High Command see the manifesto of the Kerala Muslim League, which had several "objectionable" and communal features, he said. There was no question of co-operation with such a communal attitude, "whatever the risk."

He displayed an equally uncompromising attitude towards recent occurrences in Bhilai. He had no sympathy, he said, for anybody—whether students or workers—who wilfully destroyed public property.

Nor did the Prime Minister once conceal his irritation over questions relating to boundary disputes between States in the country. "It does not matter to me where the boundary of one State ends and that of the other begins, provided that the matter is settled with goodwill," he remarked.

He told another questioner that his views on the nature of the Western economic aid to India did not coincide with those of Mr. Khrushchev. He added, however, that in every country's policy there was an unavoidable element of enlightened self-interest.

P.T.I. adds: A correspondent asked if it was not a fact that the Muslim League manifesto was sent to the A.-I.C.C. before the election arrangement with the League and was discussed by the High Command. Mr. Nehru said the manifesto was shown to him and others in his presence for the first time about 10 days ago. He could not say whether it had been sent to the A.-I.C.C. When it was shown 10 ten days ago, great surprise was displayed by all present. It was more or less a repetition of the old Muslim League's programme. Separate electorates.

had not been asked for in it, but the suggestion was made that such a thing might be necessary and desirable

A correspondent pointed out that the Muslim League was supporting the Congress-PSP Government and asked how this was possible when there was a big difference in policies. Mr. Nehru said the differences were important, but on a distant plane.

In regard to the choice of a Speaker, Mr. Nehru said that so far as he was concerned it would be eminently desirable for a Muslim League candidate to take that office. A Speaker did not represent any governmental policy. If the candidate was a good man, he should be elected.

Referring to the trouble at Bhilai, Mr. Nehru said it was not the plant workers, but the construction workers who had been causing the disturbance.

A correspondent asked if the Prime Minister was aware that there had been 160 accidents in Bhilai (according to the workers). Mr. Nehru said he had absolutely no knowledge.

Referring to the charges made against Gen. Kaul by a Bombay weekly, Mr. Nehru said the main charge was that Gen. Kaul had been promoted to his present rank out of turn and that he had no experience of active service.

The Prime Minister said Gen. Kaul had put in a good deal of active service not only in Burma in the last war, but in the old N.-W.F.P. and later in Kashmir. "He was our Military Attache in Washington and when trouble in Kashmir began, he wanted to resign from a soft job and be sent to the front. We accepted his resignation and he went to the front."

It had to be realized that there was no "in turn" promotion in the higher ranks of the Army.

About Turn?

New Delhi, Feb. 15.—While repeatedly reiterating that there "is little ground for useful talks" between India and China, Mr. Nehru has invited Mr. Chou En-lai to Delhi "as an honoured guest"—at any time con-

venient to the Chinese Premier but preferably during the second half of March.

This invitation is contained in a letter by the Prime Minister to Mr. Chou, which was placed before Parliament today along with the Indian Government's reply to the Chinese Note of December 26. Both the Note and the Prime Minister's letter were handed over to the Chinese Government on Friday.

In his letter, the Indian Prime Minister has taken particular objection to the emphasis in the last Chinese Note on "our entire boundary never having been delimited." "That is a statement," he points out, "which appears to us to be wholly incorrect, and we cannot accept it. On that basis there can be no negotiations."

"Although any negotiations on the basis you have suggested are not possible," Mr. Nehru adds, "still I think that it might be helpful for us to meet." Since he himself would be preoccupied with Parliament's Budget session for the next few months, Mr. Nehru suggests that Delhi would be a convenient place for the two Prime Ministers to meet.

Even though he has not made it a precondition for the proposed meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister, in March, Mr. Nehru has reiterated that "certain preliminary steps" suggested by him in a letter to Mr. Chou on November 16, and rejected by China, should at least be accepted now to ease the situation and facilitate discussion.

As is known, Mr. Nehru's letter of three months ago had suggested that to prevent the two Prime Ministers from being lost "in a forest of detail," officials on the two sides should meet earlier to lay the "foundation of our discussions."

Another point made in that letter was that India could not agree, even as an interim measure, to the continuation of China's "forcible occupation of Longju" and other Indian areas.

In his present letter Mr. Nehru dwells on two other points: the futility of "long distance correspondence" reaffirming irreconcilable views; and the tragic implications, not only for India and China but for the

world, of the deterioration in the relations between the two countries.

The central theme of the Indian Note to Feking, which runs into 14 printed pages, is a complete and cogent repudiation of the Chinese claim that "the entire boundary between the two countries has never been delimited and is therefore yet to be settled through negotiations."

"It is clearly impracticable," says the latest Indian Note, "for the Government of India to accept this proposition which they consider unreasonable and against the facts of history, geography, custom, tradition and international agreement. The Government of India is anxious for a friendly settlement but it cannot possibly accept suggestions which gravely prejudice its basic position."

The Indian Note also points out that even though no border incidents have taken place recently, the need for an interim understanding to ease "present tensions" and prevent the situation from worsening is still paramount.

A copy of the letter was laid before Parliament today.

To Encourage Tourism

Madurai, Feb. 21.—Mr. Fredric March, American movie actor, his wife, Dr. Chrone, New York physician, who has diagnosed what is known after him as Chrone's Disease, and Dr. Chrone's wife were among the six persons arrested yesterday at Lower Camp about 100 miles from Madurai, for alleged technical breach of the State's prohibition law.

Mr. Fredric March, who left Madras today for Colombo, said in Madras that they had not committed any prohibition offence. A bottle of liquor found in the medicinal bag of the American doctor measured up only to "a few" ounces and was purely intended for medicinal purposes. It was normal practice for physicians to carry some liquor in their medical bags.

Mr. March said that the incident, which he characterized as "most unfortunate" in his one-month stay in India, occurred when the car in which they were travelling was stopped by the police on the ground that it had no permit to ply as a taxi. The tourists,

he added, had not known that it was an "illicit taxi" as stated by the police. The car had been arranged by a travel agency of Madurai. The car was searched and following the finding of the bottle of liquor, they were all arrested. The Sub-magistrate of Gudalur, 80 miles from Madurai, later ordered their release after they had signed bail papers.

De Gaulle's Inhibition:

Paris, Feb. 13.—France exploded her first nuclear bomb in the heart of the Sahara Desert today, it was announced in Paris this morning. The bomb was exploded successfully at 6 a.m. G.M.T. (11-30 a.m. I.S.T.).

So France entered the "atomic club," joining the U.S.A., Britain and the Soviet Union with the explosion of her first device from the top of a 100-metre high steel tower in the Sahara.

A communique from General de Gaulle's presidential office said: "The President of the French Republic and the Community makes it known that at 070 on February 13, taking account of very favourable meteorological conditions, the order was given to explode an atomic device in the Sahara desert of the Tanezrouft (the desert of thirst), south-west of Reggan. The explosion took place with the power and safety conditions envisaged."

"The device was placed at the top of a tower. The explosive used was plutonium.

"The safety of the populations of the Sahara and of neighbouring countries was completely assured."

The test site stretches for about 250 miles south-west of Reggan in the western Sahara and all civilian planes have been banned from flying over it since October 15.

M. Debre, the Premier, has said, however, that the Sahara tests are only a first step and that France is "even ahead of her programme."

French officials have often expressed the hope that France's entry into the "atomic club" would lead to a relaxation of the U. S. Macmahon Act barring the disclosure of atomic secrets to America's allies.

Such a move, and France's own proved military potential in the nuclear field, might

ease a solution of the N.A.T.O. defence problem posed by France's refusal to allow American atomic weapons on her soil unless she shares in their control.

The French bomb exploded early today is one in which fission reaction on heavy atoms takes place whereas in "H" or thermo-nuclear bombs the energy is obtained by the fusion of light atoms.

President de Gaulle today sent a telegram to M. Pierre Guillaumat, Minister-Delegate in charge of Atomic Affairs, who was present at Reggan, saying: "Hooray for France. Since this morning she is stronger and prouder. From the bottom of my heart, my thanks to you and to those who, for her, have achieved this magnificent success."

The Defence Ministry said later that there was no radioactive fallout from the French bomb over inhabited areas, according to first reports.

According to a Geneva message, Mr. James J. Wadsworth, U.S. delegate to the east-west nuclear test ban conference, said there today he did not think France's atom bomb explosion would affect the current negotiations here.

Mr. Tsarapkin, Soviet delegate to the conference, said the three-Power negotiations would continue despite the explosion. "The French explosion is quite outside the scope of our conference and I know nothing about the possibility of France joining our discussions. Any invitation to France or a request from France to join the three-Power negotiations is something for the Governments concerned to arrange."

Accra, Feb. 13.—Dr. Nkrumah, Ghana's Prime Minister, announced today that assets of all French firms in Ghana would be frozen from today "until such time as the effects on the population of Ghana of the present atomic explosion and future experiments referred to by the French Prime Minister become known."

Cairo, Feb. 13.—A wave of indignation swept across Africa today as news spread regarding the French atomic blast in the Algerian Sahara this morning. African leaders generally described the explosion as an "aggression" against the African people, and broadcasts from a number of

African capitals characterized it as a "crime against humanity" and "defiance of U.N. resolutions."

Observers believed the test explosion may lead to a fresh wave of popular demonstrations against the French in Cairo, Accra and other African and West Asian capitals.

Expert Opinion:

We quote from **The Statesman** the following extract from the speech of the retiring Chairman of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce:

Mr. Brown specifically surveyed the problems of the jute, tea and coal industries and made pointed reference to the managing agency system and the Government policy in regard to it. According to him, the overall picture of the past year was one of expanding horizons, with a rate of increase in industrial production higher than hitherto achieved.

That this was possible, he said, despite the difficult foreign exchange situation which had confronted the country for over two years now, reflected credit on the Government of India and on the monetary authorities. Some praise, he added, was also due to the industry for the manner in which it had managed to adapt itself to conditions, particularly to local shortages of raw materials from time to time.

Regarding the Third Plan, he said he had no doubt that if the lessons of the First and Second Plans were absorbed, if the increasingly pragmatic approach of the authorities in Delhi to many of the difficulties continued to develop and if doctrinaire conceptions were not permitted to interfere with the economic development of the country's resources, it would take a big step forward to the point of take-off towards a self-sustaining economy. In this march of progress, the members of the Chamber and the interests they represented would not be found lagging.

Mr. Brown endorsed Dr. Roy's remark in introducing on Thursday the Budget Estimates for 1960-61. In referring to the shape of the Third Plan, the Chief Minister was stated to have said that, having regard

to the difficult food position and the continuing increase in the population, there were powerful and well-nigh unassailable arguments in favour of giving priority to the production of food.

Notwithstanding the essential aim of planning to secure an orderly dispersal of industry throughout the country, it was inevitable, for the reason of the location of the natural resources, that the greatest complex of heavy industry should be centred on this region. With the natural and desirable evolution from the production of iron and steel to the manufacture of machinery, the vital importance of the social and economic stability of Eastern India, was, if anything, further enhanced.

When in addition it was borne in mind that virtually the whole of India's exports of jute goods and a large part of tea exports originated in West Bengal and Assam, the vital place of the region in the country's economy in today's circumstances of foreign exchange shortage was obvious.

Apart from those connected with the port and river there were other problems of communications which continued to demand attention. He mentioned the approach road to Calcutta from Dum Dum. He was interested to learn of the reactions of a prominent visitor connected with a very large American organization who had entered India via Calcutta. His first impression was bad, but he visited the other industrial and commercial centres as well as Delhi and was able to take with him a balanced view of India's investment potential.

Mr. Brown had met the representative of another large international group during a visit to Delhi and in the course of discussions discovered that they had set up their new organization in India around Bombay, after visiting Calcutta. They were now wondering whether they had been right in doing so.

The point was that they formed such a bad first impression of Calcutta that they admitted that it might have affected their judgement in the location of the industry.

When one considered the unemployment situation in West Bengal, one wondered how the authorities could permit this state of affairs to continue. He was not suggesting for a moment that Calcutta's and West Bengal's troubles would vanish with the completion of a fine new road between the city and Dum Dum. But he did suggest that it would have a tonic effect in other directions and would before long pay handsome dividends in terms of industrial expansion.

Calcutta was not alone among the great cities in the world today in having a traffic problem, but he had an uncomfortable feeling that, whatever thinking might have been done in regard to methods of dealing with it, not much had been achieved. A particular aspect of the road problem and one which demanded the urgent implementation of plans was the improvement of road communications between Calcutta and the developing industrial areas in other parts of the State and in Bihar.

A Friend of India

Lady Mountbatten, whose untimely death is mourned by all Indians, was a true friend of the peoples of India. During the days when India was torn by cliques, conspiracies and partisanship, she moved about to soothe and to bring peace. Her presence quietened the strong feelings that Indians harboured against the British. She had one quality which enabled her to establish civilised relations where passions surged. It was her general friendly and cultured outlook. She had undone much of the evil that several generations of cunning British politicians generated by their imperialistic actions. She used her power, position and talents to establish peace and friendship between India and Britain. And her success was due to her goodness and sincerity rather than to anything else. Her death has been a great loss to India.

A. C.

THE HINDU SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

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Hinduism, which combines both religion and philosophy, has moulded the culture of India for the past five thousand years. It has influenced the lives of countless millions of people and given them strength and vitality, courage and vision, during their long and checkered history. Hinduism is not a congeries of fixed concepts, beliefs, and dogmas, but an organic growth. Faithful to its basic truths, which were discovered in prehistoric times through the spiritual insight of certain highly developed souls who lived on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, it has whenever necessary assimilated from alien cultures healthy ideas in order to preserve itself from inner decay and stagnation. India has thus made certain eternal and immutable principles the foundation of her cultural edifice but has left its windows open for fresh winds to come from outside; at the same time she has never allowed these winds to sweep the edifice off its foundation. India reveals a continuity in her cultural patterns almost without parallel in history.

Besides the spiritual insight contributed by ancient philosophers, mystics, and saints, two other influences—nature and geography—have helped India formulate and preserve her culture. India was isolated from the outside world by lofty mountains in the north and by great oceans in the three other directions. Her vast spaces were crisscrossed by swift-flowing rivers. She had a fertile soil and a mild climate, and nature was bounteous. All these factors gave people's minds a natural bent toward the infinite and the eternal and inclined them to contemplation. Society was not competitive, and men's bodies and minds were relaxed. Philosophical thought found easy expression through poems and songs. Though philosophy and religion absorbed people's interests, India did not lag behind other countries in the knowledge of the physical world. Scientific minds in India measur-

ed the land, mapped the heavens, traced the courses of the stars and planets, analysed matter, developed the decimal system and algebra, codified grammar and speculated about logic, contributed to the sciences of medicine and surgery, knew the use of steel and glass, and fairly kept the country abreast of the rest of the world till the beginning of the scientific era in modern Europe. The sciences in India were largely developed through observation and speculation; they were not, for the most part, based on the experimental method. Some of their achievements, nevertheless, have drawn praise from contemporary thinkers. It appears as if a strong wind of creative impulse arose from somewhere in the country itself, stirred the minds of the people, and then all but died down, ushering in a dark age. But that the life-force of the nation was not spent is now being demonstrated in the Indian people's struggle to build up their country after having attained political freedom. One need not cut open the bark of a living tree to see if the sap is running.

Whatever India achieved in the fields of art, literature, architecture, sociology, politics, or ethics was powerfully influenced by the Hindu religion and philosophy. As the subject of this paper is a vast one, I plan to give first a general outline of the Hindu systems of thought and follow it up with a discussion of social values in Hinduism. There prevails in the West a persistent belief that Hinduism, being otherworldly, is lacking in realism. If the world and individual souls are unreal, as it is alleged, then why bother about them? This attitude, it is contended, is responsible for India's poverty, illiteracy, and material backwardness.

Hinduism, also known as the Hindu dharma, is more of a way of life than a religion based upon revelations from God through a Prophet or Incarnation, which is

the usual connotation of the word **religion**. The Hindu dharma is designed to guide the embodied spirit in its different stages of evolution, from its first individualization through identification with matter to its final liberation through spiritual illumination. In the Hindu tradition both philosophy and religion cross each other's path. Philosophy, in the main, is the approach to reality through the intellect. It points out the distinction between what is real and what is unreal, and usually exercises a veto power over the unreal. Religion is mainly the approach through the heart, and urges the soul in its onward progress. Final liberation comes through the grace of God.

Hinduism has no historical founder. It is based upon truths which are eternal, without beginning, and not attributable to human intellect. As I have already mentioned, they were discovered for the Indian world through the introspection of rishis, or seers, who practised the spiritual disciplines of discrimination, non-attachment, control of the body and senses, and one-pointedness of mind. Among the rishis are found both men and women. Divine Incarnations like Krishna and Rama, who appeared later in Indian history, demonstrated the validity of these eternal truths. But even without them Hinduism would not lose its authenticity.

The eternal truths of Hinduism are recorded in the Vedas, the Hindu scriptures, which are the final authority of the Hindus pertaining to their religion and philosophy. But the Vedas themselves point out that they are merely indicators of a path. In the radiance of ultimate reality the scriptures fade away.

There are two main divisions of the Vedas: the one deals with hymns to the deities and rituals for their propitiation, and the other with such philosophical topics as the Godhead, creation, moral disciplines, and the nature of the soul, the hereafter, and the soul's ultimate destiny. The ritualistic part of the Vedas forms the basis of the Hindu religion, and the philosophical part also known as the Upanishads or

Vedanta, forms the basis of the six classical systems of orthodox Hindu philosophy.

What do the Vedas teach? They deal with both physical happiness and the highest good. The desire for happiness is universal and is fulfilled through the enjoyment of such material objects as food, drink, wealth, children, grandchildren, cattle, and land. The happiness which righteous souls experience in various heavens is also material in nature, as these heavens too are a part of the phenomenal universe. Physical happiness can be meaningfully enjoyed if the enjoyer propitiates the deities, observes the laws of morality, and shows his fellowship with other human beings and subhuman creatures. The Vedic gods who were propitiated through sacrifices were the physical mediums for the manifestation of the supreme spirit. They were the controllers of men's earthly lives. Some of the more prominent Vedic deities are Prajapati (the Creator), Agni (Fire), Varuna (Water), Vayu (Wind), Dau (Sky), and Ritam (Moral Law). The Vedic gods and sacrifices have now been replaced by popular gods—some of whom are God-men and saints—and temple worship. The deities are generally worshipped, like the saints in the Roman Catholic Church, for the fulfilment of worldly desires. But they may also be propitiated for the deepening of the true spiritual life. The Vedas speak of the interdependence of gods, men, animals, and nature, which together form the seamless garment of the phenomenal universe.

But happiness on earth or in heaven is impermanent, because it is associated with material objects and also because it is controlled by the laws of time, space, and causation. The gods, too, die and return to earth. Even the fullest measure of human happiness cannot escape the inevitable suffering due to birth, disease, old age, and death. The soul's longing for freedom (moksha) and the highest good (nihsreyasha) cannot be stifled in spite of repeated disillusionments in heaven or on earth, because in its essential nature the soul is free and perfect. After going through the entire gamut of enjoyment (pravritti) through many a birth, it at last follows the path of return

or renunciation (nivritti). The disciplines for the attainment of freedom are described in the Upanishads.

Besides the Vedas, the primary scriptures, Hinduism recognizes certain secondary scriptures, which are known as the Puranas and the Smritis. The Puranas give popular interpretations of the philosophy of the Upanishads through stories of the gods and of legendary men. They include the two great Hindu epics, the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata**. The former, India's earliest epic poem, centers round the life and adventures of Rama, now worshipped as a divine Incarnation, and describes the penetration of the Aryan culture to the south and the gradual assimilation of the non-Aryans by the Aryans. It extols the Indian ideals of filial piety, the chastity of women, the value of friendship and loyalty, kingly duties, and the courtesy to which inferiors are entitled from their superiors. The **Mahabharata** is a "miscellany of history and mythology, politics and law, philosophy and theology." The **Bhagavad Gita**, which is a part of this great work, is designated as a moksha-sastra, a scripture showing the way to liberation. It deals with the different systems of yoga, or spiritual discipline, but emphasizes selfless love of God and non-attached action as suitable to the average seeker of the highest good. The Smritis prescribe the code of conduct and social ethics. Their injunctions change from time to time to suit the needs of the age. In contrast to the Vedas, the Puranas and the Smritis are ascribed to human authorship.

The Gayatri mantra, which is recorded in the Vedas, sums up the philosophy and religion of the Hindus. According to it, the reality is all-pervading, uncreated, self-luminous, omniscient, and almighty spirit. Religion enjoins upon us meditation on this spirit and the prayer that it may awaken our intellect and guide us along the path of virtue and righteousness. Hindu philosophy is non-dualistic, and the Hindu religion monotheistic.

Ultimate reality is called Brahman. It is the unattached cause of the creation, preservation, and dissolution of the universe.

Its existence is known from the evidence of the enlightened seers. In Brahman all the conflicts and contradictions of the phenomenal universe are resolved. Since the universe is perceived to exist, its cause must be an existing entity. Existence cannot be produced from non-existence. The cause of the universe cannot be inert matter, because we find a plan and purpose in the creation. Therefore the cause is intelligent. Illumined souls, who have renounced all worldly attachments, experience bliss from communion with Brahman, which therefore must be bliss. Furthermore, Brahman, which permeates the universe, is the cause of the attraction between different objects. Brahman is designated as existence-knowledge-bliss absolute (Satchidananda).

Brahman is described in the Vedas as both devoid of attributes and endowed with attributes. The attributeless Brahman, free from indicating marks or qualifying characteristics, is pure, undifferentiated spirit. It is an experience, and is often described by mystics as silence. Brahman is unknown and unknowable to the finite mind.

The same pure spirit, while creating, preserving, and destroying the universe, appears as Brahman with attributes—without, however, losing its essential nature. Brahman with attributes is the Personal God, worshipped as the Lord, the Saviour, and Providence. He is the Father in Heaven of the Christians, the Allah of the Mussalmans, and the Siva or Vishnu of the Hindus.

Another manifestation of Brahman is the Avatar or divine Incarnation. By His inscrutable power God assumes a human body whenever virtue declines in the world and wickedness prevails. According to Hinduism the divine Incarnation cannot be limited by time or place.

Creation is the manifestation of the names and forms lying in an unmanifested state in God's power, also called maya or prakriti. Without any compulsion or motive, He manifests them at the beginning of a cycle, and He withdraws them at the end of the cycle. Creation and disso-

lution are described as the breathing-out and breathing-in of the spirit. Under the spell of maya the diversity in the creation is taken to be real; so also the pairs of opposites, such as good and evil, pain and pleasure, and birth and death. All diversity disappears when one realizes the non-dual spirit. In Brahman, which is pure intelligence, neither good nor evil, nor the other pairs of opposites, are present.

Hinduism admits the multiplicity of souls in the world of phenomena, though it declares that in its essential nature the soul is pure spirit, one and without a second, eternal, pure, immortal, and without beginning or end. Multiplicity or embodiment is the result of maya. The embodied soul, on account of its attachment to the body, becomes a victim of birth and death, good and evil, hunger and thirst, pain and pleasure. It is entangled in the world and seeks deliverance. Even while the embodied soul passes through the various experiences of the phenomenal life, its real nature remains unaffected. The embodied soul, also known as the apparent soul, is endowed with sense-organs, mind, intellect, and ego. It experiences the states of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep. Its suffering is due to desire and attachment. When free from desires, the embodied soul—in this very body or after death—becomes immortal or free. The free soul devotes himself to the welfare of the world.

For the attainment of perfection, Hinduism teaches spiritual disciplines called yoga. In general there are four kinds of yoga, suited to different temperaments. The active man practises the discipline of selfless action, or work for work's sake, expecting no return for himself. The philosophical man constantly discriminates between the real and the unreal, and renounces the unreal. The emotional man practises love of God without expectation of reward or fear of punishment; this love is for love's sake. The introspective man seeks to suppress the restlessness of his mind through control of the body and the senses. He practises concentration and ultimately realizes the soul's isolation from the body.

Ethical disciplines are the foundation of the spiritual life. One aspect of Hindu ethics emphasizes social service, and another aspect inner purification. Hindu ethics will presently be discussed.

Hindu seers constantly remind us that religion is not mere belief in certain dogmas or creeds: it is an experience. To know God is to become God or to cultivate god-like qualities. The goal of religion is the manifestation of the divinity lying hidden in all embodied creatures. Experience alone "destroys all doubts and severs the knots of the heart." As the soul is essentially one with God, every soul will attain perfection in course of time. As one cannot rid oneself of all limitations in one lifetime, Hinduism postulates the rebirth of the soul in many bodies.

The cardinal principles of the Hindu systems of thought may be summarized in four phrases, namely, the oneness of existence, the divinity of the soul, the non-duality of the Godhead, and the harmony of religions. Hinduism is thus endowed with several dimensions. Its extent includes the conception of Brahman or the universal spirit—transcending names, forms, and attributes—which is the foundation of the moral and spiritual laws that guide the universe and under whose control the stars and the planets move along their orbits. Hinduism's tremendous depth lies in its conception of the soul, "subtler than the subtle and greater than the great," guiding the activities of the body, sense-organs, and mind. Its breadth appears in its catholic attitude toward all systems of religious and philosophical thought and in its respect for those who differ from it. One may discover yet a fourth dimension in Hinduism in its realization of the all-embracing unity of animate and inanimate existence: of God, souls, and nature.

In the second part of my paper I shall briefly discuss Hindu ethics, which lays down disciplines for both self-improvement and social welfare. The disciplines for self-improvement may be called personal or subjective ethics, and the others social or objective ethics. The aim of personal ethics is to eliminate such mental impuri-

ties as "lust, anger, and greed," which the Bhagavad Gita calls the "gateways to hell," for the ultimate attainment of the highest good. It includes such disciplines as austerity, control of the body and mind, renunciation, non-attachment, and concentration. Patanjali, the author of the *Yoga Aphorisms*, adds to the list the virtues of non-injury, truthfulness, abstention from theft, and chastity. These disciplines are common to all the major religions of the world.

Austerity enables a man to curb his impulses for inordinate enjoyment of physical comforts, and also to acquire supernatural powers which exalt him far above the worlds of men and the gods. In the Upanishads, austerity (*tapas*) often denotes intense thinking, the same sort of thinking that precedes creative work, making a man indifferent about his personal comforts or discomforts. Self-control means control of the sense-organs, which are ordinarily inclined toward material objects and employed to seek only the pleasant. It creates that inner calmness without which profound spiritual truths cannot be grasped. The two most important factors in the practice of self-control are discrimination and will-power; it does not involve any weakening of the body or the organs. The spiritual seeker should possess a healthy body and vigorous organs, unerring discrimination, and a strong mind. His discrimination should guide his senses to choose only those objects which are helpful to the realization of his spiritual ideal.

Renunciation of the unreal and the impermanent leads directly to the experience of the real and the everlasting. Monks try to practise this virtue to the limit, and take a vow to give up the enjoyment of physical objects both here and hereafter.

Non-injury and truthfulness are sovereign virtues emphasized by all religious Hindus, from the Vedic seers to Mahatma Gandhi. The practice of non-injury also includes gentleness and abstention from harsh words. Truthfulness means the ascertainment of facts by such valid proofs as direct perception, correct inference, and reliable testimony. In addition, truthfulness demands that facts be described without any

intentional deceit or unnecessary verbiage. Half-truths and evasions are regarded as lies. Truthfulness must not unnecessarily hurt the feelings of others; otherwise it will not be effective. In such a case the wise remain silent. A Hindu injunction says: "Speak the truth; speak the pleasant, but not an unpleasant truth."

Abstention from theft requires not only that one should not appropriate another's property unlawfully, but also that one should abstain from greediness. What it really amounts to is indifference to the material advantages of life. The accumulation of physical goods beyond a certain limit is generally tainted by cruelty, greed, or similar blemishes. One cannot hoard great wealth without some sort of deceit or injury to others.

The practice of chastity includes abstention from lewdness in thought, speech, and action. Both the mind and the heart must be kept unsullied by a spiritual seeker, the body being the temple of God and the heart its inner shrine.

Social values are given an important place in the Hindu system of thought. Their fulfilment is a discipline for the enjoyment of happiness here and hereafter, which the Vedas recognize as a universal craving. The world must be regarded as real as long as one is a part of it. The knowledge of the universe and the knowledge of Brahman are the warp and woof which have built up Hindu philosophy. It is said in the Vedas that a person must cultivate both forms of knowledge. He who cultivates only the knowledge of the universe enters into darkness; but he who cultivates only the knowledge of the spirit enters into a greater darkness. The former creates a materially prosperous society but leaves the individual a victim of anxiety, tension, and suffering. The latter enables the individual to reach a lofty height of enlightenment, but society registers a low ebb of general backwardness. One should cultivate, the Vedas add, the knowledge of both science and superscience; by means of science one overcomes physical limitations, and by means of superscience one attains to immortality.

Prayers have been composed by the Vedic seers addressed to the cosmic order, ethical laws, and moral virtues. There are striking hymns about marriage, procreation, a woman's conduct in her husband's house, hospitality, harmony in a council, health, vigor, longevity, the duties of a householder, battles and the proper attitude toward enemies, and about general prosperity. The following are instances chosen at random:

About marriage: "Be not parted; dwell here; reach the full term of human life. With sons and grand-sons, sport and play, rejoice in your abode."

About procreation: "This woman has come like a fertile cornfield. There sow, O man, the seed of your future harvest. She from her teeming side shall bear you children and feed them from the fountain of her bosom."

About a woman's conduct in her husband's house: "Over your husband's father and your husband's mother bear full sway. Over the sister of your husband, over his brother, rule supreme."

About hospitality: "Now that man who eats before his guests, eats up the sacrifice and the merit of the house. He devours the milk and the sap and the vigor and the prosperity and the progeny and the cattle, and the fame and reputation, and the glory and understanding, of the house."

About longevity: "May we see a hundred years. May we live a hundred years. May we know a hundred years. May we prosper a hundred years. May we assert our existence a hundred years, yea, even more than a hundred years."

About general prosperity: "O Lord, may there be born in the kingdom brahmins distinguished for the knowledge of Brahman; heroic kshatriyas, skilled marksmen, piercing with their shafts mighty warriors; cows giving abundant milk, good at carrying heavy loads; swift horses and industrious women: may our fruit trees ripen; may we secure and preserve prosperity."

Thus it is evident that the Indo-Aryans of Vedic times lived a full and

happy life and did not repudiate the world. But it was not a purely materialistic happiness that they sought; for them worldly enjoyment was means to a higher end.

The Upanishads, which form the essence of the Vedas, aim to establish the sole reality of Brahman. They also emphasize the fact that the world of multiplicity is real for the vast majority of people, who are under the spell of maya. Such people should recognize social values and practise ethical laws.

The "Brihadarnyaka Upanishad" exhorts the rich and the powerful to cultivate the virtue of self-control, the average greedy man the virtue of charity, and the demoniacal person the virtue of compassion. The **Katha Upanishad** teaches that a seeker of self-knowledge must fulfil his duties to the gods and society before he aspires to knowledge. From the following statement of an enlightened king, one realizes the high standard of society in Upanishadic times: "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no wine-bibber, no man without a sacrificial fire, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less adulteress." The importance of moral conduct can be clearly recognized from the advice of a teacher to his students who have finished their education and are about to embrace the householder's life: "Speak the truth. Practise righteousness. Do not neglect the study of the Vedas.... Enter the householder's life and see that the line of progeny is not cut off. Do not swerve from the truth. Do not swerve from righteousness. Do not neglect personal welfare (refers to health and longevity). . . . Do not neglect your duties to the gods and the manes. Treat your mother as God. Treat your father as God. Treat your teacher as God. . . . A typical prayer for wealth and prosperity is the following: "Bring me, without delay, fortune which will always provide me with clothes and cattle, food and drink. . . . May I become famous among men. May I become richer than the rich." It may be noted that all the teachers of the major Upanishads were householders.

We have already stated that the people are clinging merely to its outer secondary scriptures of the Hindus teach forms.

how to apply the philosophy of the Upanishads, to the needs of the people which arise from time to time with the change of social conditions they speak of the householders as the basis and principal support of society. The three values most prized are righteousness, economic security, and sense pleasure. Both wealth and sense pleasure should be earned and enjoyed according to righteousness; otherwise they degenerate into greed and voluptuousness. The fulfilment of these three values leads to the realization of the highest value, namely, moksha or spiritual freedom. The caste system is based upon the admitted physical, intellectual, and spiritual inequalities of men at birth. In some is found a preponderance of spirituality and intellect, in some physical valor and heroism, in some the instinct to earn and accumulate wealth, and in some the virtue of rendering service to others. Each of the four castes has "its own hygiene, its own domain of labor, its own sentiment of perfection, and its own spiritual superiority." "It is a law of spiritual economics," said Mahatma Gandhi; "it has nothing to do with superiority and inferiority." The member of any caste is permitted to practise the spiritual disciplines which enable one to realize God, which realization alone decides a person's ultimate worth. According to the Hindu doctrine of rebirth, a member of a low caste, through the fulfilment of his social and religious duties, can be born in a higher caste and enjoy its amenities and privileges. As long as its original meaning was followed, the caste system promoted harmony and co-operation among the divergent members of society, eliminated friction and competition, and saved the weak from exploitation by the strong. It has helped Hindu society to absorb alien peoples according to their merits and aptitudes. Through it Hinduism recognized renunciation, self-control, service, and sacrifice as cardinal virtues. At the present time, however, the true spirit of the caste system has been practically forgotten;

the people are clinging merely to its outer forms.

During the dark ages of Indian history, lasting for about a thousand years, when India was ruled by foreigners, loyalty to dharma or social duties preserved Hindu society from total disintegration. The saints and religious leaders of that period were real lovers of men and dedicated themselves to improving the condition of the masses, especially of the untouchables.

During the British rule of one hundred and ninety years, India remained culturally sterile. But the introduction of English education brought educated Indians in contact with the national, aggressive, and dynamic West. Through the notable efforts of Western orientalists, British historians, and archaeologists, the Hindus again learnt the value of their own past cultural achievements, though many of those who received an English education became thoroughly Westernized in outlook. Christian missionaries also aroused the dormant social and religious consciousness of the Indians. Thus there took place a cultural revival with significant political and social implications.

There are three prominent religious movements in modern India which have emphasized social service. The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, which represent the national reaction against the social abuses of the past thousand years, have been advocating the abolition of the caste system, the remarriage of Hindu widows, the removal of early marriage, the emancipation of women, the spread of education, and other social reforms.

Unlike the founders of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, who were essentially social reformers. Ramakrishna, the inspirer of the Ramakrishna Mission, was man of God. In him the spiritual aspirations and experiences of the countless millions of Hindus of the past five thousand years found their fulfilment and expression. He realized the mysteries of the Godhead in both its personal and impersonal aspects and practised the disciplines of not only Hinduism, but Christian-

ity and Islam, and proclaimed that all religions ultimately lead to the experience of the same Godhead. He did not, however, allow himself to luxuriate in the bliss of solitude and meditation, but dedicated his body, mind and soul to the service of humanity. Ramakrishna's foremost disciple, Swami Vivekandana, proclaimed renunciation and service to be the national ideals of India and taught that service to men is the best worship of God. "You may," he said, "invent an image through which to worship God, but a living image already exists—the living man. You may build a temple to worship God, and that may be good, but a better one, a much higher one, already exists—the human body." On another occasion he said: "Him I call a noble soul whose heart bleeds for the poor; otherwise he is a wicked soul." The monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Vivekandana, take the twin vows of self-realization and service to humanity. To them work is a form of worship. Their lives alternate between meditation and social service. The major social activities of the Ramakrishna Mission consist in bringing education to the illiterate, food to the hungry, and medical relief to the sick.

Contrary to the belief of most Westerners, the enlightened saints of India have ministered to the physical, intellectual, and spiritual needs of the people. Whether active or inactive, they constantly pray for the welfare of all: "May the world be peaceful. May the wicked become gentle. May all creatures think of their mutual welfare. May their minds be engaged in what is auspicious. May our hearts be immersed in selfless love of the Lord." "May all be happy. May all be free from disease. May all realize what is good. May none be subject to misery."

I have tried to show in the brief space of this paper that the Hindu systems of thought combine both realism and spirituality and that there is no conflict between the spirit of religion and the ordinary values of life. Hinduism is by no means otherworldly and antisocial in the usual sense of these words. Indian thinkers have come to grips with reality, whose meaning, however, changes at different states in the development of the soul. They have reflected and bravely faced man's real problems, from his first wandering into the realm of phenomena to his final liberation, and exhorted him first to idealize the real and then to realize the ideal.



D. P. I. IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

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Scarcely is a public examination held anywhere in India today without yield of a bountiful crop of howlers. From time to time they have been gleaned and embodied in some enterprising examiner's reports but usually they lie buried in the examinees' answer papers and are soon cast into the limbo of oblivion. It is on rare occasions that the public has a glimpse of them when they get into headlines in the columns of a newspaper where they are publicised more perhaps to regale than to enlighten or instruct its readers.

However distressful on closer reflection, one cannot but feel terribly amused when one finds 'Eisenhower, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Marshall Tito' named as 'important steel producing countries,' 'wheat and rice' cited as examples of 'metals of every day use', 'Einstein' supposed as 'the cause of malaria' and 'hormone' as the 'inventor of the musical instrument harmonium' and so on *ad nauseum*. Parenthetically, but interestingly enough, no mention whatsoever is made of such ludicrous absurdities in any of the numerous examiners' reports of 1840's which recently I had the occasion to rummage. A bad guess such as ascribing a passage from *Il Penseroso* to Johnson was sufficient for the examinee to be held up to ridicule and scorn while the examiner emptied forth his vial of wrath upon one who being unable to give an example from Milton of such a simile as was contained in the passage set for the test had the temerity to answer 'I humbly beg to observe that I little thought that we are expected to have almost every line of Milton by heart'. One wonders how the examiners of those days would have reacted if they were told of our common experience about the authorship of *Paradise Lost* being attributed by the present generation of students to anyone from Shakespeare to Tagore.

I am afraid I have digressed a lot and must come straight to the point I have in view. In a recent public examination in Calcutta intended chiefly for the Matri-

culates but in which a sizable number of I.A's and I.Sc's and even graduates had appeared from all parts of India, a candidate designated a very well-known Cabinet Minister of India, who by the way does not belong to the State named, as the Animal Minister of Bihar; Morarji Desai was variedly described as 'Prime Minister of Russia or of Kathmandu', 'the old King', 'a spiritual or Harijan leader'; 'an adventurer of India' and Harold Macmillan was anybody's guess, not only Prime Minister or some such dignitary of every conceivable or inconceivable land under the sun but 'the greatest English poet', 'inventor of electric light', 'a line in Chapra District', a place 'situated in Delhi where Muslim is doing worship'. While there was no end of such outrageous nonsense among the answers, there was however one tiny little question which unsurprisingly nearly all had chosen and most had correctly answered. That was just to amplify the expression D.P.I. which a candidate had the option to pick out of a host of similar other commonly used abbreviations. Indeed no officer's name is so familiar in educational circles as Director of Public Instruction's. The new-fangled D.E., that is, Director of Education seems more fashionable now-a-days and is perhaps more apposite. But D.P.I. still holds the ground firmly. Even if the appellation is discarded eventually in official terminology, it will nevertheless stick for years in public memory and common parlance.

The office owes its origin to the recommendation of the famous Education Despatch of 1854, commonly known as Wood's Education Despatch, which for the first time laid down a definite educational policy and emphatically affirmed the responsibility of the Administration for extension and promotion of education in British India. To this end there was proposed the creation of an Education Department as a part of the machinery of Government with a person of "high character and fitting judgment as its head." Steps were promptly

taken on the publication of the Despatch to create Education Departments everywhere, except in the Centrally Administered areas. But the process covered a period of about 12 years from 1854-55 in the larger Provinces where the new system was fairly at work before the end of 1856—to 1866-67 in the smaller territorial divisions.

The functionary at the head of the Education Department was generally, though not invariably, designated, as Director of Public Instruction. In the Central Provinces, for instance, he was initially called Inspector-General of Education, and in Assam he had for long the nomenclature of a lower post, Inspector of Schools. The educational heads, however, even those having the same or similar designation, differed in status, pay, and powers assigned to them, and to a certain extent also, in the nature of duties they had to do. It was in Bengal, Bombay and Madras that the office was endowed with the highest salary and authority, and the position was hardly modified by lapse of time or its vicissitudes.

D.P.I. was to be immediately responsible to the Government for the conduct of education in the area under his control. He had direct access to the Head of the State and the facility of frequent consultations and conferences with him. His functions in the ordinary business of administration were defined as preparing the educational estimates, controlling the distribution of grant-in-aid allotments, making or recommending appointments and transfers of officers within the department, and generally taking such steps as might be needed for improvement and expansion of education. In these matters he acted as the agent of the Government whose approval he was required to take in affairs of special importance and on questions involving undecided points of educational policy. He was the "constituted adviser of Government" in all educational matters including policies to be adopted and pursued. He was in intimate contact with the University and had a notable share in its guidance and administration, firstly, due to his

presence ex-officio on its highest councils, but more importantly because he acted from behind the scene briefing and counselling Government in the exercise of its various powers over the University.

As circumstances then stood, it was fore-seen that the earliest educational chiefs would be members of civil service. For, among them would be found "the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty". The first Directors of Public Instruction were in fact mostly selected from covenanted civil servants. Nevertheless the Despatch clearly stated that the posts were not necessarily to be so filled without due regard to the claims of others, Europeans or Indians, who might be better fitted for them. It proved a mere pious wish. As a matter of deliberate policy, the Court of Directors encouraged the appointment of civil servants as educational heads. They desired the closest control over education so as to direct it according to their own views. It was certainly easier to do so "if the business were in the hands of covenanted civil servants than otherwise". In pursuance of this principle, civil, sometimes even military, officers were not infrequently drafted to man lower educational posts.

Against the fore-going practice, a revulsion of feeling soon set in. This was strongly voiced by Sir George Clarke in an official memorandum written in 1858. He accused the civil officers "in a transition state" as "eager for immediate distinction" in their temporary sphere while "looking for departments quite unconnected with education" and characterised their measures as "crudities and frivolities." He advocated recruitment of all educational officers, high and low, from qualified men in "scholastic institutions" from whom might be expected "honest zeal, patient labour, and indifference to personal distinction."

Partly owing to this change of view, but more especially on account of the reluctance of the civil servants themselves to hold educational posts, appointment of civil servants in education departments went altogether out of vogue. But there was no

attempt to fill the void by suitable personnel. On the contrary the terms and conditions of educational service were so reduced as were not likely to attract men of requisite calibre. "Educational service sprang up fortuitously, educational appointments were given neglectfully to political retainers or filled up at haphazard like other uncovenanted appointments."

Notwithstanding steady deterioration of educational service, there still remained at the helm of education, at any rate in the more important provinces, persons of outstanding ability and distinction. In 1867, for example, while Bombay Educational Service was "a very poor, precarious, and in fact, miserable sphere into which one can hardly dare to advise a young man of ability and cultivation to enter," it is significant to note that the D.P.I. who thus bewailed his lot was a person of the eminence of Sir Alexander Grant.

It was not long before the situation came under fresh review and was remedied. During the period 1870-82 there was established an equitable system of graded educational service all over British India with invidious inequalities of pay-scales between one province and another largely removed. The D.P.I.'s post was reserved *ceteris paribus* for members of this new service. The D.P.I. in each province, as also the high ranking educational officers, were for the most part appointed in England by the Secretary of State.

When the Hunter Commission was appointed in 1882 to survey educational progress, it was confronted with a body of opinion which questioned the fitness of the existing machinery for delivering the goods. The latter vigorously put forward a proposal which, though varying in detail, agreed in broad substance regarding the desirability of abolishing the D.P.I.'s post. Emanating from wide and diverse sources, both official and non-official, it also lacked unanimity as to whether the Director was to be replaced by a Board of Education or some other agency vested with his authority, or instead his powers and functions should be transferred to, and appropriately divided between, the University, the District

Boards, and other local bodies. As an alternative to this drastic suggestion it was urged that at least a representative Consulting Board be associated with the Director to advise and assist him. The first proposition, far from finding any support, was not even deemed worthy of consideration, in the Commission. In fact, the Commission's recommendations were "based on the explicit assumption that the office and the independent position of the Provincial Directors will be maintained." As to the substitute proposal, the Commission after a careful appraisal of its pros and cons turned it down. It was regarded "essential to efficient administration that the responsibility of the Head of the Department to the Government should be absolute."

In 1896 in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission of 1886, Educational Service was radically reorganised and brought into line with the system on which Judicial, Executive and other Public Services were based. The Indian Educational Service wholly recruited in England was its outcome. Originally it was conceived and formed as only one branch of Superior Education Service collateral and equal in status to its other half, the Provincial Education Service recruited by Local Government on lower pay-scales in India. Quite inevitably it assumed before long the character of the higher service to all intents and purposes till at last the position was given formal recognition in 1915 on the recommendation of the Islington Commission. Appointment of Indians to I.E.S., though not barred was negligible until the service was thrown open to Indian recruitment on the recommendation of the above-named Commission and the policy was adopted from after 1917 of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration." Indians and Europeans became henceforward segregated in service which however was not true of the former graded service where Europeans and Indians were classed together.

The highest educational post, that is D.P.I.'s, was however kept outside the I.E.S.

cadre. The then Secretary of State, Viscount Cross, decided that the post was "one of very great importance" and the selection of its holder "should not be fettered by any rule or instruction to give a preferential claim to any officer of any particular department." The incumbency of Sir Alexander Pedler, Kt. F.R.S., as Bengal's Director from 1899 to 1906 was a case in point. The Quinquennial Review of Education, 1897-98 to 1901-2, however shows that "the D.P.I.s are at present all members of the Education Service."

Although directly subordinate to Government, the Director had to transact business with the latter through a branch of its Secretariat except in the Punjab where from the outset he had the rank of an Under-Secretary and in fact discharged the functions of a Secretary. There were two main reasons which led to the adoption of this procedure. The first was the "concentration in many provinces of all executive power in the Lieutenant Governor" who consequently needed the assistance of Secretaries to give him relief. The second was "the assumption that the D.P.I. would require reinforcement on the administrative and political side."

With the delegation of powers to Members of the Executive Council, the first reason ceased to exist, and the argument for political reinforcement lost its edge. Subsequent replacement of Members by popular Ministers wiped off the last vestige of the political ground. As far as the administrative convenience of the arrangement was concerned, it may in the first place be noted that practically all files went to the Finance Department at one stage or another for thorough scrutiny of every proposal so that the need for examination in the Secretariat's education branch was thereby diminished, if not altogether dispensed with; and, secondly, assuming such a need, the purpose was seldom, if ever, fulfilled. For, usually a member of the civil service which "have known little and cared less about education," the Secretary was besides a bird of passage. As Sir Charles de la Fosse pointed out in course

of his evidence before the Islington Commission that as D.P.I. of the United Provinces for seven years he had to work with six Secretaries in succession. Later on the Hartog Committee (1928-29) found more or less the same state of affairs, there being over a period of eight preceding years, as many as nine Education Secretaries in Madras, seven in Bombay, Bengal and Bihar, five in Assam, and four in the United Provinces. Again it was a travesty that education was not the Education Secretary's only or chief concern; a host of other subjects competed for his attention. It was truly though sarcastically observed by Mayhew that "The experienced Secretary after spending his morning energy on financial and judicial files, drafts with the sinking sun his educational resolution" indulging in nothing but saw-dustish platitudes. His tired brain was often inclined to put quietly on the shelf a difficult or inconvenient file, there to gather dust for Heaven only knew how long.

The consequence was that the Secretary served mostly as a mere channel of communication. The Director throughout occupied the centre of the educational stage. When, for example, Lord Curzon took in hand the problem of educational reform, he convened in 1901 a conference, the first of its kind, not however of Education Secretaries (as seems fashionable now-a-days) but of Directors and sought their advice and assistance. He provided for such periodical meetings of D.P.I.s as being of "great value" by his subsequent educational policy resolution of 1904. Again, when the Central Advisory Board of Education was first set up in 1920 to give the Governor-General "advice on questions of educational policy and practice" and to "assist" him "in the exercise of his functions," its constitution provided for inclusion of four Directors but no Secretary. In fact the office of the D.P.I. with its authority and accumulated traditions gradually took on the aspect more of an institution which inspired a feeling of deep impersonal respect for its incumbent. Men like Sir Alexander Grant and Sir Alexander Pedler whose names we just mentioned by the way,

were among not a few others who added lustre to it.

In the fore-going circumstances the super-imposition of a Secretary did not in the least affect the Director's position. But its incongruity was evident enough to bring periodically to the fore the question if the D.P.I. should be given the status of a Secretary. It was seriously debated with the turn of the century but was decided in the negative largely for fear lest the additional burden would handicap him in the discharge of his existing onerous duties. No doubt a Director's load of work was often excessive, and with acceleration of progress and pursuit of an increasingly active policy, it tended to grow more burdensome. But that was largely due to the fact that he was overburdened with petty details which unavoidably engaged his attention on account of "lamentably inadequate" staff of experienced officers at the headquarters. The remedy prescribed was therefore worse than the disease. For a Secretary interposed between him and Government could not of course afford him relief where it was needed but on the contrary might and often did add to his difficulty.

Amidst the far-reaching changes following the introduction of constitutional reforms, D.P.I. remained as before the administrative head of the education department and the technical adviser to Government on matters of educational policy. In many provinces, if not all, he still continued a member of the local legislative council taking his seat beside the Minister as an exponent and defender of educational policies. The Minister who was responsible to the legislature for conduct of education was given no freedom however to appoint a Director of his choice so long as an I.E.S. Officer was eligible for the post. Even within the confines of the I.E.S. his discretion to select one in preference to another was largely fettered. Diarchy as is well-known was generally worked by Ministers—in Bengal and C.P. there was for a fairly long period no Minister at all—who, thanks to political boycott and opposition, held their position more by official favour and

support than by popular backing, and they had for the most part short and uncertain tenures of office with the result that it was the Director who virtually controlled education, though nominally the Minister was at the top.

In the new situation which called for readjustment in so many ways, the old controversy about the relation of the D.P.I. vis-a-vis the Secretary was naturally renewed. As already observed, the case for a separate Secretary rested on grounds more assumed than real. Now economic distress and financial stringency served particularly to underline the extravagance of the system—and caused a certain amount of heart-searching. Nevertheless few provinces disturbed the old order which survived even the later onslaught of the worst economic blizzard of the thirties responsible otherwise for drastic cuts in educational budgets of the Central and local Governments. It was only C.P. which quite early after the introduction of the Reforms gave its Director the status of a Secretary and continued the arrangement till 1940, while in Bengal and the U.P. he was attached to the Secretariat entrusted practically with all the functions of the Secretary, though designated for technical reasons as Deputy Secretary. Bengal however had soon abandoned the experiment without giving it a fair trial and remained unmoved by the wise counsels of its own Retrenchment Committee (1923) which in no uncertain terms condemned the system as superfluous, wasteful and dilatory.

The educational scene unfolded above which showed the D.P.I. in a pivotal position and his office in glamour gradually changed, particularly with the coming-in of Provincial Autonomy in 1935. In a democracy where every action of a public servant, however high and mighty, was open to unrestricted criticism in the legislature, the halo surrounding the office and its awe-inspiring character was naturally and rightly gone. The Director equally justifiably lost his former pre-ponderance as the Minister-in-charge gained strength derived from his comfortable majority in the legis-

lature and popular backing outside. But this was not the whole story.

The Minister's tendency to interfere in administrative detail, though not altogether absent in the previous regime (vide Hartog Committee Report, pp. 343-4) from now on became more manifest and resolute. Education got more and more mixed up with politics, and continuing pressure was brought to bear upon administration, often successfully, to influence decisions, in communal, party, or individual interests. The subordinate staff, therefore, increasingly turned from the Director to the Minister for furtherance of their interests, legitimate and illegitimate, relying either upon an M.L.C. or a party boss, or some such extraneous support with consequent loss of discipline, efficiency and morale of the entire service.

The I.E.S. from which the Directors had for many years past come to be invariably chosen had no doubt "fine traditions of integrity and devotion to duty," and further in the ultimate guarantee of their service rights and privileges at the hands of the Secretary of State they possessed a strong armour against inroads on their liberty of action. But unfortunately it cannot be said of them that in the new milieu they were always able to keep the flag flying high. All this tended to undermine the Director's influence and authority in the department and lower his prestige in public eye. Of course the exact position varied between one province and another and greatly depended upon the personal equation between the parties concerned.

Meanwhile the I.E.S. had largely changed its initial complexion of a white bureaucracy and was now steadily approaching extinction, recruitment having been completely abandoned since 1924 in pursuance of the principle accepted on the recommendation of the Lee Commission that the authority responsible for any branch of administration should be fully free to organise its own services. The top-most positions, however, were still occupied by the British officers who by habits of mind and by circumstances were generally speaking objective and detached in their

outlook and action. Circumstances alluded to arose from the aloofness which as members of an alien ruling race they consistently maintained and which, though deplored for other reasons, helped them at any rate to maintain on the whole an impersonal administration. An ironical turn was given to the disappearance of the European element from positions of control and authority—'a consummation devoutly to be wish'd'—by the perceptible deterioration of the standard of administration in so far as it was influenced by parochial and personal considerations.

In 1940 or thereabout the Indian I.E.S. Officers came to be appointed as Directors, though in some important provinces which include Bengal the change-over was delayed till about the time of attainment of independence. By that time the I.E.S. was virtually liquidated everywhere—the last of them to hold the D.P.I.'s office finished his career early in 1949. The new batch of Directors, recruited provincially, sometimes by promotion from lower service, on comparatively less attractive salary scales, naturally, had not the stature and prestige of their predecessors, and, secondly being without the latter's special rights and privileges to which they were entitled as appointees of the Secretary of State, were more vulnerable to attacks on their delegated authority.

It may not be out of place to mention in the present context an incident which happened within my knowledge. The Chairman of an important Commission once compared the D.P.I.'s position (that was prior to the enactment of Hindu Divorce Law) to that of a Hindu wife. He made no secret of his belief that a D.P.I. would not dare to open his lips in the presence of the Education Secretary. The occasion for the remark arose when a certain D.P.I. appeared by direction of his Government to give evidence before the Commission along with the Secretary and was asked by some of its members to give his frank opinion on one or two specific questions. The Chairman, himself a veteran Education Minister, was apparently unacquainted with the past traditions of his own department. And

much to his chagrin he had to give way when his colleagues insisted on hearing the Director. May be he was eager to parry the latter's view as he was hard-pressed for time, or more probably because he had reason to suspect that its ventilation would not suit his end. Be that as it may, such a gibe from a former Education Minister—what a contrast it really was to earlier references to this high office which we saw in despatches, reports and communications previously quoted—was not only flabbergasting to everyone present in the forum where it was glibly uttered but it patently carried a sinister significance also. It was a pointer to the depth of degradation to which he may have dragged down the position of his Director in course of his administration. There were not perhaps many Education Ministers who thought and acted similarly, but the incident gives a clear indication of the direction in which the wind had a tendency to blow under changed climatic conditions.

The period of provincial autonomy was one of great stress and strain caused on the one hand by political turmoil and communal strife and on the other by the impact of the world war. The time was hardly propitious for concentration on educational problems, and for the matter of that, for any fundamental change in the structure of educational administration. But the ground was prepared for it towards the end of the period. The Report of the Central Advisory Board on Post-war Educational Development subjected the policy of dual control to strong criticism and recommended that the D.P.I. should be assigned the direct responsibility for the general administration of education with the Secretary's post totally abolished but in case a separate post of the kind be considered at all necessary, he should combine both. The recommendation was accepted by the Governor-General-in-Council in 1945 and their decision conveyed to the provinces early in 1946. The Central Ministry of Education set the example by following its own precept in its organisational set-up.

A new era dawned with the end of the British rule in 1947. And as expected there

was at once evinced abounding enthusiasm for educational reconstruction and reform. Indeed with the passage of time it became more and more of a fashion. But the good old advice previously referred to was practically unheeded. The organisational pattern inherited from the past like the weather was just taken for granted. Bihar was the only exception where in 1950 the Director's and the Secretary's offices were merged into a single unit, though a separate Secretary's post was still retained. In truncated Bengal the *status quo* was maintained as elsewhere but an educationalist instead of an officer of administrative or civil service was soon appointed Secretary. The innovation defeated the very object of the dual system of control which was to get the purely departmental view of an expert Director re-examined not however by another professional expert but from a wider point of view free from pedagogical obsessions. Such an arrangement was therefore calculated to destroy the Director's responsibility as Government's professional adviser and add to his sense of frustration.

The fore-going recommendation has since been reiterated time and again by the Central Advisory Board of Education. The latest of the Commissions to endorse the view and urge its acceptance were the Secondary Education Commission of 1952-53, popularly known as Mudaliar Commission, and in West Bengal in particular the Hey Commission of 1954. But the obvious desideratum is no nearer realisation. On the contrary there is a swing back of the pendulum in the Punjab which went back upon its century-old tradition in 1958 and has fallen in line with the rest.

Of late, however, West Bengal Government have moved in the right direction by amalgamating the Secretary's post with the D.P.I.'s. But no corresponding step has been taken to merge and integrate the Directorate and the Secretariat offices. This seems a half-hearted measure. Nothing can be more anomalous for the Secretary than to see his own considered proposal submitted in his capacity as Director subjected to a fresh scrutiny in the Secretariat by his subordinates and then to have

second thoughts on the subject in the light of the latter's nothings and observations. It obviously makes no sense for him to play Jekyll and Hyde. But it is not yet clear if Government intend to follow up the step already taken. Rather the fact that budgetary provision is still being made for the D.P.I.'s post gives the present arrangement the impression of a make-shift. There seems to exist no point in halting or vacillating between two paths.

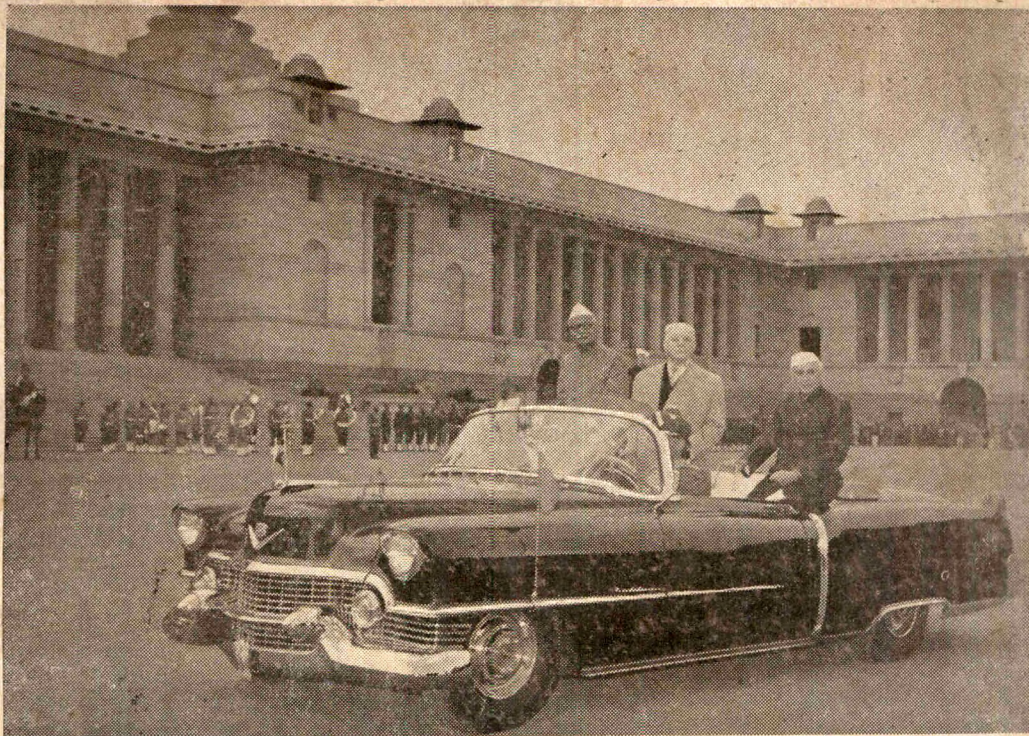
The inherent defect of the dual system is too well-recognised to need further elaboration beyond what incidentally has already been disclosed here. It has long been condemned as an expensive superfluity which hampers rather than helps business as much by its cumbrous and dilatory procedure in course of which the original proposal or scheme often gets distorted or misconstrued as by constant antagonism which characterises the relationship between the two offices. The persistence of its existence would therefore seem curious. A plausible explanation which is sometimes offered is the failure of a few past D.P.I.s who by virtue of seniority came to hold the responsible post from the teaching side without the requisite administrative experience. If it were at all true, the Secretary's post by parity of reasoning should have been done away with long ago, and with greater justification. It is not denied that the fore-going argument does pin-point a vital defect in the existing organisational basis of educational service carried over from the past. We do not dispute that there should be serious re-thinking about it, particularly as we find that a certain State Government, may be others too, is confronted with the difficulty of selecting a suitable Director from the long list of its senior officers.

But to resume the original thread of our discussion, the actual reason for the prolonged life of the dual system is to be found as Sargent has observed, chiefly in "the traditional claim of the I.C.S. to be able to administer anything"—a claim which was consistently upheld even in later days when by and large it was said to have fallen off from its original high

standard. The I.A.S. which has now largely taken its place has no such pretensions. But that does not prevent its officers from being placed in positions of control and authority over D.P.I.'s irrespective of the latter's qualifications, experience and ability. It is "the habit of governmental organisations to be resistant to evolutionary changes."

Education now proceeds apace under successive five-year plans which by the way has reversed the process of decentralisation which was progressively achieved between 1870 and 1920. Today the centre of gravity of India's educational world has doubtless shifted back to Delhi. In Bengal, for instance, development expenditure in 1959-60, controlled in the main by the Centre, accounts for more than Rs. 9½ crores in a total budget of less than Rs. 13½ crores. Some welcome this trend while others regret it. It falls outside the limited scope of our subject to expatiate on it except just to note that as a consequence of this development, D.P.I.s nowadays find that part of their occupation which concerned initiation, formulation, and direction of policies as nearly gone.

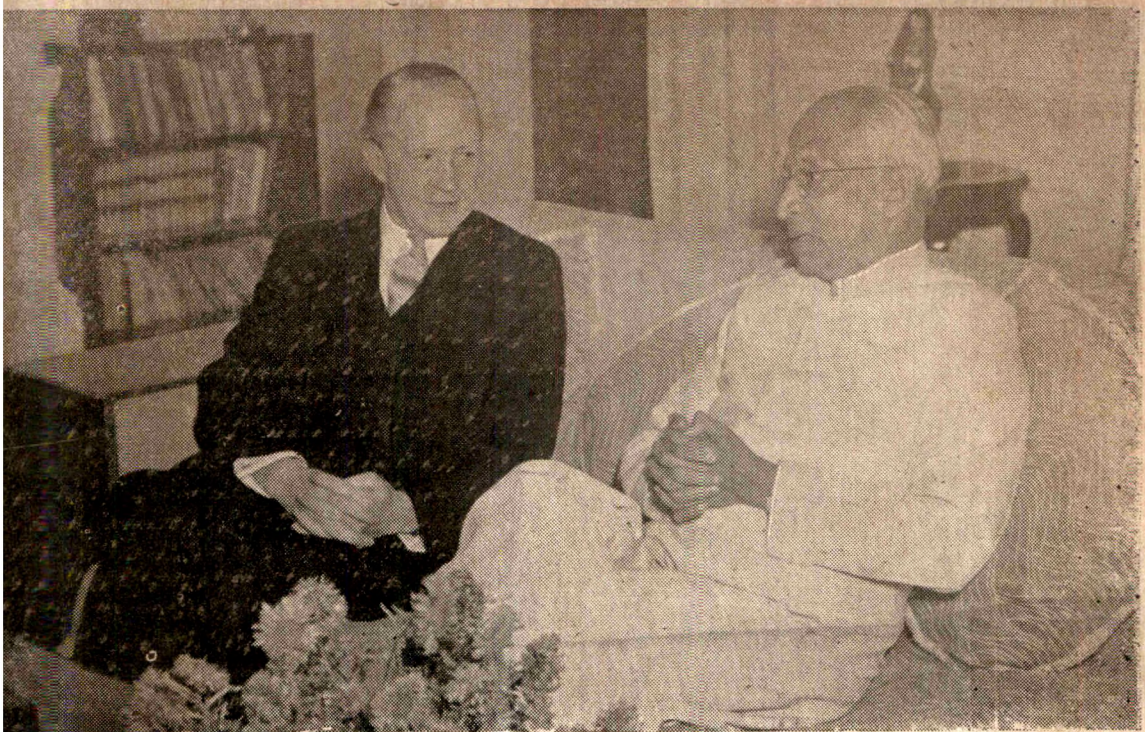
An old-timer can hardly conceive of the never-ending streams of recommendations and resolutions, which today inundate the Central Ministry of Education from the innumerable meetings, conferences, seminars, symposia, workshops, etc., held all the year round under its direct or indirect auspices. In this huge accumulation of opinion and advice, any new idea or suggestion from an individual Director is like a pin in a bundle of hay. As in a free market economy, each individual firm has a negligible effect on the output of the industry as a whole and has to take the price of the industry's product as fixed and unalterable, so is the position of a D.P.I. in regard to the Central plan. He is now reduced to the position of a virtual executive officer who is responsible for carrying out, besides his normal routine duties, the policy of the Plan, adjusting it to local conditions and requirements. In the process of adjustment, how far the national plan can be cast in local moulds and how



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President V. K. Rajwade and Prime Minister Nehru driving in an open car in front of the Rashtrapati Bhawan



Parliamentary Delegation from Czechoslovakia at the Palam Air Port



Mr. C. J. M. Alport, British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, with the Vice-President



Mrs. Alva Myrdal, Ambassador of Sweden in India, delivering her address on the occasion of the Foundation Day of the Central Institute of Education

far it has to end in make-believe is beside the point here. What however is relevant is that a policy in any case is not likely to be successfully executed, especially in the sphere of development activities, unless there is close and constant touch between policy-making and execution levels. It is equally important that the time-schedule laid down in the Plan should be as closely as possible adhered to. Neither is facilitated under the present dispensation due to the existence in between of the Secretary and his office as a bottleneck.

Such considerations as above reinforce the argument for, and lend a special urgency to, the right solution of the vexed problem of dual system of control in the educational administration of a State.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRAIN AND MIND

The Hindu Concept

By S. R. DASGUPTA, M.B.B.S., D.Phil.

The people who settled in the valley of the great Sindhu (Indus) and in the course of history came to be known as the Hindus, developed the concept of mind and recognized its great influence on the body. Their concept of mind and its relationship to the body took discernible shape even in the days of the Upanishads, conservatively estimated to be 3,000 years ago. From then onwards the study of the mind has constituted and ultimately developed into a system of knowledge which can, in terms of modern language, be described as the science of psychology of the Hindus.

The Hindus developed their study of mind in the course of religious unfolding. The utilitarian aspect of this religious study was not completely lost on them; if, indeed, from their point of view, a distinction between the useful and the religious can be made. For hundreds of years they have been using their knowledge of psychology not only as a method for the unfolding of religious truth, as the basis of their deep philosophy, but also as an aid in the field of medicine and the key to health, poise and harmonized living. The central theme even in their medical science and social ethics, has always been an urge for the realization of the ultimate truth.

In Hindu psychology we come across three (in reality, two) basic principles: (1) the Soul, which is consciousness and which is the manifestation of Atman—unchanging reality or ultimate truth; (2) the body which is, an aspect of objective

reality and (3) the mind (chitta)—the “Antaksharan” of Vedanta—which is a dynamic link between the Soul and the objective reality and which receives the objects of perception, assuming their form as a whole. “It is the Soul that desires knowledge and acts through the channel of mind.”

The mind is conceived to be comprised of two components, one of which appeared to be concerned with the objective world, when it acts in unison with the body—the mind-body complex. The other component, which seems to be the real concern of Hindu thought, is associated with consciousness. Consciousness is the “primary datum, the fundamental premise, equated with Reality.”

But it is not easy to draw a line of demarcation between the mind that is superconscious and the mind that is endowed with determinable attributes. The distinction, to say the least, is extremely subtle and the two compartments freely overlap to the utter confusion of the uninitiated like myself. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the examination of the determinate conscious, i.e., the mind, which along with the senses and the other subtle and gross elements, according to the “Sankhya-Yoga” philosophy, is thought to have originated from the union of the changeless, eternal, transcendental pure consciousness, the “Purusha” and the elemental, undifferentiated stuff of mind and matter, the “Prakriti.” It would do well to stress

again that in Hindu concept, mind or consciousness is not considered exactly opposed to matter. Rather, it is a product, a point in the evolutionary process, the concretized terminus of which is known as gross matter. In other words, mind and matter taken in the ordinary sense occupy different points on a spectrum that originally stemmed, whatever the mechanism, from that unknown principle, the supreme being of all different schools of Hindu philosophy.

This is very well illustrated by the Vedanta philosophy. According to this philosophy there is ultimate real, "Brahman." The expression of "Brahman" in an individual is called "Atman." They imply no duality. Atman and Brahman are one. According to the Vedanta the cosmos is made of Prakriti, the elemental, undifferentiated stuff of mind and matter.

Both Vedanta and Sankhya Yoga philosophy agree that Purusha or Brahman can be entirely liberated and isolated from Prakriti.

Prakriti is said to be composed of three forces "Swatta" (intelligence stuff), "Ra as" (energy stuff) and "Tamas" (mass stuff) which are known collectively as three "Gunas" which are in a state of dynamic equilibrium. As long as the Gunas maintain their equilibrium, Prakriti remains undifferentiated and the universe exists only in its potential state. The interaction of the Gunas provides the motive power for the creative process. In the Hindu system of thought, the first stage of evolution from undifferentiated Prakriti is called "Mahat" (the great cause). Mahat is the cosmic ego-sense, the first dawning of differentiated consciousness.

Thus, creation is an evolution outward from undifferentiated into differentiated consciousness, from mind to matter. Pure consciousness is, as it were, gradually covered by successive layers of "ignorance" or differentiation.

Bearing this in mind, we may now proceed to examine Hindu literature with a view to collecting evidence in support of an objective mind. Two sets of evidences are available: one, that provided by the

Indian system of medicine, the "Ayurveda"; the other, of course, that provided by the philosophy and religious texts of the Hindus. But the basic approach, even of the Hindu medical system, is not very dissimilar from that of their philosophies.

According to the medical or the Ayurvedic concept, life ("Prana") consists in the combination of the Soul and the Mind and its attributes. The mind ("Manah" or chitta) is a quality or power of the soul by which the person thinks and reasons. It is incomprehensible, and is known by its actions through the senses. The mind is described as situated in the head, between the eyebrows; and as resembling the light of a lamp by which a person knows, sees, hears, tastes and moves.

The Ayurveda describes the most vital parts of the body as the "Sirsa" the head, "Hridaya" the heart and the "Vasti" the pelvis. The Sirsa, i.e., the head, contains the "Mastiska," i.e., the brain. The pranas i.e., the vital energy and all the senses, are said to depend on the Mastiska or the brain. In one of the important commentaries (Chakrapani's) it has been explained that when the head is hurt all the senses are also hurt. According to authorities like Charaka all the senses are connected with the head. Bhela, a contemporary of Agnibesh, considers brain to be the centre of "Manas," the sensorium. Being here, it knows all the sense objects and the tastes which come near it. The original cause of manas and the energy of all the senses and the cause of all feelings and judgments ("buddhi"), however, is chitta, the mind. The chitta is also the cause of all motor functions and activities. Manas informs the chitta and then only action begins. The chitta is thus regarded as the cause of all activities, feelings and judgment. Buddhi, that is, the determinate understanding and judgement, is but a function of chitta. Manas has its seat in the brain, and is the cause of all cognition. Bhela says that "dosas" (afflictions) in the brain affect the manas, and as the result of this chitta is affected which in turn, involves understanding judgment (buddhi), thus result-

ing in madness. The seat of buddhi (determinate understanding and judgement) is also situated within the cranium. It is said to be located at a place between the eyebrows. According to Bhela, it being there holds together the subtle forms emanating from the atman, associates the data, integrates them with other similar known facts, remembers the past and after producing our knowledge in conceptual and judicious forms, wills for future deeds, generates instructive actions, and is the force which operates meditation and restraint of thought. It would appear then that Manas and Buddhi, both of which are located in the brain, together encompass the faculties of chitta the mind. Another important authority on Ayurveda, namely Drdhabala also associated sensory consciousness with the head, whereas Charaka refers to the Hridaya (translated by some as the heart, by others as the core of the brain) as the central seat of the soul and consciousness. Susruta, the other great available authority dealing mostly with Surgery and Obstetrics, does not have much to say about the mind consciousness though he describes in detail some of the cranial nerves.

Ayurveda, thus, furnishes evidence in support of the concept that chitta, or mind is intimately related with the brain.

We may now take a look into the numerous systems of Indian philosophy. Though every system of philosophy has had something to say about the soul, mind and body, it will be convenient for us to confine ourselves to those wherein the subject has been dealt with objectively. If judgement is made from this point of view, Patanjali's system of Hindu psychology should attract immediate attention, as well as the philosophy of "Tantra," both of which introduce a semblance of anatomical structure in their speculation of mind and soul.

But before going into these systems, it would do well to mention here and now that not all schools of Hindu thought recognised a superconscious role of the mind. For the 'Charvakas' or the 'Lokayatas' (Hindu materialists) maintained that con-

sciousness was a product of the body and perished with the body. As consciousness is perceived to exist in the perceptive living body composed of material elements, it must be, according to these original propounders of materialist thought among the Hindus, a quality of the body itself. Thought process, cognition and emotion are merely the products of nerve reactions, and the so-called mind is only a bundle of successive sensations dependent upon the nervous system and physical brain matter. Consciousness has no independent existence. These materialists were then in no doubt about the relationship between the mind and the brain.

Now to revert back to the orthodox philosophies: The study of mind, as has already been said, was undertaken and developed by the Hindus in the course of religious unfoldment. To them, mind as such was not opposed to matter. Moreover, the stabilization of mind necessary for the realization of the Atman or the Soul, it was appreciated, could be achieved through the matter, i.e., the body. The science of psychology was, therefore, mainly developed by the Hindus as they studied the methods by which reached the highest religious experience, the superconscious state.

The Hindu system of psychology has been described in the "Yoga Sutras" of Patanjali (C. 150 B.C.), though references to psychological principles and practices are to be met in many other ancient treatises, including the Upanishads. The Buddhistic literature also gives many definite and practical ideas of applying psychology for the unification and the strengthening of the mind. It is, however, in the aphorisms of Patanjali that the most elaborate and systematic treatise on "Yoga" is available at present.

According to Patanjali, the mind (chitta) is made up of three components: manas, buddhi and ahamkar. Manas is the recording faculty which receives impressions gathered by the senses from the outside world and also the sensory perceptions from within the body. Buddhi is the discriminative faculty which classifies these impressions and reacts to them. Ahamkar

is the ego-sense. The mind appears to be intelligent and conscious. It is, in reality, not so according to "Yoga philosophy." It has only a borrowed intelligence. It merely reflects the consciousness and thus gives the appearance of being conscious.

Knowledge is a thought wave in the mind. All knowledge is, therefore, objective (except of course the "Prajna-knowledge" to be referred to later). Mind is not the seer but only an instrument of knowledge. The Atman (the real Self, the Purusha) is the real seer and remains unknown, i.e., does not belong to the objective world. The ego-sense is caused by the false identification of the Atman with the mind. Mind must be purified (stayed) for the realization of the Atman.

The word "yoga", which was formerly used in Vedic literature in the sense of restraint of the senses, is used by Patanjali in his "Yoga-sutra" in the sense of partial or full restraint or steadying of the state of chitta or mind. The word chitta has been used in the yoga aphorisms in contradistinction to manas to express the entity that is mind, whereas manas seems to be concerned with the reception and or perception of sensations both internal and external. The mind of ordinary people is unsteady, only short-lived concentration is usually possible with such a mind; that is, it flits from object to object.

The "Yoga" system aims for a stage in which the chitta processes are absolutely stopped, and the mind, thus freed from all cognizable attributes, achieves a stage when it comes into unison with the soul. This is the state of 'chittanirodha' (cessation of mental processes). It should be stressed that it is considered a normal attribute of the chitta to sometimes tend towards liberation or soul consciousness and at other time to incline towards the 'Samsara' i.e., the objective world. "The teleology of Prakriti (the creative force) requires that it should produce in man the samsara as well as the liberation tendency." This point is rather important, for it gives the key of yoga ethics and shows that this desire of liberation is not activated by a hedonistic attraction, happiness or even re-

moval of pain, but by an innate tendency of the mind to follow the path of liberation.

Man has power stored up in his chitta and has to use it in such a way that this tendency may gradually grow stronger and stronger and ultimately uproot the other, i.e., the tendency towards Samsara. He must succeed in this because "Prakriti wants liberation for its final realization."

The existence of the mental states in potential forms in the subconscious is the root idea of yoga-psychology. The subconscious mental states resemble the conscious mental states so far as the substance stuff or constituents of which they are made up are concerned, but still there is an essential difference between the two, viz., that one is unconscious while the other is conscious. Why, if their substance be the same, should the mental states at one time be conscious and at other times be unconscious? This seems to imply the association with some other element. According to yoga-philosophy this other element is the soul or Atman, the transcendent influence of which somehow electrifies the mental states into consciousness.

If this is considered from a psychological point of view, mind according to the Yoga system is a product of certain super-sensuous and super-subtle reals which are in essence characterized as feeling substances. Since feelings are not treated separately from cognitive acts, it appears that the whole mind-stuff is regarded more or less in the light of a matted mass of feeling stuff. These super-subtle substantive entities are cognition, volition and feelings.

The subconscious aspect of the mind is said to be the store-house of two-fold potencies: (1) those which are the results of the experiences of past lives, the "Vasanas," and which operate as innate tendencies or instincts of this life, and (2) those which are the results of repeated experience of this life.

But if in the perceptual state of our consciousness, we are determined by the influx of sensations, and in our thought processes, choice and volition with accu-

mulated experience of the past acts as tendencies, we seem in no way to be our own masters and to have no power for moral endeavour at our disposal at all. But yoga psychology maintains that we can by the exercise of our will and concentration attain final emancipation from the bond of all worldly experience and eventually free the soul from the bondage of the mind. The yogin seeks deliverance from every bondage even from the bondage of the mind. The attainment of perfect morality and self-control (by acquiring the virtues of universal non-injury, truthfulness, etc., technically known as "Yama" and "Niyama") are the indispensable preliminaries only. Thus when the yogin's mind has been sufficiently purified and is no longer disturbed by ordinary moral strivings, he endeavours to engage himself in a higher work, viz., that of staying the movements of the mind-states.

The mind has been conceived to be like the flame of a lamp, always changing. A man is, as it were, forever being tossed upon the crests of waves of thought. Therefore, he is in need of restraint and concentration which are brought about by the processes called 'dharana,' i.e., restraint of thought and 'dhyana,' i.e., concentration. By a process of continually presenting the same object to the mind, a habit is generated and a potency of fixation is acquired in the sub-conscious, and gradually the changeful character of the mind ceases and the mind becomes one with object. At this stage there are no fluctuations of mental states. The mind becomes one with object of thought absolutely still and motionless. This state is called 'samadhi'. When the mind becomes thus fixed on one object, it is said that immediate cognition of the real nature of the object dawns on the mind. This is called Prajna-knowledge. In its character as immediate and direct, Prajna-knowledge resembles perception, but it does not fluctuate, and so the nature of the reality of the object appears in one undisturbed flash. In this way, as the yogin progresses, new flashes of true wisdom are realized by him, the potencies and impressions of his old phenomenal know-

ledge are gradually destroyed and there comes a time when he is able to perceive the true nature of the atman as distinguished from the mind.

Thus four basic deductions come out of orthodox Hindu philosophy:

(1) That the mind has a physical existence, (2) that the changeful processes of the mind can at a certain state be brought to a standstill, (3) that such a state can give us a new grade or dimension of knowledge, (4) that as a culmination and highest level of this knowledge, the pure individual self as pure intelligence can be known.

The final outcome, therefore, is that the mind which was conceived at the beginning to be standing between the soul and the object can be completely freed from the object.

But before that could be even thought of, the mind itself has to be prepared, it has to be stayed, i.e., the state of complete chittanirodha has to be established. This the 'yogin brings about by practicing "Rajyoga." The processes of Rajyoga appear to be intimately connected with functioning of the central and autonomic nervous systems. The central theme of these practices seems to be the arousal of some dormant energy, "the kulakandalini," which in its turn ascends through the centre part of the spiral cord and in its ascent controls the various centres, the so called 'chakras'/'padmas' (analogous perhaps to the various nerve plexuses of the presentday anatomy), until it reaches the brain. In the brain itself, it comes in contact with a few more such chakras or centres, and after suitably controlling them the Kundalini reaches the 'Sahasrara', the thousand petalled lotus, situated in the cerebrum. Here the Kundalini is supposed to activate the Sahasrara, and that produces the state of 'Samadhi'.

It may be worthwhile to enumerate these chakras and their functions, as that will point towards a physiological basis for the phenomenal mind, but it will be more convenient to do so after the 'Tantrik' concept of mind has been briefly referred to, because in the Tantras also we come across a similar type of concept of

central nervous system and nerve plexuses.

The followers of the Tantrik philosophy also seek the union of 'Jivatma' (the atman in the living being with the 'Paramatma' the Supreme). One of the ways, the common way so to speak, is by the way of yoga practices wherein such a concentration of the mind is sought as will lead to the ultimate union. It is interesting to note that the Tantra view regarded the human body and mind, the microcosm, to be an exact parallel or counterpart of the macrocosm or the exterior universe. Tantrik processes were elaborated in order to help the yogi to narrow the field of his concentration to himself alone so that during his 'Sadhana' (Practices) he may find in himself a perfect finished universe. This was naturally calculated to help him to concentrate his attention on himself, for when he has known himself he has known the universe. The doctrine of "Sat-chakra-Veda" (the mastery of the Chakras) is a means to the ultimate goal of union of Jivatma and Paramatma, for here the 'Jiva' in the 'Kula-Kundalini' is raised up by yogic practices, and as it travels up and gradually identifies itself with different chakras, the seats of different forces that are associated with diverse passions, it establishes complete mastery of the chakras. In this way the yogin ultimately reaches to topmost centre, the 'Sahasrara.' As the 'Sadhaka' (yogi) identifies himself with each of these centres of force, the influence of these forces in binding him ceases and he passes from one centre of force to another until he identifies himself with the Paramatman and is liberated.

Both Raj-yoga and Tantra-yoga practices, are based on a concept of the central nervous system and nerve plexuses, which is almost empirical in nature. The central nervous system of both yogas consists of the intra-cranial portion and the spinal column. Situated in the spinal column is a nerve (nadi) called the "Susumna." The nerves "Ida" and "Pingala" are situated on the right and left respectively of the susumna in the spinal cord. All of them start from the root at the end of the central column (spinal column) and then proceed upwards to the highest cerebral plexus

called the "Sahasra" "Brahma chakra," the plexus of a thousand nerves.

It will be more to the point to omit a detailed description of the nerves and to consider the most important feature of Tantra school of Anatomy, the chakras, or the padmas (lotuses), the nerve plexuses/centres. Of these the first is the Adhara-chakra (Muladhara) generally translated as sacrococcygeal plexus. It is situated in the perineal region and is supposed to be the source of a massive pleasurable aesthesia, the voluminous organic sensation of repose. In the centre of the plexus there is an elevation. A fine threadlike fibre, spiral in its form, is attached to the central elevation on one side and to the Susumna on the other. "This spiral and coiled fibre is the Kula-kundalini, for it is by this potential energy as manifested in its movement of a downward pressure of the 'Apanavayu' and upward pressure of the 'Pranavayu' that the exhalation and inhalation are made possible and life functions operate."

Next comes the "Swadhisthana chakra," the sacral plexus, near the root of the genitalia, concerned with the excitation of sexual feelings. Next in order is the "manipura chakra," lumbar plexus in the region of the navel, concerned with the production of sleep and thirst and passions like jealousy, shame, fear and stupefaction. The "anahata chakra," which comes next, is connected by branches with the heart, the seat of egoistic sentiments, hope, anxiety, doubt, remorse, conceit, egoism, etc. The "bharatisthana," situated probably at the junction of the spinal cord with the medulla oblongata, regulates the larynx and other organs of articulation. The "Lalana chakra," which comes next, is opposite the uvula, the tract affected in the production of ego-altruistic sentiments and affections like self-regard, pride, affection, respect, reverence, etc.

The sensory motor tracts comprises of two chakras: (1) the "ajna chakra," the area of command (over movements) and is supposed to be situated in or related to with the cerebellum and also in the region between the eye-brows, (2) the "manas

chakra," the sensorium with its six lobes, five for special senses and one for centrally initiated sensations such as dreams and hallucinations, supposed to be situated near the "ajna chakra." The "soma-chakra" is the seat of altruistic sentiments and volitional control, e.g., compassion, gentleness, patience, renunciation, gravity, determination, etc. It is situated above the "ajna chakra" in the middle of the cerebrum.

The "sahasrara" (thousand lobes) chakra, the upper cerebrum, is the special and the highest seat of the soul. It is very significant that no objective function has been allocated to this Sahasrara. In fact, one of the most important Tantra's, the Shiva-Sanhita, maintains that "this lotus, giver of liberation, stands outside the body." It would appear, therefore, that the Sahasrara, is not essential for the ordinary functioning of the organism.

The process of yoga, both Tantrik and Raj-yogic, consists of rousing the potential energy located in the "Adharachakra" and carrying it upwards along the Susumna or any of its special parts, finally reaching Sahasrara. The Kula-kundalini is described as a lightning flash, which raises the question whether this is actually a physical nerve or merely a potential energy which is to be aroused.

According to the Tantra school of thought, 'manas chakra' is the seat of the mind. 'Vijnana Viksu' says, in his Yoga-varttika, that "one branch of the Susumna goes upwards from here, which is the Nadi for carrying the functions of manas and is called the 'manobaha nadi'." Others call it the 'Jnana-nadi,' i.e., the nerve of knowledge. "It seems, therefore, that it is through this nadi that connection is established between the soul, residing in the Sahasrara and the manas, residing in the manas chakra."

The various practices which are included in the "Kriya Yoga" chapter of the yoga aphorisms through which the mind is freed from all impurities, need not be considered in detail. These disciplines, numbering eight in all, are known as the eight limbs of yoga. They are as follows: 'Yama,' the various forms of abstention

from evil doings; 'Niyamas,' the various observances; 'Asana,' postures; 'Pranayama,' control of the Prana (in practice control of breathing to the extent of complete cessation); 'Pratyahara,' withdrawal of the perception of sense objects; 'Dharana,' concentration; and 'Samadhi' a state of supreme realisation.

A cursory view of the above will be enough to understand that step by step the practitioner is trying to establish the state of chittanirodha, in which state only the Prajna-knowledge is revealed. It appears that all the volitional, co-ordinated activities of the organism are carried out by centres or areas of the brain other than the area represented by Sahasrara, conceived to be situated most rostrally.

All functions, physiological and psychological, are under the control of one or more chakras which work in a co-ordinated manner. Broadly, the more psychical functions appear to be allocated to centres whose location are more rostral in the brain and seem to be contained in both subcortical and cortical areas, and in this, there does not appear to be much distinction in function between the cortical and subcortical areas.

More basic functions are associated with centres/plexuses down the axis, some apparently extracranially situated. By implication, it appears these lower centres are under the control of upper centres. Some of the lower centres may very well belong to the autonomic system, which is known to be well under central control. It will be seen then, that all the evidences whether of yoga aphorisms or of the Tantra intimately associate mental functions with various areas of the brain delineated as different chakras with their locations in cortical or subcortical regions. It is also evident that by activation of the Kula-kundalini these chakras or centres which control all the functions of the living organism, can be reoriented in such a way that no impulse can reach the upper centres or even those which reach them are not perceived at all.

Primarily, it looks as though this control is to be worked upwards from

below. Practitioners of 'Hathayoga' have convincingly demonstrated the cessation of function of pulse over a single artery and over a whole limb. They have even demonstrated the stoppage of the heart-beat, not to speak of breathing. But these do not give any convincing evidence in support of the idea that the cessation or stoppage is being done by purely peripheral action. It might be true that it is brought about in an ascending order.

It is not even clear whether "Kulakundalini" is a nerve at all, though some strived to establish that the Kundalini was nothing but the right vagus nerve. Others tend to believe that by Kundalini is meant some dormant energy which when roused can activate control of the various centers of the nervous system. With our present incomplete state of knowledge of neurophysiology, it may not be advisable to attempt any such equation.

Complete cessation of breathing processes seems to be of vital importance in the process of stabilization of the mind. How the physical brain can continue to function in the absence of breathing for any length of time is extremely difficult to understand particularly if it is to be considered from a temporo-spatial point of view. But, then, nobody knows the exact physiological state of the brain during a yogic Samadhi. Not even those who go through that wonderful experience, when the Prajna-knowledge is revealed to them, are capable of communicating in understandable language the nature of this Prajna. To quote Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, "This kind of knowledge will not, of course, be knowledge in the familiar sense, for all Samadhi-knowledge is said to be non-conceptual knowledge and so of a different order."

Therefore, the lack of oxygen may not "Kundalini." In the same vein, the silent be any impediment to the cortex as far as the yogic experience is concerned. The study of whether lowering of the oxygen to a critical subnormal level may lead to hyper-excitability of the cortical neurons or not may also provide some clue to this emphasis on complete stoppage of breathing by the practice of pranayam in the

system of yoga. The high concentration of carbon dioxide that necessarily follows pranayam, and the consequent effect on the diencephalon and thus on the autonomic balance, should also be kept in mind. The concept of modern physiology that no area of the cortex is independent and that none is capable of any function without its corresponding portion of the old brain however is not acceptable to the yoga system; it is some sort of function of the Sahasrara (certain areas of the cerebral cortex) freed completely from any other influence internal or environmental which is envisaged in this Hindu system of psychology.

In the past decade the hitherto neglected brain stem reticular formation has shot into prominence following the observation of W. H. Magoun and his associates. The studies of Magoun "have brought to the fore the important role of the reticular formation of the brain stem in regulating the background activities of the remainder of the central nervous system."

In this vitally important integrating structure, nuclear masses and fibre tracts relay and convey neural influences basic to the state of consciousness which enable man to react appropriately to his environment. An entirely new approach to the understanding of the mechanism of mental activities, has thus been opened out.

Nothing similar to the brain stem formation through which "the new capacities of each part of the cortex is utilized," seems to have been specifically included in the anatomical descriptions of the yoga and Tantra system. One however, is tempted to speculate and seek to find any possible similarity of the central grey and the vitally important integrating structures, the centrencephalic reticular system with the "Kundalini." In the same vein, the silent areas of the neocortex would then appear to be the only area bearing the remotest resemblance to the Sahasrara of the yogic concept.*

*Abridged from a lecture delivered before the Lunatic Society, Los Angeles, sponsored by the faculty members, University of California, Los Angeles, California.



Cattle Market
By M. Makwana

REVIEW OF THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Winter show of the Academy of Fine Arts in Calcutta is a happy, hardy Annual, which, several weeks ahead, keeps busy **three** lively groups of our citizens, artists giving finishing touches to their pictures, lovers and connoisseurs of pictures looking out for new aesthetic thrills, and keen critics and reviewers assiduously wiping their glasses and polishing their adjectives.

This year's show, the 24th Annual event of the Academy, is invested with a new halo, being set up on the walls of the spacious Hall of their new premises on Cathedral Road, opposite the Victoria Memorial. The New Buildings in a splendid setting provide a brilliant landmark in the 25 years' bright career of the Academy which has year after year, illuminated the cultural life of Calcutta, the foremost Art-Centre of India. In this permanent and happy home of the Academy it will be easy to hold a succession of many exhibitions instead of the single

exhibition hitherto held in the back and corridors of the Indian Museum.

Many people claim, and very justly claim, that the Calcutta Academy has built up in the course of its long career rich traditions in showmanship and presentation which in many respects surpass its counterpart at New Delhi. As an All-India show this assembly of painting and sculptures reflect all the new currents in art and the novel experiments in painting and creations—contributed by all the district art-Centres of India. This claim can be easily verified by a cursory glance at the exhibits which have come from all corners of India, Delhi, Bombay, Lucknow, Nagpur, Madras, Mysore and various others centres. Though the artists contributing from Bengal are very many, their numbers do not count the All-India character of the show as a liberal forum for judging all contemporary tendencies developing in all district regional centres.

It has been the fashion on the part of some critics to complain that the Academy's show does not provide sufficient emphasis on the products of the national Indian Schools of Painting, considering that this city is the birthplace of the New Renaissance in Indian Painting founded by Abanindranath Tagore. But for this, the Academy cannot be blamed. For though many of the great disciples of Tagore are still living, they are not contributing to any new development in the national phases of Indian Painting, and very few new devotees of the Indian manner have come forward to continue the movements begun by Tagore and his brilliant disciples.



Portrait of Rabindranath
By Ram Kinkar

This is evident from the exhibits in the Indian Section. The pictures in this section do not maintain a very high level in spite of three contributions from Santi-Niketan. The honours of the Indian tradition have been sought to be maintained by Kalipada Ghoshal by his "Shiva Drinking the Poison" (114) and by a new recruit from Lucknow, Manahar Makwana, who

contributes two pulsating pieces—a "Marriage Party" (168) and a lively "Cattle Market Scene" (167). As in former years, A. Almelkar of Bombay contributes several stirring pieces—of which the best is his "Boat-Jetty" (2). Sudhanshu Basu Roy, a senior practitioner of Calcutta, who has made himself famous by his brilliant jungle scenes from Assam (illustrated in the Water-colour Section) has contributed two distinguished pieces to the Indian Section of which his "Lotus after the Rains" happily combines realism with romance. Kalyani Chakravarti's "Uma's toilette" (60), though a striking piece, does not sufficiently uphold her former reputation. Gouri Datta Roy's "Kavi" (111) is a striking effort in Rajput manners with considerable charm and originality. Radha Bagchi's "Sleeping Princess" (16), though honouring the correct atmosphere of the theme, falls short of a happy success. Narendranath Sarkar's "Hara-Parvati" (98) is a tiny masterpiece of lively originality, challenged by the lesser efforts of Tarapada Basu—with his "Ganesa-Janani" (48). Sunil Pal's "Damsel" (205) is a new courageous presentation of a familiar type deserving highest praises. The "Pet Queen" of Ganesh Pyne (215) and Ramendra Banerjee's "Pot-seller" (23) are sure to win many admirers. But on the whole, the Section is disappointing—and its standard is sought to be raised by introducing two pieces from the brush of the famous master Dr. Nanda Lal Bose "Fish in the current" (44) and "Evening" (34). But the shining high-light of the section is the silk kakemono of Radha Bagchi depicting "Kumar-Sambhava." In the Water-colour Section, magnificently painted and magnificently mounted, there are several distinguished pieces of which "Construction" by Anil Baran Shah elevates un-romantic subjects to romantic heights. In this section, there are several thrilling compositions in the most daring modernistic manners which will extort admiration from all sensitive critics. But many well prefer the quiet beauty and the astonishing technique of Gopal Ghose in his masterly presentation of six pieces of "Landscape" which high-light this Section in a charmingly low-key.

In the technique of the Tempera there are several striking exhibits, "Naga Dance" by Manahar Makwana, "Gopis and Krishna" by Almelkar, and "In the Doorway" by Prafulla Tana (277). The best piece in this section is a large picture of a "Devotee" by Sudhir Khastagir (154) who has at last freed himself from the monotonous formulas of his dancing figures to present a stately static figure vibrating with expressive emotion.



Mother and Child
By H. Shah



Kula-Badhu
A. Almelkar

In the Oil Section—there are not many pictures to appeal. Of several portraits in oil, Atul Bose's ostentatious presentation of a "Gentleman in Masonic Robes" is successfully challenged by Kisory Rai's charming study of a little girl entitled "Green Ribbon" (230). Of other studies in oil, a beautiful study of a "Pot with a Flower" by Binode Shah (267) deserves special mention.

Undoubtedly—the back-bone of the exhibition is provided by the rows of pictures arrayed on opposite walls in a formidable battalion of about 100 pieces, painted in the challenging techniques and the modernistic manners of the Indian Post-Impressionists, Cubists, and Abstractionist painters, who have deliberately despised all academic traditions as well as the rich spiritual

language of Indian National School Painting. It must be conceded that the Modernists of India, many of them fully possessed of talent and vision, have successfully imitated the famous masters of Modernistic Art of Europe in all their moods, tricks and inventions, sometimes applied to familiar Indian subjects with striking effects, produced by the discov-

(270) and in the imposing composition of a "Mother and Child" (137) by D. N. Joshi. In the Graphic Art Section there are interesting items none achieving a very high level. The series of Crayon studies of "Horses" (88-90) by Sunil Das provide striking high-lights to the Black and White Section. The Sculpture Section, though confined to 25 pieces, has many attractive items—of which the best is the study of Rabindranath Tagore—contributed by Ram Kinkar Baul, "the Man and the Moon" by Kumar

Robin Roy and the "Dipa-Lakshmi" (53) excellently interpreted by Deva Vrata Chakravartty.

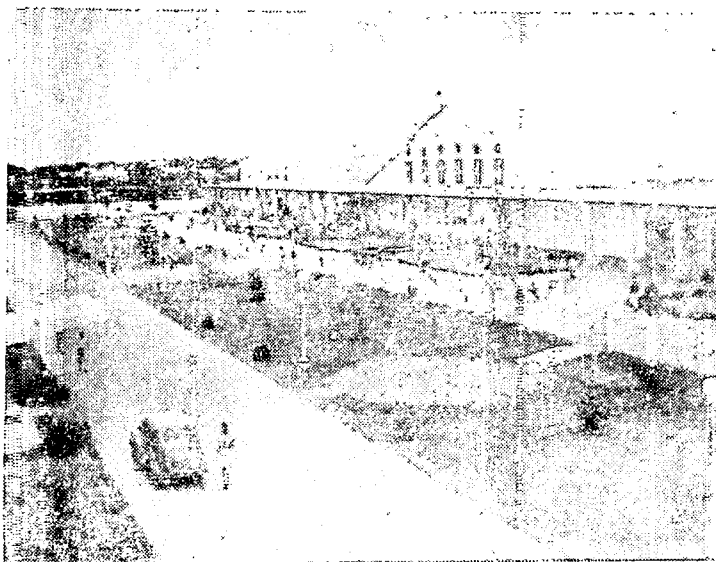
This distinguished array of about 300 exhibits rigorously selected from 3,000 pieces of submissions is a rich fair of aesthetic delights of diverse flavours and divergent tastes and will happily cater to all varieties of picture-lovers and devotees at the shrines of beauty.*

*By the courtesy of the All-India Radio, Calcutta.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY

Production Level to Reach 1,000 Machines in 1960, 2,000 in 1963

The Hindustan Machine Tools, Bangalore, is selling all the lathes, milling machines and radial drills it can make and order-books are already full for the current and the next year.



The neat lay-out of the Factory

The range of machines manufactured now includes 14 types of high precision lathes, six types of milling machines, 10 types of radial drills and 44 types of lathes

of the Batignolles types. Recently it has taken up a new line of production—of grinding machines. HMT has entered into a seven-year technical collaboration agreement with Messrs Olivetti, an Italian firm, for the manufacture of these machines.

With the signing of this agreement—the fourth technical collaboration agreement in three years—the Factory will be able to supply to the country a further 16 types of machine tools in addition to its existing range of 74 types.

In terms of diversification of production, HMT has, indeed, done exceedingly well. A little over three years back, it was producing only one standard lathe.

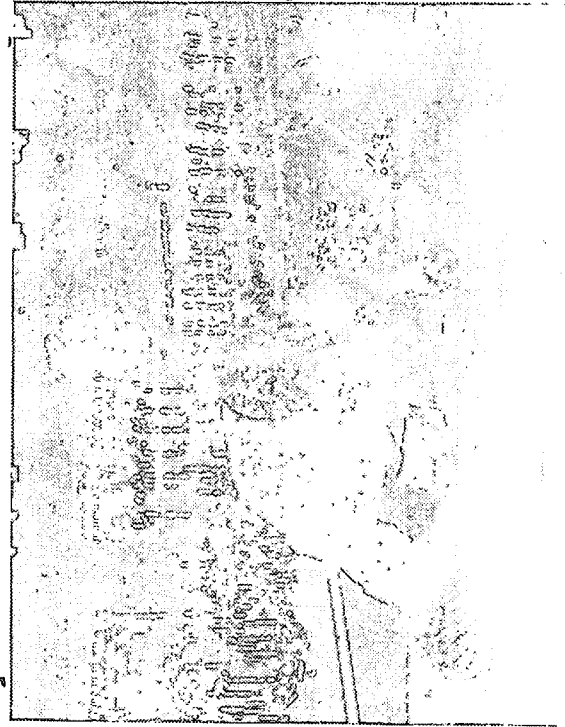
During the current year 1959-60, production will be above 700 machines valued at Rs. 2.5 crores. Production rate has substantially increased in the last four years. The Second Plan target of production was achieved three years ahead of schedule—

as early as 1957-58, when 402 machines valued at Rs. 1.4 crores were manufactured.

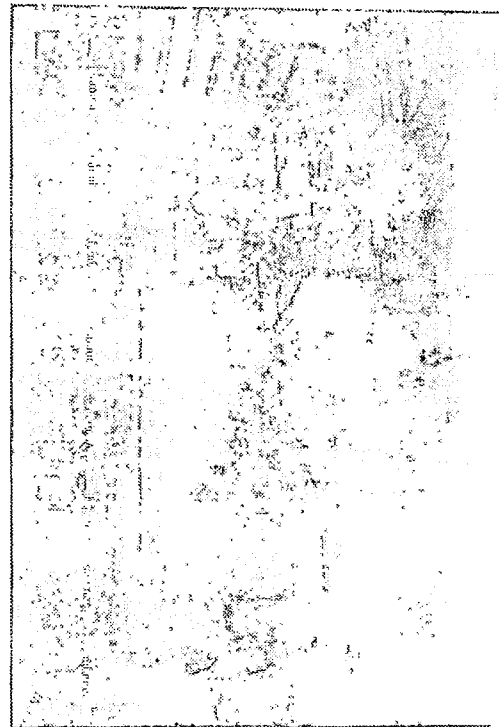
This was made possible by reorganization and multiple-shift-working for fuller



Designers are busy in the Design Office



An Interior View of Workshop Shed



use of plant, intensive training of labour and judicious diversification of products.

Production is expected to reach 1,000 machines valued at Rs. 3.5 crores annually by the end of the Second Plan (1960-61). The present handicap is inadequate supply of quality castings and iron and steel. The Factory has no foundry of its own. However, construction of a modern foundry, as part of the Factory, is being taken up shortly. With the commissioning of this foundry, production of machine tools could proceed at an accelerated rate. Moreover, iron and steel in the right quantities is

crores, of which the foreign exchange component would be approximately Rs. 1.15 crores.

Within seven years of existence the Company has already started making profits. Even after providing for the payment of 4½ per cent interest on the loan of Rs. 1.67 crores which has been made available to the HMT by the Union Government, and after providing a fair return on the share capital (Rs. 5.31 crores) the Company will be able to finance a part of the capital cost of the expansion programme from its internal sources.

Production Costs Lowered

A significant feature of the working of the HMT is that substantial reduction has been achieved in production costs of HMT machines without any lowering of the high quality of the machines. The Company has passed on the benefit of this reduction to the buyer through reduction in sales price. The sale price of 1000 mm. lathe, for example, was first brought down from Rs. 39,000 to Rs. 36,000, and then, from June 1958, to Rs. 29,500. The landed cost of an equivalent machine of equivalent quality is around Rs. 40,000.

This has been achieved despite progressive high prices paid from and steel and inadequate supply of quality castings and two successive increases in wage levels in the last two years, which

have more than doubled the minimum earnings of the lowest-paid employees.

High Indigenous Content

Another interesting development, creditable to the Factory, is that indigenous content in the manufacture of lathes now stands at 95 per cent. For milling machines and radial drills this percentage has come up to 80 per cent now. For the milling machines this is the second year of production, while for the radial drills it is only the first year. Within a year the percentage of indigenous content for both



Machine tool parts under production at the Factory

expected to be available from Durgapur in the near future. Construction of more assembly hangers to cope with increasing rate of production is also being taken up. A new store shed has already been constructed.

The Government of India has approved a proposal of the HMT to double their capacity from 1,000 machines to 2,000 machines per annum. When it materialises in 1963, it will raise the value of the Factory's annual production to over Rs. 7 crores per year. The capital expenditure of the expansion programme will be Rs. 2.80

the radial drills and milling machines will be progressively stepped up to 95 per cent.

The quality of Hindustan machines has been maintained at very high levels and customers and experts continue to commend favourably on its quality. The British Heavy Engineering Mission, which visited the Factory in December 1958, reported: "The facts are that India now has a first class machine tool unit in the light medium range and should turn it to the maximum possible use."

A visitor to the Factory senses pride among the workers and management in their neat and clean plant and the quality of the machines turned out. The machines are thoroughly tested at the Factory. There is a Government testing officer at the Factory too. And finally, the customers are given all facilities to test the machines.

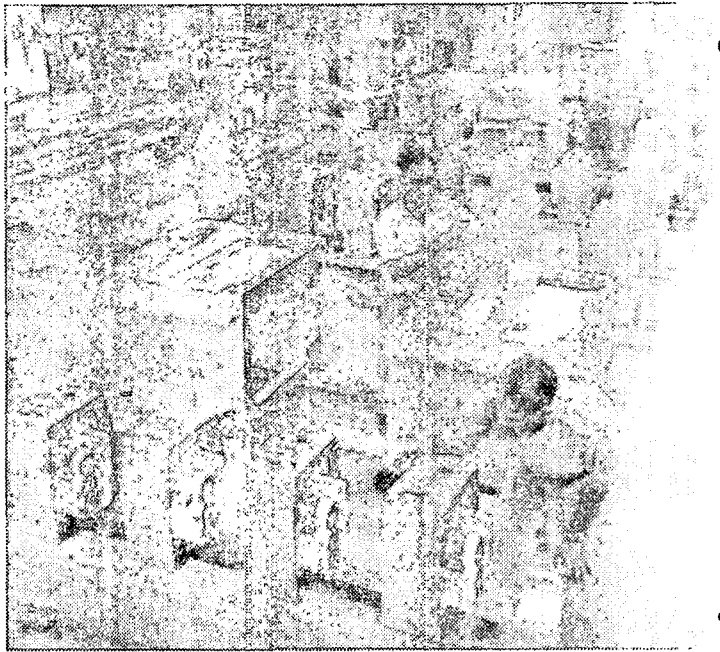
There are two other features in which the HMT has pioneered. One is that the former Works' Committee has been converted into a Joint Council of Management since June 1958 with an equal representation for management and labour. It is now a major factor in creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and partnership as between labour and management.

The Council has a right to receive information and discuss matters concerning the general economic situation of the Company, methods of work, the balance-sheet and the expansion programmes. It is entrusted, further, with the entire responsibility for administering welfare measures and work schedules. It does not, however, discuss matters relating to wages and bonus which are considered subjects for collective bargaining on a trade union basis.

Secondly, HMT has, in collaboration with the National Small Industries Corporation, pioneered in assisting enterprising

workers from its own plant with machine-tools on hire-purchase basis for establishing small ancillary units adjacent to the Factory. The Company has offered power, water facilities and technical guidance and placed orders for its smaller parts and components on the small producers and made technical guidance available to them.

Further, the HMT is contemplating establishment of an industrial estate so that a large number of component parts required in machine tools could be obtained



The workers dressing the jackets with excellent finish

from the units located in the proposed estate.

There has all along been a considerable emphasis on intensive training of HMT workers as a factor in greater productivity. The HMT training centre is now being utilised for training skilled workers and technicians both in the public and private sectors. The HMT continues to manage the centre on behalf of the Government of India which took it over recently.

Workers' Welfare

In terms of workers' welfare, the HMT has a creditable record. Apart from ex-

pansion in the number of quarters for all categories of staff—the Factory employs 2,600 workers—it has implemented a number of schemes such as (i) abolition of casual and daily-rated employment, (ii) increase in dearness allowance at a flat rate of Rs. 5 per month up to a salary range of Rs. 100 and Rs. 6 per month up to a salary range of Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 per month, (iii) increase in the employer's contribution to provident fund from 6½ per cent to 8½ per cent, (iv) incentive and production bonus at a flat rate of Rs. 5 with an attendance bonus of Rs. 4 per month, and (v) reduction of transport charges from Rs. 7 to 3.75 per month. These measures have meant an additional expenditure of Rs. 5.39 lakhs to the Company.

The machine tool industry is a 'must' for the industrial growth of a country. It is this industry which in a sense provides a key to the country's industrial growth by enabling it to produce all the plant and machinery needed for its factories. In the absence of a well-planned machine tool industry India had necessarily to depend upon foreign sources for such plant and equipment. This is obvious from the fact that most of the heavy plant and equipment which have gone to build India's industries have been largely obtained from foreign sources.

Judging from the number of import licences granted during the 15 months period of January 1957 to March 1958, India imported over 17,000 machine tools valued at a little over Rs. 19 crores.

Against this, the indigenous production in India during this period amounted to Rs. 3.25 crores (HMT's share being a little

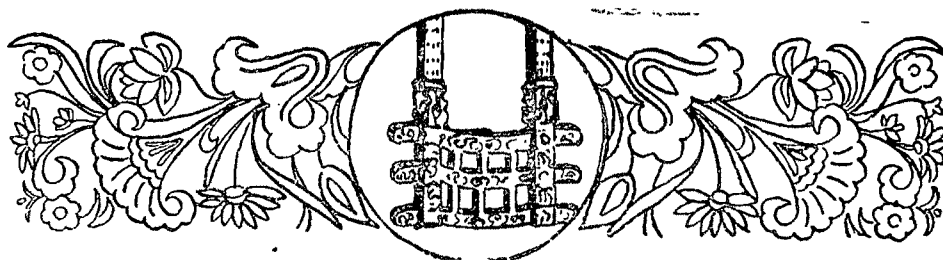
over Rs. 1.75 crores during this period). This clearly indicates that the gap is big.

The import statistics further testify the fact that this gap has been increasing very considerably from the year 1951, when India implemented its First Five-Year Plan. At the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, the imports almost trebled, while in 1958 they were almost six times compared to 1951 figures.

Co-Ordination in Public and Private Sectors

Apart from the urgent need for stepping up production, one other vital question affecting the future of this key industry is adequate understanding and integration between the machine tool units in the private sector and the public sector. This, doubtless, does not appear to have been established from the beginning when the HMT was set up.

This anomaly was rectified by the appointment by the Union Government in early 1956 of the Machine Tool Committee representing both public and private sector industries as well as the consumer interests. This Committee, for the first time, attempted to estimate the demand for different categories of machine tools during the Second Plan period and also assessed the capacity of the existing industries. It recommended an integrated plan of development of the industry for the Second Plan period avoiding, as far as possible, overlapping and consequent wastage of productive effort. The Government accepted the recommendations of the Machine Tool Committee. These arrangements appear to have eliminated grounds for disputes and wasteful competition by the different units in the industry.—**PIB.**



"CHARLIE" GETS A NEW COMB

Nowadays it is often a matter of the bigger the job, the smaller the apparatus to do it. And certainly the modest size of "Charlie"—the nickname for the Automatic Programme Switching Unit in Bush House, The Strand, London, headquarters of the BBC External Services—is in startling contrast to the size of the job it has to do. "Charlie" automatically handles the distribution of seventeen or more programme sources to groups of transmitters all over Britain radiating BBC External Service broadcasts throughout the world. Governed by a master-clock linked to



Automatic Programme Switching Unit

Greenwich Time Signal, "Charlie" carries out complicated programme-changes every quarter-hour, day and night, entirely unattended, for months on end. When programme schedules are changed a "comb" of a new colour is inserted by one of the technical operations staff to indicate each change.

The BBC External Services, comprising the European and Overseas Services, broadcast in English and thirty-nine other languages and are on the air for some eighty-two hours a day. The BBC General Overseas Service in English is heard all round the world.—BBC

THE INDIAN ROPE TRICK

By P. C. SORCAR, Magician,
President, All-India Magicians' Club

Among the much-talked-of feats of India, the Indian Rope Trick stands alone as the greatest of all.

A good deal of editorial ink has been wasted both in the West and the East on the possibility of "The Indian Rope Trick." Some say that this is India's marvel feat, while, on the contrary, there are sceptics who even deny its possibility. To superficial observers this curious mixture of contradictions leads to the belief that the Rope Trick stories are mere fantasies.

A few years ago we saw in the "London Listener":

"Lord Ampthill, former Governor of Madras, one time acting Viceroy of India, will preside tomorrow evening over one of the queerest meetings held in London.

"It is to investigate the evidence of the mysterious Indian Rope Trick. Magicians, Hypnotists and professional conjurors will rub shoulders at the Oxford Theatre, Marylebone Road, with English and Indian dignitaries bearing world-famous names.

"The meeting has been summoned by one of the most eminent British Ophthalmic Surgeons, Lieut. Colonel R. H. Elliot, formerly of the Indian Medical Service. He is Chairman of the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle, London."

After one day we again found in the "Listener": "Any modern magician who will come forward and perform the Indian

Rope Trick before the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle will receive an award of 500 guineas . . . We might have made the offer 5,000 or 50,000 guineas, for any chance there is yet of its being claimed.

Brief speeches followed from Dr. Edwin Smith and from Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who said that he had never seen the trick during his 35 years in India; Sir Leonard Rogers, Sir Francis Griffiths and several others, none of whom either believed in the trick, had seen it or had met anyone who had done so

With the unanimous verdict 'Not Proven' the meeting closed."

Lt.-Col. R. H. Elliot is of opinion that, "The Great Rope Trick is a myth. It never has been performed and never it will be. It sprang Minerva-like, from the brain of an inventor of jovine proportions and Goddess-like it has lived on far too long."

But is it really a 'myth'? Has it never been done or never will it be? Is there no eyewitness of the trick at all to prove its existence?

If we make a historical survey of the trick we find that over a thousand years ago the trick was a common knowledge in India. The doctor of the Vedanta Philosophy, Sankaracharyya has referred to this feat in Sutra 17 of the Vedanta Sutras. There we find an explanation of this trick too in a round-about way . . . "The illusory juggler who climbs up the rope and dis-

appears differs from the real juggler who stands on the ground, etc., . . ." So far as I can remember, Patanjali also mentions it in his Sutras.

Next reference comes from China, from the Volume of Travels written by a traveller Ibn Batutah (Abu Abdullah Mahammad of Tanjiers) an Arab or Moorish Sheik, who journeyed through the East in the first part of the fourteenth century. He saw it in an entertainment at Hangchow.

Ibn Batuta, the famous traveller of the 14th Century, witnessed Rope Trick in China. The following translation is from Yue's Marco Polo:

"That same night a juggler made his appearance and the Amir said to him 'come and show us some of your marvels.' Upon this he took a wooden ball with several holes in it, through which long thongs were passed and, laying hold one of those slung it into the air. It went so high that we lost sight of it altogether. There now remained only a little of the end of a thong in the Conjuror's hand, and he desired one of the boys who assisted him to mount. He did so climbing by the thong and we lost sight of him. The conjuror then called to him but getting no answer, he snatched up a knife, laid hold of the thong and disappeared also. By and by he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the other hand and foot, then the trunk, last of all head! Then he came down himself, all puffing and panting and with clothes all bloody, kissed the ground before the Amir, said something in Chinese. He then took the lad's limbs, laid them together and gave a kick when, presto! the boy got up and stood before us. All this astonished me beyond measure and I had an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial however, which cured the attack. The Kazi Afkharuddin was next to me, and quoth he, 'Allah!' it is my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down neither marring nor amending: 'it is all hocus-pocus'."

Then comes the description of the Rope

Trick in India in the beginning of the seventeenth century, at Delhi, performed by a Bengali Magician before Emperor Jehangir. We get an account in the "Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir" written by himself and translated from a Persian manuscript by Major David Price, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

In a London Newspaper "Morning Post" Sir Ralph Pearson, formerly Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Frontier Province claims to have seen the trick carried out at Dondachia station on the then recently constructed Tapti Valley Railway in the west Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency. This was in the spring of 1900. The writer describes how he happened to look out of his compartment window on hearing a man shouting and saw the usual village juggler, with snake baskets and a small lad for the edification of some passengers in the next compartment.

"After the necessary shouting and beating of his legs and chest, he threw up the rope some ten feet in the air, after which the boy swarmed to nearly the top." Sir Ralph Pearson remarks however in his letter that another man then shouted down the platform and beat a drum which made him look round. On turning back again he found the boy on the ground as also the rope. The only other details he recalls about it were that the rope was frayed at the top and when in the air was by no means taut, even when the boy was climbing up it. He mentions that his wife told him also sometime later that she had seen the trick done at another way station further down the same line.

Mr. V. Rebiers of Kirkee, has also an interesting account: ". . . I did see the rope trick performed in the Portuguese Territory of Damann near Bombay . . . I watched the performance carefully and saw a fairly thin rope thrown up; the lid of an oking basket lying near was then thrown open and a boy of about 10 or 12 darted from the basket up the rope and disappeared . . ."

Again we have from the "Morning Post" of 26-1-32 that Mrs. Pennel Williams has

seen this trick performed in the year, 1907-8, at Mussorie.

From "Daily Telegraph" (16-6-32) we find that Mr. Prowse saw the trick performed in Secunderabad in 1915. His wife, Mrs. Prowse, had seen the same trick done in Ceylon years before.

Another European writes from Warangal in the "Times of India," 18-4-34: "... I was at that time in the military and stationed in one of the cantonments in the U.P. some 20 years back. One day one of the jugglers came along with his paraphernalia. During his performance he threw a thick rope in the air which stood erect without any visible sign of support; then a lad naked with the exception of a loin cloth climbed to the top of the rope and disappeared into thin air. After a few minutes he reappeared amongst the crowd."

"I am neither superstitious nor a believer in myths and I am ready to swear that this very clever trick was performed before my eyes ..."

Arthur Young writes from Kolhapur on 21-4-34: "... I have myself seen this trick performed in Assam ..."

Colonel H. Cornes saw the trick performed in Bombay Bazar.

"Chicago Tribune" prints an interesting account of this feat, seen by two American tourists in Northern India. In the book "Here, There and Everywhere" (Hodder and Stoughton, 1921, pages 51 to 53) Lord Frederic Hamilton relates the experience as told by Colonel Barnard. When Chief of Police in Calcutta, the Colonel had been invited with a subordinate officer to witness the feat. They saw the rope ascending, the boy climbing, the man after him but their camera revealed that these events had not occurred.

The "Statesman" of 19th June, 1934 contains a reference in which it is stated: "I believe Sir John Lambert, when Commissioner of Police at Calcutta, placed it on record that he had seen this trick performed in India. Also some other persons, whose names I forget for the moment, but whose positions I well remember, entitled them to be heard with respect. That this trick is still performed, at times, in other

countries is borne out by the letter of Mr. Ewan upward ..."

The following extract from a paper on Maxim Gorki, by Prof. Nicholas Roerich, published in the "Twentieth Century" reproduced in the "Statesman," Calcutta, on Oct. 5, 1936 is very interesting:

"... I also recollect how once at a friendly gathering Gorki revealed quite unexpectedly for many another interesting side of his character. We spoke about Yogis and various psychic phenomena whose home is in India. Some of the guests suspiciously looked at Gorki who kept silent and they apparently awaited his severe criticism. But his resume amazed many."

Kindled with an inner radiance he said: "The Hindus are a great people. I will tell you of my personal experience. Once in the Caucasus I met a Hindu about whom many remarkable stories were circulating. At that time I was rather inclined to doubt. At last we met and what I will tell you I saw with my own eyes. He took a long thread and threw it up into the air. And to my surprise it remained hanging up in the air."

So Gorki was contemporary witness to the much-talked-of Rope Trick or to be more accurate, to a part of the famous trick. The account of the brass album, as given by Gorki, is no less interesting because I doubt whether Magicians of Europe and America can ever do it! From the above (and from many other similar examples) it is clear that the Indian Rope Trick has been done in different countries in different forms. It was then performed by roadside jugglers, who generally gathered their crowd by showing a number of petty sleight of hand tricks. When they felt they had got sufficient number of spectators, they started this feat.

In volumes 28 of the "Magic Circular" (June 1934) we find a chapter under the very dogmatic heading Exit—The Indian Rope Trick. Lt. Col. R. H. Elliot, Chairman of the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle is of opinion that "It has never been done or never it will be." Many respectable gentlemen have, however, volunteer-

ed to prove its existence stating that they have actually seen it performed. But Col. Elliot rejects the testimony of all these eye-witnesses on the ground that (i) In all similar cases of abnormal phenomena the witnesses are "victims of trickery and deception." But my point is this—how can a man become a victim, until and unless he sees something of this sort actually "done." But Lt. Col. R. H. Elliot says that "the trick has never been 'done'". He cannot have the same thing both ways. Moreover, the Indian Rope Trick is a Trick—so it is nothing uncommon if there be any "trickery" in it. I turned my dictionary (Concise Oxford Dictionary, New Edition) to refresh my memory as to the precise meaning of the word "trick". My dictionary gives as the first two meanings: "Fraudulent device or stratagem, feats of skill or dexterity, knack, precise mode of doing or dealing with a thing." Many other shades of meaning are given, but nothing which lends the least colour to Colonel Elliot's curious insistence that the word "trick" implies something supernormal. On the contrary, it implies the very opposite. I am sure that it is a very clever trick and admits of a very simple explanation. It is not a "miracle". A trick is a trick so long as it is considered not to be a miracle but the Indian Rope Trick has been so bolstered up and misrepresented by the exaggerated accounts of unreliable and notoriety-hunting travellers that it has lost its real character and those who hear and read about it expect far more than it is possible for any human creature to perform. (ii) The trick "upsets all the laws of gravity." My reply to this is that we must "deal with the first thing first." First of all, we must prove whether the rope trick is a "fact" or a "myth"—then we should discuss how the roadside juggler upsets the Laws of Gravitation. Col. Elliot has referred to "defying the force of gravity" in all his letters. But what does he mean by it fundamentally? Should readers understand that a ladder "defies" the force of gravity when it keeps the weight of a man when he is climbing it, as it prevents the man from falling to the

ground? And is the surface of the Earth defying the force of gravity as it keeps him from sinking through it to what is below?

Col. Elliot tells us that the Rope Trick, or a 'belief' in the trick "implies the temporary suspension of the law which not merely determines the fall of an apple and the swing of the earth's vast oceans, but reaching far out into space enables us to weigh stars whose colossal distance can only be calculated in imaginable light years." Answer to this is that we should first of all settle the question as to whether the Rope Trick is a fact or not. "Miracles," as all theologians from St. Augustine onwards have said, "do not happen in contradiction to nature, they only transcend what is at present known to us of nature." The Indian Rope Trick is not a "miracle," it is only a clever trick and it admits of a quite simple explanation.

"Times of India," 19th May, 1934 states: "A man who has actually seen the Indian Rope Trick performed has at last been found. He is Dr. Alexander Cannon, a psychiatrist, who described his experience in Indo-China at a London meeting of the British College of Psychic Science. Dr. Cannon said he was accompanied by a member of the French Consulate in Indo-China: "This is what we saw or thought we saw" said Dr. Cannon: "The scene is a market-place. In the centre of the place stands an ascetic, his eyes half open. He stands swaying his arms, gesticulating and uttering yogi incantations, meanwhile swaying gently to rhythm. In front of him is a coil of red-coloured rope lying on the ground. Over this he stretches out his hands periodically. On his right hand-side stands a youth who has a most noticeable far away expression in his eyes. At last the ascetic lifts up the end of the red rope and holds it at arm's length. The end of the rope then appears to rise higher and higher as if drawn heavenwards by an invisible force. This process continues until the other end of the rope is just free of the ground. The boy then climbs the rope remaining at the other end in midair. He comes down to the ground and then again climbs the rope and the yogi appears

to follow him up the rope with a knife clenched in his teeth. He gets hold of the boy, cuts him to pieces and appears to drop the different parts of the body to the ground where they lie quivering in the dust. The magician then descends the rope puts the pieces of the body together and sends the youth up the rope again right to the top when he appears to vanish into thin air."

Now among those who actually claim to have solved the Indian Rope Trick, I should mention the name of Dr. Alexander Cannon, K. C. A., M.D., Ph.D., M.A., an official of the London County Council Mental Hospital Service, first. Dr. Cannon says that he has actually seen the Rope Trick performed and can actually do it. "I can produce the Rope Trick in the Albert Hall, London.....I shall require a large quantity of sand from a certain area, certain lighting, as it were from the sun, certain heating arrangements, and, under these circumstances, everyone can see the phenomenon."

A number of magicians in England wanted to see the trick done by Dr. Cannon, and, their willingness to help him in procuring the right conditions at the Albert Hall. To this offer Dr. Alexander Cannon said: "Providing you are willing to lay down enough money to bring over a skipload of special sand, to heat up the Albert Hall to tropical temperature, and to produce my own tropical lighting—and also to place with a bank £50,000 (250,000 dollars) to be handed over to me as soon as I have produced the phenomenon, I will do it."

After this the matter was dropped.

Among others who claim to have solved the Rope Trick the name of "Karachi"* is mentionable. In the 'Listener' (London) of 30th January, 1935, Karachi states: "The secret of this trick I learnt many years ago from a Gurkha warrior, whose life I had been the means of saving. On his death-bed shortly after, he imparted

*'Karachi' is not an Indian. It is the stage name of Arthur Claude Derby of Plymouth, his son's stage name being 'Kyder.'

to me the secret of this trick, at the same time adding his dying injunction that I should not perform it in public for profit except when driven to it by necessity. It is for this reason that the trick has not been performed for so many years, but now the time has come when I find it necessary to demonstrate its reality and convince a sceptical world that the secrets of the East have not entirely perished."

The way is now clear for our star witness. Horace Goldin the reputed president of London Magicians' club has himself stated that he has not only seen the trick but he has actually learnt it during his professional tour to India and the Far East. Horace Goldin has sent me one of his printed booklets in which he has frankly confessed that he is "the only white man in the world to discover the secret."

I have then had a press clipping from "Daily Sketch" dated October 21 1936 which states, "Indian Rope Trick Done At Last. At last—The Indian Rope Trick, which has been described by countless retired Anglo-Indians to sceptical English listeners, has been done in England by Mr. Horace Goldin, President of the Magicians' Club."

Well, that was definitely the stage-version of this world-famous item. Many stage-magicians have capitalized on the goodwill of the trick by offering the stage versions and immensely publicising the same. Servais LeRoy, Horace Goldin, Howard Thurston, Harry Blackstone, David Devant, Chang, Dante and Virgil are only a few of the magicians who have successfully done it in their stage shows.

Past President of the Society of American Magicians, my good friend, Milbourne Christopher in his article on "The Truth about the Rope Trick" in the Variety Magazine, January 5, 1955, gave a very funny description of one such stage magician, "a few years ago a Canadian magician announced he would present the feat during a stage performance with all the classic trimmings. His rope rose on schedule, his assistant climbed the rope and he climbed after his assistant. Soon the stage was littered with pieces of anatomy, which

dropped from above. The magician slid back down the rope, wiped the blade of his sword and gathered the pieces of his helper's body in a wicker basket. Hocus pocus, the boy jumped out intact. But instead of gasping with amazement, the audience howled with laughter. The magician was puzzled until he saw an extra arm, which he had forgotten to toss into the basket, on the side of the stage."

Joseph Dunniger, American magician and mind reader who has long served on a national committee to debunk fakers, popped into print with an offer to do the Indian rope trick in Madison Square Garden for only \$50.

However, when the News asked Dunniger to perform the trick in one of the News offices or on the roof of The News Building he declined with a laugh.

Instead, he offered to give \$10,000 to **anybody** who could do that trick on the roof or even in the open.

"The only place I can do the rope trick—and have done it is on a stage with backdrops. That preserves the illusion. At the Garden? Well, a stage could be thrown up there quickly enough."

"There are thirty-five different methods of creating the illusion of the rope trick. Many of them are impossible. There was one described in Science and Invention. It told of a rope which, when thrown into the air, stood rigid because of interlocking metal sockets within its coils. At the time the climber is to disappear a chemical in his hand belches forth smoke and a mechanism in the bottom end of the rope causes the upright coil to collapse. It's an idea—but it's not practical" Dunniger explains.

Richard Hodgson, L.L.D., wrote in the early 90's:

"I sought in vain for an eye-witness, European or native of the famous rope exploit of which we have heard so much in travellers' tales. About three years ago a story spread that this supposed trick was explicable by hypnotism, it was alleged that certain travellers proved this by means of a camera—that the cameraman saw the

trick but that the pictures showed no scenes of taut rope, disappearing boy, etc. The story turned out, by confession of its author, to be a yarn."

But Hereward Carrington, American spiritualist, feels that those who saw the trick might have been having an hallucination.

Fortunately—or perhaps unfortunately—none of these men was able to witness Robert Heger's efforts to do the trick on the stage of a St. Paul auditorium last November. The first night he did it all went well. But the second time!

In response to Heger's incantations the rope jerked from its coiled position into a straight vertical line. But the electricians turned on the wrong lights and the audience plainly saw the thin wire from which it was suspended. Next the boy pursued by the assassin, climbed the rope with no trouble.

But instead of vanishing into thin air the audience had the pleasure of seeing him leap away—because the stage hands bungled the curtain drop. They probably saw Heger's visible perspiration if they looked.

And last—and worst of all—before the game Heger finished up his act—before he had assembled all the arms and legs and feet and hands and head—the boy stepped out from the wings—too soon, too soon!

Maskelyne, a professional conjuror, says that the trick is frequently done in the open with the audience facing the brilliant tropical sun. When it was suggested that an illusion be done at an English exhibition, Maskelyne objected on the ground that the English sun was not powerful enough to obscure vision.

Noted American Magician-author, Walter B. Gibson, in his "Book of Secrets" (1927) writes:

"It is impossible to find a person who claims to have seen the 'Rope Trick'. There are those who know someone who saw it, or who have heard of some one who saw it; but actual witnesses are usually lacking.

The writer, however, has met three people who have described the trick as

they have seen it themselves. They are all reliable persons—travellers of wide experience. One of them has studied magic for many years, and his description of the trick supports a theory that the trick has been performed, but that its effect has been exaggerated.

He states that the rope rose about fifteen feet in the air, moving upward very slowly. Instead of a boy, a small monkey climbed the rope and stood on the top. Then the rope fell, and the monkey dropped with it.

The rope used in the trick was of most peculiar construction, and the witness had an opportunity to examine it. It consisted of sections which could be made rigid or released by interior cords. The rope was coiled, and the fakir had an underground assistant who pushed up the rope, the joints being fixed together as the rope rose. When the monkey had ascended the rope, the master cord was pulled, and the rope collapsed, coiling as it fell to the ground."

World-famous American Magician and Magic historian, John Mulholland, in his article on The Great Rope Trick Mystery in "This Week" magazine (April 6, 1958) of the Pittsburgh Press writes:

"After 40 years of trailing the Indian rope trick, I have finally found what I was looking for; the reasons why the legend refuses to die.

"One answer is that after people have been fooled, they are incapable of giving an accurate description of what actually happened during a magician's performance. Given time, their descriptions often become fantastic. They confuse two or more tricks, and even describe something the magician hasn't done—and couldn't do.

"In co-operation with a professor of psychology I once made a series of tests on graduate students who didn't suspect what we were trying to discover. I actually did four tricks and described one which I did not perform: I talked about being able to make a \$20 gold piece travel instantly and invisibly a distance of five feet.

"A month after my 'Show', the class was called together and asked to write a

resume of the magic they had seen me perform. Eighty per cent 'saw' the gold piece which I had only mentioned.

"I am convinced now that the process by which people come to believe in the Indian rope trick is akin to brain-washing. I am also convinced that it will continue to fascinate each new generation born on earth. It's a towering legend, tough to chop down."

During my visits to U.S.A. I had long discussions about this trick with John Mulholland. I told him that 'such a trick is no longer possible, but that it once was. Modern man has lost the secret'.

This trick can easily be done on the stage where everything can be done with 'wires and mirrors'. All my predecessors as also my contemporaries who performed or still perform versions of the Indian Rope Trick on their theatrical stages done with common secrets. Will Goldston has done it in the Black Art scene. Harry Blackstone while gave me details of his version of the Rope Trick showed great ingenuity in the constructions of the stage settings. Howard Thurston in addition to pulling the thick Rope by invisible wires took help of cinematography and slide projections in the matter of the vanishment of the climbing lad. My friend the Great Virgil has taken wire principle for raising the thick rope upward then semi Black Art principle for making the boy disappear. I have seen Julian J. Pablo (Mighty Chang), Cecil Lyle (Great Lyle) and countless others performing the trick in the similar manner. Even Horace Goldin did it in the same principle. Karachi (Arthur Claude Derby) and the German magician performs in such a way that a stiff rope goes upward for a few feet and they cannot make the boy disappear in full view. Instead of being pulled from top in the above a stiff rope is pushed upwards from underneath. In the opinion of Mr. Nevil Maskelyne of England, Indian Rope Trick was done in India with "jointed bamboos covered with hemp" and "the glare of the sun dazzling the eyes" to assist in the operation.

Twenty-five years ago, early in my

career, I performed versions of the Rope Trick in the open field. I adopted the principle of the prepared rope, which could be recoiled and made to make stiff at will. Thanks to the bone-filled rope with the many special sockets inside. I performed this on the pavements of Chowringhee, Calcutta, and to make the place easily recognisable in front of The Statesman House, Calcutta. I got full-page publicity in the India's popularmost English daily "Amrita Bazar Patrika"; and many full-pages photographs of this trick in various stages of performances were published in the January 1937 issue of the "Modern Review." Some of these pictures were printed in the 'Orient' Illustrated Weekly Magazine. (April 23, 1944).

On the stage platform this item can very easily be done, as it has been done by other magicians. It is extremely difficult to produce this trick outdoors. I think Indian Rope Trick can be performed outdoors, at least the mystery can be solved to show how the Indian street jugglers performed it hundred years ago. This Trick was possible at that time but now it is very difficult and wellnigh impossible to do before the 'ultra modern' twentieth century audience.

If we track back into history we find that this trick was performed in India hundreds of years ago. At that time 'invisible thread,' electricity, etc., were not known. People were very much gullible. The best feats were the Mango Tree, Basket Trick, Cups and balls, diving ducks, levitation, etc. These all have stood the tests of time and has survived. Today to the modern theatre-goers these above-mentioned tricks are not so very appealing. They expect more glamour, colour, various appeals. Recently I performed the famous Oyster Shell Illusion invented and made famous by Chung Ling Soo in the early part of the present century. Chung Ling Soo used to show one huge empty oyster shell on the stage and from the same one living girl materialised. Now after about fifty years I have produced the same effect with the same trickery. But I had to use special 'sciopticon' effects-projector to show

the under sea waves with shoals of fish swimming, change over to the sea-weeds and corals with the help of the gauze screens 'scrim' and then dissolved into gorgeous under sea-hue by ultra-violet lighting; and fluorescent colourings. All these scientific are very recent inventions and these were like day-dreams at the time of Chung Ling Soo. Chung Ling Soo could easily fill his theatre without these special trimmings and settings, we modern magicians must go steps further to satisfy our modern spectators. They have seen Radio-Television programmes, big musicals, spectacular cinemascope—cinerama productions, it is hard to get their eyes bewildered by ordinary hocus pocus tricks. If we consider the time, place and situation of the early performers, we will find that this trick was performed usually in hilly area and not in the desert country. So the Fakirs used to wear long flowing garments. In Indian sub-continent those who live in hot spots the inhabitants wear very scanty dress and thus the performer looks with loin cloths on. But in the hilly regions they wear 'loongi and askans', the flowing garments. The boy should be on loin cloths with one 'fatua' singlet on. They chose their site of performances by the side of two high hills or other lofty places. The secret was a horizontal thread stretching from one hill to another caught by two assistants at the either side. At that time invisible thread were not invented nor even the piano wires introduced. The Indian Fakirs made their invisible wires with the help of human hairs specially prepared. They could use catgut ropes on either ends because those portions are far off from the spectators. Time selected was evening before dusk. After showing several tricks and thus killing a good length of time, placing the spectators in magic mood already, and the dusk approaching the magician starts his Rope Trick. With the sound of weird Indian music associated with the Jaduwallahs, sound of tom toms, dholok, etc., the Rope Trick is started. Magician shows a coil of rope woven with soft cotton thread prepared by 'charka'—the spinning wheel now made

famous by Mahatma Gandhi. This rope is about forty feet long and has leaden weight with a knot at the extreme end. Magician throws the rope several times unsuccessfully, to create misdirection and then at a proper time throws the rope up in such a way that the end of the coil of rope engages with the horizontal suspension. They may add some small gimmicks to help this engagement with the horizontal cable. Now a days when we go to the villages and find the electric or telegraphic wirings across the country sides we find these wires are quite invisible to our eyes when they are against green background, say the trees and hills. So, the spectators cannot see the horizontal wire. Moreover, at those ages there were no such wiring systems to give them some sort of ideas. Human psychology is that a hole should be round, for pulling anything upward the tension must be vertical from the top. Even in these days of mechanisation people are wondered when they find a Ball floating in the air, or a Card suspended in the air, hat or handkerchief dancing on the stage, because they are not suspended from the top. We moderns even today perform it with horizontal support, while the audience always suspect or expect the vertical. The same was true in the case of those street magicians. Through the code of their weird music, the assistants from the two top rocky knolls start pulling their catgut rope-ends from either sides, just as we do for our Floating Ball or Dancing Handkerchiefs these days. The rope goes up and up. When it reaches about thirty feet or so, people think that it has gone up to the sky. In India they have not seen the sky-scrappers and all the dwelling places are not very high. To the eyes of the ordinary audience the rope seems to rise up and up to the sky defying the force of gravity. So the first part of the Indian Rope Trick is successfully done in the open field.

Now about the second part. One very small boy climb up the vertical rope, hand by hand and goes to the top of the rope and there he firmly engages his gimmick with the horizontal wire. Because after a

little by-play the Magician will also climb up with the sharp knife between his teeth. Words of abuse, shouts, murmuring, etc., are the well-known by-plays of the Indian Street magicians. They can easily misdirect their spectators through these. The magician goes up and up. As a rule these magicians and their boys are good circus players, at least rope climbers. When the magician goes up and reaches the boy, he throws parts of the boy's costume (similar costumes) smeared with blood (blood like colours) or some freshly butchered meat, may be part of goat, or monkey, one by one to the ground. The assistants starts picking them all up with very nice by-plays and acting. Where is the left arm Ostad?—and talks like that. The boy in the meantime takes shelter underneath the flowing garments of the magician. Magician is now free because all the pieces of cloth and meat he carried under cover of his costumes have been dropped down, and the same place has been occupied by the young boy. The boy clings to the performer, just like the young monkeys do to their mother. More by-play and acting the magician climbs down thoroughly exhausted. The assistants have in the meantime collected the dismembered parts of the boy's body, including the missing parts that dropped here and there. The head was covered with the part of boy's turban all smeared with fresh blood. The magician comes near the basket into which the cut pieces of the boy was placed. More acting, more by-play and more misdirection, the boy slips out and enters the basket. Just as they do in the traditional basket trick. It is not difficult even for the moderners to perform the rest of it. At command the boy jumps out of the basket quite hale and hearty to receive 'baksheesh' prizes from his admiring spectators. By this time it is more dark. Ordinary naked lamps, mashals or kerosene or other oil lamps could not get the spot flood-lighted. At signal the long rope falls limp to the ground, thanks to the two assistants on the two lofty places, they simply untie their ends. Sometimes the story of fight between Indra, the King of

Heavens and his fight with the demons is alleged to be told. Rightly at that time they do enough incense burning, bonfire in the name of 'Homa' or 'Yajna' thus obscurity of vision is created by the smokes. In hilly regions due to cold atmosphere smoke does not go very high up because air is heavy and thus foggy atmosphere is created to facilitate the successful performance before the audience. In those days very ordinary tricks of the street magicians and medicine men were regarded as big feats of magic. To turn a silver rupee into a Gold Muhar was a very great feat, but today even school boys ignore it as mere trick of palming and passing. So the great Indian Rope Trick is not a myth. It was done outdoors by the street magicians. It was a great feat during those days. Added to it has been its legendary fame. Facts die but legends survive. It was feat of ordinary commonplace trickery, the name being 'Indian Rope Trick'. There were many limitations for these performances and required many persons for its

successful operation. Income was not enough for the whole team, so they divided and formed their own smaller troupes. Slowly, the trick went out of fashion, out of repertoire. The question as to whether one person can be kept suspended with one wire can easily be answered. Do we not suspend full-sized ladies with one strand of No. 18 piano wire in the Arabesque Style Find the Lady Tricks? Do we not suspend girls with such wires in the Levitation trick even nowadays? What about Kellar's Levitated Princess done with not only one wire, but many very fine wires. Can't we adapt the same principle in this illusion also?

However, the great mystery is not a myth, the riddle is solved.*

*This thesis on the Indian Rope Trick has been prepared in reply to an enquiry made by "Selskabet for Psykisk Forskning" (The Danish Society for Psychical Research), Copenhagen, Denmark and the Institute of Para-Psychology, Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan.

WOMEN AS TEACHERS

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

Even after achieving independence 12 years ago the percentage of literacy in our country is still very low in comparison with other free countries of the world. In order to raise this percentage we are to improve the existing condition of education imparted to children at the very primary stages. In Western countries there are more women teachers in the beginners' classes than the male teachers. The reason is that women are more fond of little children with whom they are closely associated as sisters and mothers in their domestic environments. In order to provide better standard of education to our children we should also employ more and more women teachers in our schools. At present in our country women teachers are mainly engaged in girls' schools. In boys' schools

generally male teachers are found to take classes of little boys, who are very often afraid of such teachers instead of loving them. The women teachers are more affectionate to the children and naturally they can win the hearts of children, who are placed under their charge for getting lessons. Over and above these an average girl teacher is more serious in her duties of teaching than a male teacher. So far as adult education is concerned in every locality, in a village or a town, suitably qualified girls are easily found, who can come forward to undertake this great task of increasing the percentage of literacy in our country more with the idea of rendering social service than with the object of earning money.

In spite of our First and Second Five-

Year Plans we have not been able to employ an appreciably large number of educated young men and women. For men even in the existing fields of employment, which are becoming more and more overcrowded, there are certain jobs for which they are only suitable due to their physical strength, but for educated women the profession of teaching is perhaps the only profession, which is most suitable due to their inherent love for children. The economic condition of the middle class and the existing dowry system somehow compel the girls to earn their livelihood and to supplement the income of the families they belong to. They, however, find it difficult to secure employments as they swell the number of job-hunters, the majority of whom are men and who are already facing impossibility in finding suitable jobs. Therefore if the profession of teaching, which is eminently suitable for women, specially for junior classes of both boys and girls, is set apart mainly for educated women, the problem of providing jobs to women on completion of their education, can be solved to a great extent.

For the posts of teachers the girls of course require some special training and instead of a Degree course (B.T.) for training in teaching under modern methods, a special course of training can be arranged for the would-be teachers. Understanding of children's psychology and cultivating love for children can be taught in this course along with other kindred subjects. Those girls, who will come out successful after such a training course, say of one year's duration, can be attracted to the profession of teaching if they are offered a reasonably good scale of pay. Women teachers possessing love for children and a liking for the profession are sure to be successful in creating a true desire for knowledge in the minds of the little boys and girls placed under their charge. Some

of these boys and girls can one day hold very high positions in society or in politics for turning the wheel of destiny of our nation and therefore the role of these women teachers is no doubt very great so far as their power of producing the right type of future citizens in the country is concerned.

As regards adult education, the educated women in our country can do a lot of work for the spread of literacy amongst the unfortunate grown-up persons. There are many educated women, who can spare their leisure hours without expecting any remuneration, for organising classes, even once a week or on holidays, in which illiterate persons of the locality, both men and women, can assemble to take elementary lessons in reading and writing from them. Along with the learning of alphabets if these men and women are told the stories of the country's glorious past history and are kept informed in simple language about the modern developments that are taking place in our country in different spheres, it will generate in their minds a real love for knowledge, which will gradually remove from them the stigma of illiteracy.

The middle class women in our country are trying their utmost to utilise their education for earning their livelihood and they will assist the country's educational advancement to a considerable extent if they are given proper opportunities. When the women in Western countries have proved their efficiency as teachers and have considerably assisted in sending out from their schools more and more boys and girls fit for holding high positions in the country's administration, there is no reason why in our country educated women will not be able to show equal success as teachers if given similar encouragements and opportunities.



A FEW ANECDOTES ABOUT KAMRUPA-KAMAKHYA

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., I.A.A.S. (Retd.)

Assam may have been known upto now to the outside world as a land of jungles and tea gardens, of mighty "rhinos and wild elephants, of the gushing oil wells, rushing rivers, of violent earthquakes and raging tornadoes, of dancing Lushais and hunting Nagas, but big chunk of it, known as Kamrupa has also evoked many and old wife's tale of absorbing interest.

From the days of dim antiquity it came to be known as the land of black magic and witchcraft. It leapt into fame more and more as its daughters attained the notoriety of vamps and sorceresses. They attained an uncanny aura not equalled by others. Do not go to Kamrupa-Kamakhyā was the slogan. You would be enslaved by Circes. These wily women were not only shapely coquettes but possessed supernatural power. They could turn humans into animals. Fiery males would be turned into innocent lambs. Trees would be made to run and become carrier vehicles. They could twist and turn men. They were ever young, ever green and ever free. They were under the protecting wings of the great Goddess Kamakhyā.

Tradition has it that when Muktapīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir organised a military expedition against Kamrupa and attacked Pragjyotishpura, his soldiers came into contact with the principality of the Amazons nearby, ruled exclusively by womenfolk, and soon the conquerors became conquered. According to the 'Rajatarangini' another king, named Maghavahana, came from the distant Kashmir to attend the 'Swayambara' of Amritaprabhā, a Kamrup princess. We hear of the Kamrup girl Rajyamati whose name is enshrined in a Licchavi inscription of Nepal. Dandi's "Dasa Kumar Charita" speaks of an exquisitely beautiful Kamrupa girl, Kalpasundari. Again, history has it that when after the debacle which Mirjūmla

suffered in his attempted conquest of Assam, Aurangzib ordered Ram Singh, son of Jai Singh, to organise a fresh expedition against Assam, indirectly as a punishment as he was in disfavour of the Imperial Court for his alleged complicity with the flight of Sivaji from the Mogul clutches, Ram Singh brought with him the Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur and five other holy men so that they could counteract the malign influence of the Kamrupa damsels on the body and mind of his soldiers and restore their mental equilibrium by equally potent incantations and amulets.

But here was a land of contrast where diverse races, castes and creeds had met at different levels of civilization in different ages. Here each has brought its own in a common pool behind which lurk traditions of race memories. Even Nature joins in the diversity which is amazing. The first consolidation began in the Brahmapura Valley, the rich alluvial tracts of which attracted newcomers. In Assam the first arrivals were probably the Austrics, whose representatives are the present-day Khasis, Morans and Jaintias. Bihu and Nong-Kreim songs and dances are the relics of an old austic tradition. Added to this, the matrilineal structure of society in the early evolution of the family in a socio-biological group is a great pointer to the women as the dominant partner who ruled and enslaved. Negroids, Kirats and Bodos apparently came subsequently. Some say that Bodos, i.e., the Mongoloids of Tibeto-Burma origin were the founders of Kamrupa. They even go so far as to claim that they were the first to introduce phallic worship which was ultimately absorbed in the Hindu thought and theology. The peculiar idea was, to quote Shri R. M. Nath, that "earth was likened to a woman, she was the mother earth, and the country was also a woman" and it was thought that all the

body processes through which a woman passes has to be identified in the land also. "Ka mei Kha" came to be associated with the centre of reproductivity. Thus sex in its pure sense came to be associated with it.

"Umai Luda" became "Kamai Luda," "Kamallupa" and finally "Kamrupa." Later this race memory helped considerably to absorb a cult of debased Tantrism which developed from the Buddhist Bajrajana, Mantrajana, Sahajajana and other sects and gradually degenerated into a Tantric ritualism in which according to many, orgies came to be more and more prominent.

But this is not the whole story. Kamrupa and Pragjyotisha were known in the days of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata also. We hear the names of Naraka and Bhagadatta, Bana, Usha, Aniruddha, Ulupi, Babhrubahana, Hidimba and Ghototkacha. Kamrupa was the last outpost of Aryan infiltration in the east through Videha or Mithila.

There is a story in Satapatha Brahmana (8th century B.C.) of the carrying of the sacrificial fire from Saraswati towards the east. The name Pragjyotisha was probably derived from this, meaning dawn. Even in historical times the Nidhanpur Copper Plate inscription describes the Kamrupa King Bhaskar Varman, the contemporary of Harsha and Sasanka whose court was visited by Hiuen-tsang, as the revealer of the Aryan religion. Both in legend and history, however, Siva worship was a popular form of religion in the early times. Bana was a Siva worshipper.

According to "Buranjis," Siva worship was introduced by Jalpeswara, a king of Jalpaiguri. Gradually this mixed up with the old 'Aai' 'pujah' or the worship of the mother goddess and came to represent a dual creative principle of male and female interlocked in the symbol of "Linga and Yoni." Old Austric race memories and a matrilineal substructure considerably helped to evolve a new concept. Thus the famous Kamakhya temple in a way enshrined a new assimilative force from an old Austric deity to the highest cosmic sense of evolution as envisaged in the Vedas and the Upanishads, tempered and modi-

fied considerably by a later Tantric infiltration. Around it gradually grew a debased form of ritualism, Buddhistic, animistic as well as Hindu, in which women figured more and more. That is one explanation of how the fair damsels of Kamrupa and neighbouring places, who, by heredity, birth and race memory were free to follow their matrilineal instincts, came to be associated as willing decoys of higher powers, associated with the mother goddess and her yoginis, and acquired a notoriety which sometimes was nothing sort of an absurd exaggeration. Yet there is indisputable evidence that even till the other day we could hear of 'Ratikhoa,' 'Bhogi' and 'Yogini Sadhan' as relics still subsisting. This was the position in the 11th/12th centuries when a mixture of bloody cults, a debased ritualism, tantric esoterism and race memories of free love all combined to give the impression that Kamrupa was a land of mystic lotus-eaters and witches, where Bacchus reigned and Eros ruled under the protection of the goddess Kamakshya. Kamrupa then was supposed to be extending from the river Karotoya in North Bengal to Sadiya and it also bordered Nepal.

Then two things happened in Assam—two specific and dynamic events which changed the whole course of its history. One was the advent of the Ahoms. They were an immigrant race group akin to Shans and Thais. They soon became completely aryanized, took Hindu names and claimed descent from Indra and styled themselves as "Swargadeos" and began a process of absorption and assimilation. The second big event in Assam's history was the preaching of a new doctrine of monotheistic Vaishnavism by Srimant Sankaradeva. He was not merely a religious reformer, a spiritual dreamer, a saint or a sage, but also a poet, a philosopher, a master mind with an active idealism, who had the vision to see ahead of his time. His "Eka Sarana Nama Dharma" was an attempt to revive the pristine glory of the Gita's philosophy, of complete self-surrender to God, who, to Sri Sankaradeva, was above duality. His doctrines were

almost in the nature of an active revolt against ritualistic orgies which he found at Kamrupa at the time.

It has to be admitted that Kamrupa in her later days produced some fine specimens of womanhood whose tales, it is a privilege to remember. One was Sati Jaymati whose name is still being sung in ballads in North Bengal and Kamrupa. She was a princess in her right, but her husband had lost his kingdom and took shelter in the jungles. His last words to her were—Do not worry—I will come back. She waited and waited for the husband who never returned. In the meantime the enemies pressed on her to tell the whereabouts of his absconding husband. She would not open her lips. Torture, temptation, trouble, nothing could shake her. Days passed and sadder and wiser she became but she would not give her husband away. She laid down her own life for her husband's sake. Maharaja Rudra Sinha built a temple and dug a big lake in her memory at Rungpur known as 'Jaideul' and 'Jaisagar.'

Another lady of such piety was queen Kamala or Kamal Kumari. Famine and drought had taken grip of the land. Hungry people were shouting at the door-steps of the King's palace. He had ordered excavation of a big pond, but there was no subsoil water. The queen was perturbed and prayed. In the night a message came in the shape of a dream to the King. He must sacrifice his best i.e., the thing or person he most loved. In the morning, the cries of thirsty men, women and children pierced their ears. The queen asked if anything could not be done. The King told her of his dream. Her mind was at once made up. Yes, she was the best loved of the King and told the King of her resolve. She could not conceive of a greater good fortune—That this frail body of hers could be of some service to humanity. It was a blessing which she never expected. Please do not stop me—She said and went into the place of excavation where the hungry men and women were trying to dig a pond out of what seemed to be a barren waterless tract. She went into the

pond and lo water gushed through and engulfed her as if another Sita entered the netherworld.

Yet another Kamrupa lady and definitely historical personage was Ma Fuleswari or Bara Kuari or Pramatheswari Devi. Her story is just of a period little over two hundred years ago. King Rudra Sinha was a powerful monarch. He was contemporary of Murshid Kuli Khan. He wanted to introduce Sakti cult in Assam because he thought that without 'Sakti' the kingdom or king could flourish. He sent a messenger to Nabadwip to get a sakti preceptor. Krishnaram Nyayabagish agreed to come and he came, but the king was disappointed at seeing a lean man. How could such a frail man inculcate the doctrine of 'Sakti' in his people? He was sent back. But at his death-bed he asked his son Siva Sinha to get him back again. The Siva Sinha had in the meantime fallen in love with a girl called 'Phul.' She was of an humble origin. Her beauty and grace attracted the attention of the young prince while he was one day out on a tour. Gradually she was admitted into the harem and became a second-grade queen. She was such a level-headed and judiciously-balanced woman that soon she became the real power behind the throne. The King used to spend most of the time with his guru the Agambagish, engrossed in Tantric rites. The management of the State gradually passed into the hands of the peasant Kamrupa girl. The King formally surrendered his powers to her, because it was seen by a reference to the horoscope by astrologers that the King was so likely to lose his 'royal umbrella.' The advice was to create a legal fiction and hand over that insignia voluntarily to someone who could carry not only as the King's deputy, but in her own right. Ma Fuleswari was invested with that power and she took the name of 'Pramatheswari' and carried on the administration. She became almost an Assamese Nurjahan as even coins were struck in her name jointly with the King. She was a patron of art and literature and we find appreciative reference to her in the writings of Kav

raja Chakravarti and Ananta Acharya. We have remarkable paintings also of this period—One of 'Durga Pujah' is the most famous.

This lady died early. King Siva Sinha married afterwards another lady called 'Madambika' and after her 'Sarbeswari.' Both these ladies also took part in the administration. In a quotation from a

letter of Charles Rose to Lord Cornwallis we read—"The Assamese were a most war-like nation and had for a length of time successfully resisted all foreign invaders. Even Aurangzeb had failed. They never prospered more than when governed by females as was the case in the earlier part of the nineteenth century."

MOBILISATION OF RESOURCES FOR THE THIRD PLAN

BY PROF. A. K. PODDAR, M.A.

The economic realities of the last two years which manifested themselves in the form of acute inflation and balance of payments disequilibrium have made it abundantly clear that the scope for using deficit financing as an instrument of financing economic development is highly limited in India. At the same time it has become more than evident that foreign capital cannot be relied upon to fill the gap between the actual needs of planned development and the meagre domestic resources to any great extent. This means that if the pace of development is not to be toned down, larger and more serious efforts have to be made to mobilise India's domestic resources.

The problem of resources will acquire, it seems certain, challenging dimensions during the Third Plan period. During the Third Plan period, not only the tempo of economic development initiated by the First and Second Plans has to be consistently maintained, but a sizeable amount has to be provided for towards the repayment of the foreign debt obligations. The aggregate investment outlay of the Third Plan has been tentatively put by the Planning Commission at Rs. 10,000 crores i.e. more than double the investment outlay of the Second Plan. This will raise a formidable problem of resources and needs a careful consideration of fresh ways

and means of realising resources of the envisaged order.

Tax Evasion

It is the general consensus of opinion that there is not much scope for the imposition of any new major taxes. But it is paradoxical to find the direct tax revenue at the "near-stagnation level" (Rs. 220 crores in 1958-59 as compared to Rs. 188 crores in 1951-52) despite heavy investment expenditure, inflation and the introduction of a series of new taxes. This is to be explained, as has been borne out by the recent findings of the Direct Tax Administration Committee, by tax evasion on a substantial scale. From this point of view, the plugging of flaws and loopholes in the tax structure by appropriate legislations and strengthening the administration of tax collection are of primary significance.

Rural Taxation

The proposal to impose fresh taxes upon the rural sector has been opposed recently in certain quarters on the ground that the tax system will weigh heavily upon the rural sector and this will encourage a movement of the population from rural to the urban areas. This apprehen-

sion is hardly justified. The rural sector, (ture) is spent on religious and social which accounts for over 60 per cent of the ceremonies.

total national output, contributes less than 40 per cent of the total tax revenue according to the Taxation Enquiry Commission (1953-54). In recent times the co-operative movement and land reforms (particularly the scaling down of rents all round) have given rise to a well-to-do class of peasants. There has also been, it is believed, as a consequence of the community development projects, a shift of income in favour of the rural sector. It is desirable, therefore, that some new taxes like tax on agricultural rent, the incidence of which falls on the receiver should be imposed. The net of the capital gains tax should also be so widened as to cover the capital gains arising out of speculations in land.

There is not only scope for increasing the share of the rural sector to the total tax revenue, but also for making the tax system more progressive in this sector. According to the findings of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, those in the expenditure group Rs. 1-50 per month in the rural sector, pay about 2.2 per cent of their total expenditure as indirect taxes; but those in the groups Rs. 101 to Rs. 150 and Rs. 151 to Rs. 300 per month pay only .5 and .6 per cent more respectively than this lowest group.

With further development of agriculture and greater monetisation of the rural economy this will become an important source of tax revenue.

Rural Savings

The major part of resources for the Third Plan would, however, have to come from small savings and it is particularly important to mobilise the rural savings. It is a truism to suggest that rural savings are small because rural incomes are low. But there is a big chunk of "savings potential" which can be mobilised by designing appropriate institutions, propaganda and financial incentives. A large part of the rural income (estimated to be 10-12 per cent of the household expendi-

The reason why the villagers waste their savings in this way lies partly in their peculiarly fatalist attitude towards life and the security provided by the joint family system. But the reason is also to be found in the lack of savings facilities. It has been the experience of Japan that the peasants can and do save if the facilities for saving are pushed right under their nose.

The institution through which the rural savings can be mobilised are local post offices, local co-operatives, small-scale industries, and mobile savings banks. In designing the rural savings scheme the following considerations should be borne in mind.

1. Security for the hard-earned money would be the first consideration in the mind of the rural population. The scheme should therefore, bare the guarantee of the government.

2. As individual savings are likely to be small, the bonds should be graded in very small denominations.

3. Liquidity is particularly valued by the villagers and that is why they purchase land or gold whenever they have spare money. The bonds should therefore be liquid and marketable.

4. It is difficult to provide any further financial incentives in the rural sector as the rates of interest prevalent there are already very high. It may be suggested, however, that the existing rate should be scaled down by legislations and the Government bonds should carry a relatively high rate of interest.

The extension of savings facilities would be of little value if it is not accompanied by a widespread savings campaign. By propaganda and publicity, the horizon of life of the rural population has to be widened so as to stimulate in them the desire for independence and future improvement of the standard of living.

At the same time, the small savings movement should be intensified in the urban sector by popularising National

Savings Certificates, Post Office Savings, Treasury Savings Deposits, State Borrowing Schemes, Government Prize Bonds, Life Insurance and Provident Fund Schemes.

State Trading

In order to increase government savings, the sphere of State Trading should be progressively widened and the profits otherwise going into the pockets of thousands of small traders and middlemen should be captured by the government and should be invested in the public enterprise. The price policy of the public sector should also be so designed as to generate large profits which should be reinvested. The public enterprise can provide a sizeable amount for capital formation if it is properly organised and administered; China and Soviet Russia are cases in point. In China and Soviet Russia, profits of the public enterprise constitute the major source of saving.

Gold Hoards

The proposal to mobilise the gold hoards of the country deserve more serious consideration than it has so far received. According to the Reserve Bank of India, the total private stocks of gold in the country would be around 1.5 million ounces or Rs. 1750 crores in value. This gold is held in small quantities by thousands of

people in varying forms ranging from gold bar to ornaments and dinner sets.

The hope to mobilise these gold hoards by "a gold certificate scheme" as some have suggested is, however, futile. No amount of financial incentive or public appeal can remove the age-old habit of the Indians to store wealth in "yellow metal." It is desirable that a legislation of the kind prevalent in the USA which prohibits private ownership of gold above a certain quantity (that too in the form of ornaments of certain specifications) should be enforced. This would indeed mean State Trading in gold. If State Trading in food-grains is desirable, it is much more desirable in gold.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that in a backward community resources need not necessarily be in terms of money, they may also be in the form of idle manpower and unexploited technical opportunities. From this point of view, it is important to intensify the community development movement in the villages and to popularise the idea of 'Shramdan' among the educated masses.

To conclude, the problem of resources, it appears, is likely to remain in the economic horizon of the country as a challenging problem for quite sometime to come. Fundamentally, it is a problem of organisation and enterprise. It demands mobilisation and consolidation of organisational skill, leadership, technical ingenuity and co-operative enterprise of our countrymen.



LABORATORY-INDUCED NEUROSES

BY G. P. CHATTERJEE, M.A.

PECULIAR habits of great men easily attract attention and find place in writings about them. For example one who has read about Dr. Johnson would never forget that he had the habit of touching every lamp-post in the street whenever, he went out for a walk. Those who are not great men also may show evidences of such habits. These habits arouse momentary amusement to those who happen to observe their commission. One day while I was waiting for the bus near College Square, I saw a person counting each and every rod of the fence round the square. The peculiarity of habit is exactly like that of Dr. Johnson. Such behaviour readily catches our eyes simply because it is not generally seen. In a word it is abnormal.

Hence, the question is: What type of behaviour is to be stamped as abnormal in contrast with normal behaviour? The word normal is, however, used in different senses. In medicine, it is used to indicate the absence of physical pathological condition. But in Psychology, it is used in the sense of the average. When it is said that a man is normal in height, it means one whose height approximates to the statistical average. Normality thus is judged against its background. A Nepali, who is considered as of average height amongst the Nepalese, is regarded as abnormally short when he is in the midst of the Punjabis. This is true of physical features, qualities, behaviour, etc.

Abnormalities of behaviour may take various forms. One of the major varieties of abnormal behaviour is neurotic behaviour. Neuroses may be defined as inability to cope with the reality. It is the experience of the Psychologists that neurotic behaviour is due to unresolved conflicts in the human mind. Investigations in controlled circumstances have been made to see the effect of conflicts on animals with a particular emphasis on the appearance of abnormal behaviour.

Pavlov, the renowned physiologist, was first to produce neuroses in laboratory. He carried his experiments on a dog. The dog was repeatedly shown a luminous circle, immediately following which it was always fed. The dog be-

came conditioned to salivate at the sight of the circle. Then it was shown a luminous ellipse after which no food was given. The dog soon mastered the required discrimination learning to salivate whenever it saw the circle and not to salivate when the ellipse appeared. Then the second stimulus, i.e., the ellipse was made more and more similar to the circle. Eventually the difference between the first set of stimuli and that of the second became less and less. At one point of time the animal could not distinguish between the two, unable to react either to the circle or to the ellipse. Finally, the dog began to struggle, bark and bite. Even when it is taken out of the situation it reacted in the same way. Pavlov explained this by saying that the two processes, one of excitation and the other of inhibition, are occurring at the same time.

Anderson following the path of Pavlov made experiments on sheep. He also arrived at similar findings but noted some peculiar facts. He noted that the behaviour disturbance varies greatly in different sheep, some became too quiet, some restless and anxious.

Many Psychologists raised serious objections with regard to the application of these findings to human beings. They advocated that the conflict which has produced the neuroses is of a very simple type, it is a conflict between two simple responses, salivation and indifference. In case of human beings, the circumstances are so complex that there is hardly any similarity with the above-mentioned situation. Moreover, the animals under experiment usually were placed in very confining situations (animals were kept in chain) as a result of which their movements were greatly limited.

Messerman conducted experiments on cat-keeping his eyes open over the errors committed by his predecessors. He performed experiments in a situation which closely resemble the conditions productive of human neuroses in the following way:

Conflict is produced between two strong motives, i.e., between fear and hunger.

Secondly, conflict is based on factors other than inability to respond.

He used a box the side-walls of which were of glass, and its floor was an iron grid. In the middle of the floor, there was an escape platform. There were many other arrangements, such as arrangement for food, etc. The cats were conditioned to feeding response. After they learned to secure food in response to the feeding signals, they were subjected to a grid shock, air blast, or both at the moment of feeding. In almost every cat, one or two experience or experiences of this type were enough to produce some sort of neurotic behaviour. The symptoms shown by different animals varied differently, some showed changes in spontaneous activity, some other chronic anxiety, some phobic responses.

Thus in a conflict-producing situation, behaviour becomes abnormal. Messerman saw that there are some factors which accentuates neurotic behaviour in the cats. These are increase in hunger and restriction to a small space in the cage. This is obvious, because these two factors augmented stress and strain to which the animals were subjected.

Messerman was not satisfied to see the nature of situation that produces neuroses, he wanted to know how the neuroses of these neurotic cats can be cured, he conducted experiments and found that the following are very effective in alleviating neuroses:

(1) *Rest*: Prolonged rest, i.e., if the cats were taken out of cage for a long time and it resulted in some alleviation of the neurotic behaviour, cats became less afraid, and sometimes ate a little in the cage.

(2) *Reduction in hunger drive*: If the cat was fed just before being placed in the cage, it showed diminished abnormality of behaviour. The explanation lies in the fact that reduction of one of the antagonistic motives lessened the conflict.

(4) It has been found that the method of reassurance and persuasion is effective in eliminating the abnormality of behaviour. Cats when gently patted began to eat.

(4) Another method was that of the forced situation. The intensity of the cat's desire for food was increased to such an extent that the food-getting reactions came definitely

to prevail over the fear behaviour. The basis of it lies in the fact that the conflict will be intense when both the parties are of equal strength. The weaker will obviously be overpowered by the stronger.

(5) Another method is social example, that is seeing the normal feeding behaviour of non-neurotic cage mates, many neurotic cats began to take food.

(6) Messerman saw that a partial control of the situation by cats leads to decrease in abnormality of behaviour. This is due to the fact that this increases their self-confidence and with more self-confidence, they can easily resolve conflicts.

Many psychologists have conducted fascinating experiments on this line. It is not possible to include their findings in this article. The clinical experience of the Psychologists is that external frustration alone does not commonly produce 'mental' disorders; the human beings do not usually break down merely because external (environmental) obstacles block them from obtaining money, prestige, sexual satisfaction, etc., which they desire and that the goal-seeking behaviour must be blocked through internal sources, typically by some sort of internal conflicts. Thus if a young man's proposal of marriage meets with rejection, which is here the external obstacle, although he may be deeply affected, he does not develop neuroses but if his sexual desires are frustrated by an internal struggle between such desires and fear of the opposite sex, a break-down frequently results. Messerman's experiment is a successful one, because he produced internal conflicts in the cats, while Pavlov and Anderson in their experiments created external obstacles that were faced by their subjects. Among the methods suggested by Messerman for alleviating abnormality of behaviour, it has been found that in case of human beings the partial control of the situation is most effective. The subject in order to have control over the situation must understand the situation thoroughly. The method of partial control gives insight to the subject. This increases self-confidence. The subject not only resolves the conflict present before him but in future he can also use this technique in doing so.



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE STORY OF THE CULTURAL EMPIRE OF INDIA: By P. Thomas, Joseph Thomasons & Co. Ernakulam. Pp. 337. Rs. 11-50 nP.

The aim of this work as the author modestly informs us in his Preface, is to produce "a handbook for the layman" interested in the subject which is necessarily treated in "its bare outline" with the emphasis laid on "those developments that had an international appeal." The monograph accordingly divides itself into two parts, one called "Development of Indian Culture," and the other bearing the title "Indian Cultural Expansion." The first part covers the period from the earliest times down to the epoch of the Muslim conquest which practically stopped the cultural expansion of India. The second part deals with the spread of Indian influences to all the countries of South-East Asia and East Asia. The author condenses a large mass of valuable information written in an attractive style with remarkable sympathy and understanding. The work as such amply fulfils his aim of writing "a story intended to evoke interest rather than a sound work on history" (Preface). It is, however, the reviewer's painful duty to notice in this work a number of defects and shortcomings which, it is hoped, will be corrected in a new edition. Among mis-spellings of proper names may be mentioned "Mohan-jō-daro" (p. 7 and throughout the work), "Kapilavasthu" (p. 46), "Sarvakayana" (p. 116), "Garbha Graha" (p. 123), "Pradikshana Pathas" (p. 124), "Mricchakatida" (p. 146),

"Samstanaka" (p. 173), "Khudda Nikaya" and "Athakatha" (p. 175), "Prajnaparimita" (p. 177), "Mohammad Ghazni" (p. 197). Instances of repetition of outworn views are the Sudra origin of Chandragupta with the probable peacock-totem of his tribe (p. 75), the Indo-Parthian origin of the Pallavas who settled down in the Punjab and were afterwards driven to the south (p. 95), the story of the discovery of the monsoons by the Egyptian Hippaulus (sic) (p. 93). Among errors of fact may be mentioned the extent of Chandragupta Maurva's empire "from Kashmir to Mysore" (p. 78), the dates of "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" and of Ptolemy (pp. 99-100), the identification of "Udayana" (sic) with Afghanistan (p. 197) and of "Sonaparanta" with "Suvarnabhumi" which itself is identified with Burma (p. 259). On p. 167 the contents of "the Smritis proper" are said to be "the two epics, the 'Puranas,' the 'Tantras,' the 'Dharma Shastras,' the 'Smartha Sutras' (sic), the 'Vedangas' and the 'Niti Shastras' . . ." In the same context "Uddisa" and "Mantramahabodhi" are mentioned in a list of works on "Tantra," and the "Smartha Sutras" are said "generally to lay down rules for performance of domestic ceremonies, funeral rites, etc." The map of Indian cultural expansion by the end of the 8th century A.D. shows no details, while it mentions place-names with wrong transliterations, viz., "Udayana" and "Ramandesa." The bibliography omits a number of works of specialists while including some books of a general character. The Index is fairly complete.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LOKAYATA (A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism): By Debi Prosad Chattopadhyaya. Published by the People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price Rs. 27.50.

Indian philosophy is popularly believed to be as old as the Himalayas. It has many facets. Values pertaining to different categories emerged simultaneously and one claimed suzerainty over the rest in turn. Systems owing their allegiance to the Vedas moved in one direction while systems not owing such allegiance moved to another direction. Indians in an attitude of abject surrender to the Vedas and the idealistic view of life placed idealistic values above everything and wrecked all their material future in quest of an utopia hallowed by a value-pattern taking its roots in this idealistic philosophy. Eudemonistic philosophy, Altruistic ethics, the philosophy of renunciation and give away had the biggest following on the Indian soil. The poignant Upanisadic utterance 'Ten takten bhunjitha' was the beacon-light to many a moksha-loving soul. But that was not the last word on Indian wisdom. Epicureanism was not unknown to us. Materialism was not foreign to our thinking. We enunciated principles which stood for a thorough-going materialist's paradise where one could say that for butter for your bread you may beg, borrow or steal. Specially in a world as we find it to-day materialism stands in a good stead. After Karl Marx materialism has acquired a world-wide recognition and a new meaning. In this background the older Indian materialistic philosophy calls for our attention.

In the work under review Prof. Chattopadhyaya places before the interested readers a logically connected and well-documented study of the materialistic philosophy propounded by a school of thought noted for their outspokenness and unconventionality. Against the background of passionate idealism of the Upanishads and Brahmanas, our ancient materialistic philosophy is in striking contrast. Prof. Chattopadhyaya has dug in the hearts of forgotten centuries and resuscitated and brought back to life a trend of thinking, considered foreign to our culture by the orthodox pundits. In the book under review he has constructed a rational and intelligible account of our ancient philosophy of this worldiness or materialism as propounded by a particular school of

thought. The author claims that the beginning of a primitive proto-materialist view reflecting the consciousness of a pre-class society can be traced to a primordial complex of ritual practices and theories dating back to pre-Buddhist and pre-Upanisadic times. This theory might seem extravagant to many. But a careful and patient study will make one convinced that Prof. Chattopadhyaya's thesis has been ably and admirably reared up. It is well-documented and the polemics seem to be irrefutable. The ancient social facts as analysed by him corroborate his theory. But, we are sure, the claims put forward by Prof. Chattopadhyaya will spark off controversies and once it is done the book will serve its purpose. Because the place of materialism in the context of ancient Indian philosophy would then be refixed and the value of ancient Indian materialism reassessed. However, this volume does not present an exhaustive study of all the materialistic trends in ancient Indian philosophy. For example, no discussion has been incorporated of the atomism of the Vaishesikas and such other systems. Of course, this is evident from the very title of the book. Only the Lokayata philosophy has been singled out for the purpose of the book. The Lokayata texts are all lost and they are beyond redemption. That made Prof. Chattopadhyaya's task all the more difficult. He has taken much pains to present a connected account of the philosophy of the Lokayatikas, as he has been able to reconstruct such a system from the writings of the opponents of the Lokayata, who refuted and ridiculed the Lokayata philosophy. The author sets himself to a task which looks urgent in the present context and overwhelming by its very nature.

The volume contains eight chapters running to a length of nearly seven hundred pages. This big length is not a wasteful run and I must confess that when I finished the book and left it on the rack where it was a couple of months back I thought myself a better-equipped man so far as philosophical knowledge was concerned. The book is nicely got up and it seems that all care has been taken to ensure its decent production. The publishers deserve a word of praise for this big enterprise. We recommend this book to all lovers of philosophy, both idealistic and materialistic.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

ESSENTIAL NOTES AND DOCUMENTS ON KASHMIR DISPUTE: By P. L. Lakhanpal (International Publications, New Delhi)—Price Rs. 15/-.

Jammu and Kashmir with an area of 84,471 square miles and a population of about 4,700,000 is one of the principal bones of contention between India and Pakistan. Pakistan contends that as the majority of the people of Jammu and Kashmir are Muslims, it should form a part of Pakistan. India, on the other hand, contends that Kashmir has, of its own free will, acceded to India and the accession stands. She is, moreover, no believer in the Muslim League's two-nation theory.

On the transfer of power to the Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 14-15, 1947, the nearly 600 Princedom of India became sovereign states. They might or might not accede to either of the Dominions. The decision was to be taken by the ruling chiefs. Almost all the ruling chiefs decided on accession either to India or to Pakistan, the Nizam of Hyderabad in the South and the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in the North being the only two exceptions. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir at first played the dangerous game of sitting on the fence, which brought about his own undoing and terrible sufferings for his people. Kashmir was invaded by tribal hordes from across Pakistan. The raiders were actively aided by the Government of Pakistan. The Maharaja came to his senses and acceded to India, the accession being accepted by the Government of India on October 27, 1947. The Indian army was rushed to the rescue of Kashmir. The Pakistan inspired tide of invasion was halted. The Government of India accused Pakistan of aggression against Indian territory and referred the matter to the Security Council of the United Nations (January 1, 1948). The Government of Pakistan replied by a counter-complaint against India to the same august assembly (January 15, 1948). The Security Council resolution of April 21, 1948, created the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. The Commission's proposal for cease-fire (August 13, 1948) pending final solution was accepted by both India

and Pakistan. The subsequent history of the dispute is too well-known to need a narration.

Mr. Lakhanpal's treatise is a very well-documented study of the Kashmir problem. He has laboriously compiled all important document relating to Kashmir from the creation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir by the treaty of Amritsar (1846). He has added notes where necessary and has given a bird's-eye view of the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the formation of the so-called First and Kashmir Government (October 3, 1947), which was soon replaced by a new and Kashmir Government (Oct. 24, 1947).

Students of current affairs will be benefitted by a perusal of the volume.

Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji.

SINDHI SHORT STORIES: Translated by Hashoo Kewal Ramani. Hasmat Publications. New Delhi. 1958. Pp. 78. Rs. 2.50/P.

This collection of short stories by twelve modern Sindhi writers from India and Pakistan is a welcome addition to this continent's post-war literary endeavours. Selected and translated with care, the stories reveal interesting trends and nuances of the modern Sindhi writer's mind. It is to be hoped that with so many competent and enthusiastic young writers at work, the Sindhi short story will soon gain its merited place in post-war Indian literature.

Ramesh Ghosh

BENGALI

SISIR-BINDU: By Samir Kumar Chatterjee. Distributors: Sadharan Publishers, 6, Bechoon Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

Poems rich in thought-content as well as in expression. Like the sunlit dew-drops of the morning they reflect the varying colours of the Playful Infinite. A careful reader will particularly like the profundity of note attended with sobriety and restraint.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

HAMARE YUG KA ITIHAS: Published by Gayaprasad & Sons, Agra. 1958. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 5.

This purports to be a translation of the well-known book **History of our Time** by Dr. G. P. Gooch, relating to the years 1885-1914. Our times have changed, and changed very considerably during 1914-54. Two world wars and nuclear weapons and much quicker means of transport, and also rockets for the Moon and revolutionary, political and economic theories and practices—still there is no questioning the need of understanding the streams of life and analysing them as far as possible to grasp them, and Gooch's book is a suitable preparation. The translation is good, and when the medium of instruction in our colleges is undergoing a change, it should prove useful.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

(1) **JADABHARAT:** By Vamanrao P. Patel. Pp. 50. Price 5 annas.

(2) **MANUSHYA DHARMA:** By —Do — Pp. 240. Price Rs. 2.

(3) **BALAKONI** (Ritbhat): By Somabhai Bhavsar. Pp. 30. Price 3 annas.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Thick card-board.

Our country, Bharat, takes its name from King Bharat, whose various vicissitudes in life are described here in difficult prose and easy verse. He had become indifferent to life's difficulties and worldly matters. In four sections, the writer tells men what their duties (Dharma) are towards self and others in the words of the Shruti, the Smritis, the Puranas, Saints and lastly Gandhiji. Children are given, in the third book, lessons on correct behaviour, e.g., if by chance, one child gets knocked against another, he is advised to say, "My Mistake, Please Excuse." He is advised not to steal, nor to tell untruths, &c.

K. M. J.

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Indian Periodicals

Thomas Babington Macaulay

October 25, 1800—December 28, 1859

Lord Macaulay was a great influence, along more than one channel, upon the India of two generations ago, besides being a force in English life and literature. Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar writes in "The Aryan Path":

The "Eminent Victorians" were as a rule a race of long-lived men and women: Browning, Carlyle, Gladstone, Newman, Ruskin, Tennyson, Florence Nightingale. But there were exceptions. For example, Macaulay, as "eminent" and as "Victorian" as any of them, died on December 28th, 1859, soon after beginning the sixtieth year of his life. No inheritor of unfulfilled renown, surely; yet for a man of such great vitality, so abundantly gifted with the zest for life, his death was the only commonplace thing about his extraordinary career. "Commonplace" because it happens to all, and Macaulay proved no exception; but there was nothing commonplace about the way he met it. Nine days earlier he had recorded: "I feel as if I were twenty years older . . . as if I were dying of old age. I am perfectly ready, and shall never be readier." His last significant act was to dictate and sign a letter to a poor curate, with a gift of £25. The same evening Macaulay was dead. For sixty years he had worked the instrument of his body with an unwearying sense of dedication to high and worthy causes: of scholarship and letters; of Whig politics and Indian administration; of freedom within a framework of order; of education for enlightenment and citizenship; of sanity and purity in public and private life. At fifty he could write: "Well, I have had a happy life. I do not know that anybody, whom I have seen close, has had a happier." But the instrument was worn down at last, as the most efficient must be, and he died, as he had lived, upright and austere, clear-headed and articulate till the end.

His father, Zachary Macaulay the philanthropist, had been an enthusiastic campaigner against slavery, and had thereby almost ruined himself financially. This

was Thomas Babington Macaulay's school of idealism and austerity; it tested and tempered the fibre of his character, and settled him on the high and dignified course of his life. Although he never married himself, he willingly bore the burden of sustaining the family in its difficult days, and till the last he lent his protecting hand to his sisters and their families, and drew them into the unsullied, unselfish world of his love. His formal writings and speeches revealed only one side of the man, the "eminent Victorian." But the Victorian was also a man, and public eminence did not exclude private benefactions, the pieties appropriate to the son, or brotherly or avuncular tenderness or solicitude. Something of all this can be seen in Macaulay's Letters and Diaries, and in the testimonies of his near relations and close associates.

Tom Macaulay was a precocious child. He read with avidity, he wrote with fluency; he instructed himself, and was ready—even as a boy—to instruct others. In short, he took himself very seriously indeed. Entering Trinity College in 1818, he speedily distinguished himself there, won the Chancellor's Medal for Poetry, and was duly elected Fellow. In August 1825 his essay on Milton appeared in the "Edinburgh Review." "The effect on the author's reputation was instantaneous," writes his nephew and biographer, Sir Otto Trevelyan; "Like Lord Byron, he awoke one morning and found himself famous." To the discipline of letters he presently added the discipline of law, but soon a lucky turn in his life—the friendly interest of Lord Lansdowne—led him to politics. He entered Parliament in 1830, made notable contributions to the debates on Parliamentary Reform, and after the Reform Bill of 1832 became law he entered Government as Commissioner (and later Secretary) of the Board of Control. Being now offered the lucrative post of Member of the Supreme Council for India, he reached Madras on June 10th, 1834, and after a trip to Ootacamund to meet Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, he travelled to Calcutta and set up house with his sister, Hannah. To Macaulay

India meant financial independence for life; but it opened also a field for the full play of his talents. "I can scarcely conceive a nobler field than that which our Indian Empire now presents to a statesman," he wrote to Lord Lansdowne, and added: "I am afraid that I am aspiring too high for my qualifications. I sometimes feel . . . depressed and appalled by the immense responsibility which I have undertaken."

Macaulay was in India for less than four years, but these were a period of intense activity. Appointed President of the Committee of Public Instruction, he found that opinion was sharply and equally divided between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. He threw his weight unhesitatingly on the side of the latter, submitted his celebrated Minute to the Governor-General, and as good as gave an ultimatum. If the final decision was in favour of English, he would "enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity," if, on the contrary, the decision was in favour of Arabic and Sanskrit, he would "retire from the chair of the Committee." On March 7th, 1835, Government decided that the available funds should be expended on English education alone with a view to the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India. The die was cast; a new era in India's cultural and political history had begun.

Macaulay's Minute makes interesting reading even today. His conclusions were right enough, and his main reasoning was unexceptionable. In the speech he delivered in Parliament in July 1833, Macaulay had covered the whole ground of Indian administration, and had declared:

"It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill governed and subject to us . . . It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day

will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it."

It was this faith and this hope that inspired the Minute, and in fact all his activities in India. English education, he felt convinced, would train a class of enlightened citizens and able administrators; and the selected beneficiaries of this education would themselves refine and enrich the "vernacular dialects" of the country and make these "by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." Besides, far-sighted Indians were already clamouring for English education, and not a few had demonstrated their capacity "to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language." Where Macaulay erred was in falling foul of Sanskrit in his zeal for English. He knew nothing of Arabic or Sanskrit, or knew only by hearsay. Yet he would asseverate and dogmatize, and break the imaginary butterfly on the Juggernaut wheel of his rhetoric. A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia! Sanskrit and Arabic literature, forsooth! Was it anything more than false History, false Astronomy, false Medicine, "and" false Religion? Macaulay was wrong, egregiously wrong, and he did not even suspect that he might possibly be wrong. Posterity, however, can readily forgive him his trespasses, because, after all, he meant well, and strove valiantly to do the right thing in the given circumstances.

Not less important than the gift of English education to the people of India was the gift of the Criminal Code. Again, in his 1833 speech in Parliament, Macaulay had affirmed:

"As I believe that India stands more in need of a code than any other country in the world, I believe also that there is no country on which that great benefit can more easily be conferred. A code is almost the only blessing, perhaps it is the only blessing, which absolute governments are better fitted to confer on a nation than popular governments . . . A quiet knot of two or three veteran jurists is an infinitely better machinery for such a purpose than a large popular assembly divided, as such assemblies almost always are, into adverse factions. This seems to me, therefore, to be precisely that point of time at which the

advantage of a complete written code of laws may most easily be conferred on India.

As Legal Member of the Council in India, Macaulay drafted the Criminal Code himself, with singular efficiency and despatch. It was largely derived from the British law, though shorn of much of its extravagance and ambiguity, and in essentials Macaulay's Code is also the Criminal Code of the present day. Although superlative clarity may sometimes be deemed a blemish in imaginative literature, in a Criminal Code it can only be a virtue beyond all praise. If only the draftsmen of our time could emulate Macaulay, how much wearisome litigation might not be avoided."

Returning to England in 1838, Macaulay started work on his "History of England from the Accession of James II." He had impressive qualifications for the task: he had read extensively and gathered with assiduity the materials for his "History"; he had in some measure the gift of historical imagination, the willingness to be possessed by the visions and vistas of the Past; and he had evolved a telling and apparently effortless narrative style. But politics diverted his energies more than once from the main direction of historical labours. He became Secretary for War; he became Paymaster-General. He was in and out of Parliament; he was in and out of office. At last, in 1848, the first two volumes of the "History" came out. Three thousand copies were sold in ten days. He was not merely a literary celebrity; he was also a prosperous man. He was elected Rector of Glasgow University. He was offered the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge. He continued to visit the British Museum and take notes for the subsequent volumes of the "History". Two more of these appeared in 1855, and he felt gratified that the "History" sold better in the United States than almost any other book except the Bible. In the meantime, his "Lays of Ancient Rome" had appeared in 1842, his collected "Critical and Historical Essays" in 1843, and his "Speeches" in 1854. In 1857, Queen Victoria created him Baron Macaulay of Rothley. It was the apotheosis of his career.

Although the "History" was the major preoccupation of the last twenty years of his life, his political affiliations—even when he was not actually in office—were neither

inexacting nor ineffective. He made decisive, if occasional, contributions to Parliamentary debates; he made two classic speeches on the Copyright Law; and once, in 1853, he purposively intervened while the India Bill was being discussed. And always, whenever he rose to speak, it was, says Gladstone, "a summons like a trumpet-call to fill the benches." Macaulay was the great orator, speaking not for the sake of speaking, but being as it were driven by his high sense of responsibility and sustained by the authority that flowed from his immense knowledge and giant self-confidence. His prose style was his particular and peculiar fortune, and the style was the man. His "Essays" and even his "History" are defiantly oratorical, and his speeches—being always carefully fashioned with a sedulous elaboration and finish—were ever in his best essayist's manner. He was a lot of a piece: the man and his style, the writings and the speeches, the man of affairs and the man of letters—they were all of a piece. His great strength was also his principal weakness, but then his weakness was no denial of his strength. We have to take him all in all, strength and weakness together.

As a historian Macaulay was no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Clarendon or Gibbon; but even to be Macaulay was no mean achievement. There is here weight and amplitude; a vivid pictorial imagination is here surely at work; and reel after reel unrolls the pageantry of the past, and the reader is held in a trance of fascination. Clarendon often speaks from personal knowledge; he coins his own experiences, his own hopes, sufferings, vacillations, exultations; it is "his" dear King that is the tragic hero of the "History of the Rebellion." Gibbon's Rome was a distant Himalayas, he was charmed by the crowded canvas, the clash of men, the march of affairs, though he was not personally involved in Rome and her politics. But Macaulay was at once too far and too near his historical theme. He was a Whig, and William III was his idol; yet he could see his hero and the events of 1688 only through the spectacles of other men's memories. He had neither Clarendon's intimacy nor Gibbon's detachment, neither the marvellous intuitions of the one nor the perspicacious and shining intellect of the other "Philistine": so Francis Thompson and Lytton Strachey called Macaulay. But as artist also, in his own right; and "elevated

to the Pantheon of literature by virtue of a quite supra-Philistine power."

Both as a historian and as a biographer, it was Macaulay's business to tell stories. And he was a vivid, even the supremely vivid, story-teller. The episode of the Seven Bishops; the Siege of Londonderry; the Massacre at Glencoe; the trial of Warren Hastings—these are packed with drama. Characters tend to pair off like duellists: Hastings and Francis, Newcastle and the elder Pitt, or Fox and the Younger. There is high tragedy, there is tantalizing pusillanimity, there is Plautine comedy; there is exhortation, there is thrilling eulogy, there is acid derogation. The reconstructions of bygone scenes in Parliament are magnificent, but the battles are somehow less than battles. Nevertheless one must read on and on, and one is not fatigued, and one is not disappointed. Macaulay's portraits, although they lack the final incandescent glow of life, are striking none the less; as pictures, if not also as life-likenesses, they are certainly recognizable and unforgettable. Whatever the real and the whole truth about them, to the vast majority, at any rate, Clive and Hastings, Chatham and Pitt, are what Macaulay has made of them.

Macaulay was so "cocksure" about the many things on life's macadamized road because he was content to ignore what lay off the thoroughfare—the bylanes, the moors, the marshes, the desert sands, the still deeps, the far heights. There are imponderables in life—the intimations and perturbations of the spirit, the insurrections in the heart and the obscure infinities of the soul. As a critic of poetry, Macaulay was conventional, and poetry seldom seems to have truly transported him; as a critic of life and letters, he suffered from imperfect sympathies and frozen susceptibilities, much as Dr. Johnson did; he was stone-deaf and blind to beauty other than the pedestrian; and he was prone to be loud and aggressive, rather than friendly and familiar. Strachey says that as Macaulay had not experienced the intense physical emotion and exhilaration of sexual love, his sentences "have no warmth and no curves; the embracing fluidity of love is lacking." He thus talks and writes straight on: the horses gallop at a regulated speed, the hoofs fall like hammer strokes, the carriage of the narrative or argument heaves forward with precipit-

ancy. The repetitions and the balance; the intrepid piston-movement with "which" or "of" or "when" or "while" or "without" or "less" or "above" or "leaving" for the start; the pat simile, the neat generalization; the ringing ding-dong; the epic catalogue, the adroit recapitulation; the disproportionate elaboration, the wild exaggeration: these many tricks of the Macaulayan style are familiar enough. In Macaulay's hands the tricks generally turn to overwhelming art, though they have also seduced to absurdity whole generations of writers, and especially Indian writers, of English. He wrote in his Diary on January 12th, 1850: "How little the all-important art of making meaning pellucid is studied now! Hardly any popular writer, except myself, thinks of it".... Four years later he wrote, after rearranging some chapters of his "History": "What labour it is to make a tolerable book, and how little readers know how much labour the ordering of the parts has cost the writer!"

Like Pope in his verse, Macaulay too painstakingly cultivated clarity and correctness in his prose. We may shake our heads; we may deplore the remorseless hammering, the persistent emphasis, the ceaseless glitter; we may miss the nuances, the meanderings, the "deep magics" of a Browne, a Lamb, a De Quincey; yet Macaulay triumphantly stands his ground with the weight and volume of his matter and the immediate power and sufficiency of his style. A century after his death, the Macaulayan edifice shows no signs of serious wear and tear.

There is his fabric (writes Professor Elton) with its great shining surface, its solid skilful grandiose architecture, its bold bright colouring, which must be judged, in fairness, from a little distance off; it has a pillar broken, a facade tarnished here and there; but the thing stands.

"Eminent Victorian," without a doubt; "a miracle to his own generation," said Carlyle, and added that the memory of this "miracle" filled him "with a cheerful amazement." As we recapitulate Macaulay's life and re-read his "History" and his "Essays," as we turn back leaf after leaf of the great volume of his life, as we expose ourselves yet once again to the continual blaze of his rhetoric, like his contemporaries we too are dazzled by the miracle, and we too are filled with "a cheerful amazement."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Public Funds and Birth Control

Jewish Frontier, December, 1959 comments editorially:

The survey of population growth in under-developed areas recently made public by the United States Government makes abundantly clear how dangerous to the welfare of mankind is the population explosion now taking place in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world such as Latin America. The report substantiates what has been suspected: the rapid increase is due not to a larger number of births but to a fewer number of deaths. Modern drugs, increased sanitation and a higher standard of living have increased life expectancy in previously disease-ridden areas to a dramatic degree. But this fruit of progress bears its own seed of destruction, as the survey indicates: "If birth rates remain at high levels, economic expansion must eventually be achieved or death rates will be forced up again. In the long run a country can have low death rates with all they imply in the way of economic and social well-being only if a reasonable balance is maintained between population growth and available resources."

The prognosis is clear. Unless the economic and industrial development of a country keeps pace with its rise in population the harvest of partial progress will be even greater misery for untold millions than before. The pressure of a rapidly growing population on the whole social structure of an emerging country impedes the potential rate of development so that the gap between the demand and the food supply becomes constantly wider. To narrow the gap, to enable an underdeveloped country to profit instead of suffer from twentieth century medicine and technology, the country requires a breathing spell. It needs time to exploit its resources and evolve adequate social institutions before it is swamped.

Small wonder that the ominous name of "population explosion" has been given by scientists to what is taking place in India or China. And small wonder, also, that the Catholic Church has reaffirmed its traditional stand in regard to birth control. In a recent statement the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States denounced

what they called a systematic campaign for birth control and particularly "the recently coined terror technique phrase 'population explosion'." The Bishops also opposed any Federal assistance to birth control programs anywhere in the world.

Like every other religious body the Catholic Church has the right to seek obedience to its tenets from its own flock in whatever measure it can; however, when the Catholic Church attempts to influence public policy in the light of its particular dogmas sharp rejoinders are in order. These have not been slow in forthcoming from Protestant clergy and private citizens. The question is not academic. What is at issue is the proper utilization of American foreign aid funds. It would be unfortunate if American financial assistance to countries like India (which are trying to implement an effective population control program) were to be modified or curtailed because of sectarian pressure.

The Draper Committee, appointed by President Eisenhower to study the United States Military Assistance Program, recommended to the President that the United States assist countries it aids economically in formulating programs for population control and in conducting studies to devise practical methods for the countries concerned. This proposal, with all that it implies, has been challenged by the declaration of the Roman Catholic Bishops.

An unhappy and inevitable aftermath of the Bishops' statement is the ensuing wrangle as to the intellectual freedom of a Catholic presidential candidate. Senator Kennedy, while affirming his opposition to birth control, has assured his questioners that if elected president he would act solely in terms of the United States' interest. There is no reason to doubt him. Nevertheless, anti-Catholic bigotry—as much to be deplored as Catholic bigotry—has no doubt received a new lease on life from the Church's intrusion into question of government policy. Those who remember the vicious campaign conducted against A. J. Smith will dread the recurrence of such a spirit.

Nor can we afford to forget that the social and economic blight of untrammelled population increase is not limited to dist-

ant continents. We have seen once proud sections of great American cities transformed into slum areas because underprivileged families have more children than they can care for or house. The social consequences, here and abroad, are of direct concern to every American.

Albert Camus

News from France, January, 1960 writes:

Albert Camus, who was killed in a motor-car accident on January 4, was one of leading French writers of his age. When he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1957 he was one of the youngest authors to receive this prize, being only forty-four. But he was famous already for something like twenty years. He sprung to fame as far back as 1937 with a volume of incisive essays called "Noces." This collection was first published in Algeria, and two years later in Metropolitan France by the wellknown publishing house of Gallimard, one of whose directors he was at one time.

He has written essays, novels, plays, and short stories.

Born in Algeria into a very modest

working class family, his childhood was spent in one of the poor quarters of Algiers. In his early youth he was a member of the communist party but his sense of revolt was quickly aroused and his adhesion was short-lived. He entered the political arena through journalism, first in Algeria and later in Paris. In 1937 he fiercely championed the cause of Republican Spain and this was the first of the many stands he was to take in favour of liberty and justice in the name of human dignity, which roused him later against the Hitlerite regime and against Stalinism.

During the war, despite very fragile health, he was militant in the Resistance movement and was one of the founders and for some years the leading contributor to the newspaper "Combat." His voice was raised in the great political debates which divided conscience both during and after the war. Not that he believes that a writer should always be intervening in contemporary politics. He has said that such a course will wear him out and prevent him from thinking. The writer, he declares, "should create if he can, and that comes first of all; especially if what he creates

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does not recoil before the problems of his own times"; but "in exceptional circumstances" he should "permit no ambiguity about which side he has chosen." He should refuse, above all, to "dilute the effectiveness of his choice by shrewd hair-splitting or prudent reservation, and should leave no doubt as to his personal intention to defend freedom." It is in this uncompromising spirit that he took the side of the insurgents in the Hungarian revolt.

This rigour, he thought, should apply even more forcibly to Leftist intellectuals, among whom he reckoned himself. In the contemporary world, as he puts it, conformism has fastened on the Left: "It is true that the Right is not brilliant," he said in an interview, "but the Left is in full decadence, a prisoner of words, bogged down in its vocabulary, capable of no other than stereotyped answers, failing consistently to measure up to the reality from which it asserts nevertheless that it derives its laws." "The role of the intellectual," he added, "lies in pointing out that the king is naked when he is naked, and not in describing ecstatically his imaginary robes."

Although for many years an established writer and one of the foremost amongst his contemporaries, and recognized as one of the greatest artist-moralists of our times, Camus was always developing. With regard to him there was in the public mind an expectancy, the wish that he should still add to the artistic brilliance he had shown and to the power of his thought and produce in the future works which would be fully equal to his most outstanding successes.

Reception to Indian Cricket Team

The following are some portions of the reception address by the Chairman of the Council of the East India Association in honour of the members of the India Cricket Team at Overseas House last year and published by *Asian Review*, London, October, 1959:

We have never entertained a team of cricketers before and, if I may say so, it is a very fine precedent to have set. I hope that others will follow in years to come. But you ought to know, of course, that the team have travelled from Durham this morning and they are going off overseas on Thursday, so it is a real honour that they have found time to come here and meet us.

I want to express to them the immense pleasure I have had on something like eleven different days during this summer watching them playing cricket. I have enjoyed every moment of it. I am not going to say that I am altogether sorry that they did not defeat the British eleven. That would not be honest on my part if I said so, but I have enjoyed enormously the sporting spirit in which they have played the game under difficult circumstances in many cases, on ground after ground throughout the country and at the Test Matches. And let me add that I, like many others, not only have seen them with my own eyes but I have also watched them for hours on television.

Cricket is a desperately dangerous game. Nobody knows that better than myself, because my cricket came to an end—my proper cricket came to an end—when I was about sixteen, when some fearfully rough bowler, much rougher than anybody in this room, succeeded in breaking my jaw. Many people have had various kinds of damage done to them at cricket, but I believe that so far I am unique in having had my jaw broken. It might have been serious. Mercifully it did not stop me talking, and I was able to earn a living for life and maintain my family with my voice. I do want to express on behalf of all of you our real sorrow that some of these great cricketers have suffered quite serious injuries over here this summer, and I only hope that I and all of you—much more likely you than me—will live to see these injured cricketers over here again playing with the same dashing spirit which they displayed in the opening games.

We have enjoyed having our guests here this summer immensely. They have given pleasure to thousands and thousands of people in this country who will look back on those days in this glorious summer when they were watching them, with recollections which will never fade from their minds. We hope that we shall see them back again before many years have passed, we do want to thank them for coming here this afternoon, and we wish them a successful passage home to their own country. I would suggest that our guests should be kind enough to move round and introduce themselves to other people who wish to meet them.

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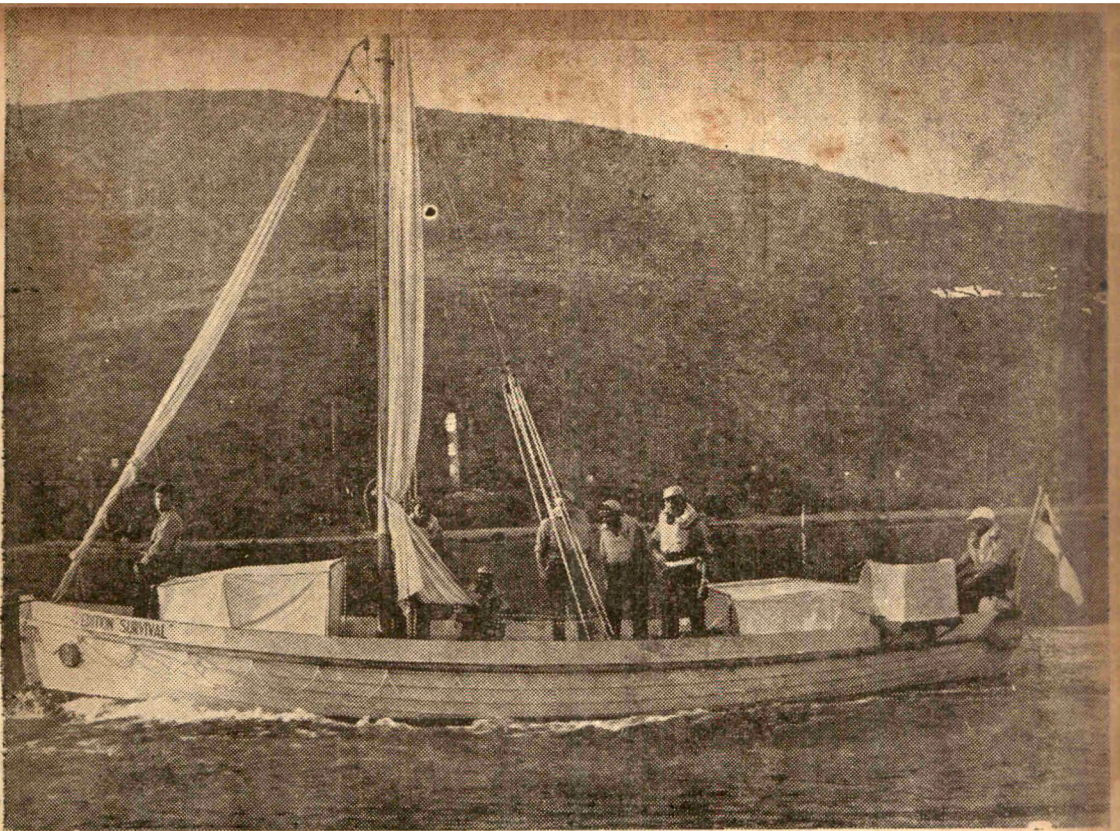
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The photograph, taken as the cutter left on the Expedition Survival organised by the Indian Navy, shows the seven-man crew led by Lieut. M. N. Samant



Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan is talking to some of the athletes participating in the XIX National Games



YEARNING FOR THE BELOVED
By Nirod Majumdar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The Northern Frontiers

On Sunday, the twentyseventh of March, two South-East Asian Prime Ministers referred to the frontier areas along the Tibetan borders of the Himalayas. The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. B. P. Koirala, is reported to have been in a mood bordering on the exuberant. He considered that the Sino-Nepalese border problem was as good as settled for good and he hoped that "this provides a good background for the Nehru-Chou talks." He also remarked that he had noticed a conciliatory mood among the Chinese leaders. He made it clear, however, that the Sino-Indian border disputes were never mentioned in his talks with the Chinese leaders. The Chinese aid to Nepal, he said, had been "most willingly given and most thankfully accepted."

The other Prime Minister, our Mr. Nehru, was in a different mood altogether, when he referred to the border disputes in his address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi on March 27. According to the *Statesman* representative, he said that the Indo-China border dispute, which was a long-time problem, had brought about a basic change in the country's relationship with the world and had brought in its train obligations and responsibilities as well as a burden. He is reported to have said further, that he did not believe that a crisis of war was upon India, but the country's frontiers, which had long been quiet, were now "bristling with danger." He did not explain this basic change, but described the country's foreign policy as a "positive, definite and clear-thinking policy of the pre-

sent and, I hope, of the future." One of the objectives of this policy, he added, was "to avoid hatred."

All the same, since the frontiers were "bristling with danger" the country had to accelerate its economic advance and not slow it down. War, Mr. Nehru added, was a question of industrial might and the production potential of a country.

The difference in the moods of the two Prime Ministers might well be said to denote the conditions "before and after disillusionment." Pandit Nehru still insists that the country's foreign policy is "positive and clear-thinking" though judged by the events on the Himalayan frontiers, it was muddled in the extreme in the past and exceedingly nebulous where the future is concerned. We only hope that Pandit Nehru will take a few advices from those who differ with him, or at least give proper heed to their arguments. If he continues with the same "blind man's buff" method, we shall be placed in a bigger mess than ever. Frankly, we do not believe that our foreign policy has resulted in any positive results where we ourselves are concerned. As regards the indirect results of that policy on the world situation, we think we ought to wake up to the fact that the non-selective and total destructive effect of atomic weapons and the realisation that an atomic war will end in the extinction of friend and foe alike, has had far more effect than our sermons on *Ahimsa*.

As regards the Nepalese Prime Minister's optimism, we only hope that there would be no rude awakening in the future. We seem to observe a definite pattern in the Sino-Nepalese talks.

Chinese Aid to Nepal

The political atmosphere of the Himalayan zone in which are the lands of Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and also long stretches of India proper, is supercharged with Chinese Home and Foreign Policy, by reason of China's sudden realisation of the fact or fiction of Tibet being a part of China. Whether this is based on facts can be best answered by social and physical anthropologists, historians, etymologists, Tibetans and the Chinese. Generally speaking we may say that we have never felt nor believed that China was Tibet or that Tibet was China. Racially, linguistically, culturally and in point of geographical names and socio-political organisation Tibet has always been a separate theocratic kingdom with a mysterious culture which was not of Chinese origin nor had it any counterparts in China proper. The Tibetans are, therefore, as Chinese as they are Indians, and, perhaps, they are more Indian than Chinese. Then China descended upon this little known Himalayan kingdom with her armed forces in order to impose Chinese Communism upon the people of Tibet. The Chinese did not stop there, but spread out in the direction of India and the other border States between India and Tibet and violated territorial rights of other countries in a manner which suggested that the Chinese thought nothing of the rules of behaviour between nations not at war. Several thousand square miles of Indian territory have been occupied by Chinese soldiers and incidents have taken place which point to an arrogant disregard on the part of China of the sovereign rights of other nations.

In such circumstances, Mr. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal goes to China, signs border agreements with and accepts economic aid from the Chinese. He does not say that he discussed his plans with the Indian Government at any stage. Rather he stressed upon his right of unilateral action. The Indian Government also appears to be unconcerned with whatever treaties Nepal may make with China. The whole business is fantastic and is only possible in India.

A. C.

Socialism and Socialism

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking before the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, reiterated some of his faiths and feelings. He said he had faith in planning and he believed in socialism. The quality of the people must be raised, the genius of the people stimulated and they must make a pragmatic approach to their problems. And he said he disliked the vulgar display of wealth by the Indian rich. Taking the different ideas one by one we must say that Pandit Nehru is simultaneously right and wrong in all his statements. We believe that planning is necessary and essential for a country like India. But that does not mean that any kind of planning must be good for India. Pandit Nehru is criticised for his particular kind of planning and not for his faith in planning in general. We think this pattern of planning requires drastic changes. Socialism too is not achieved by a general bureaucratic offensive on the rights of private persons. A responsible type of democracy can be converted to a tyranny by allowing government departments and political parties to play ducks and drakes with the rights of the people. The more there is of official control and interference with the people's freedom, the more there is of socialism, cannot be a logical way of looking at socialism. Pandit Nehru's pattern of socialism has too much pattern and too little socialism in it. The way he is raising the quality of the people is also blatantly visible in the Government departments, the market places, the industries, in the manner business is transacted, licences are obtained, permits are secured, taxes are collected, law and order administered, education carried on and recruitment, appointment, promotions, etc., effected. The people of India are fast degenerating in character and Pandit Nehru is doing everything to hasten the process. His intentions may be other than what his actions produce in results; but then, that cannot exonerate him from his responsibilities. The genius of the people, as far as Pandit Nehru is concerned, is crying in the wilderness. When has the Indian

Government even looked for Indian genius? Had it done so, would there be such ministers, such legislators, such commission agents, such contractors, such heads of organisations as we find in India? The pragmatic approach refused to be by the Prime Minister is functionally sterile and purposeful to achieve the opposite of the declared purpose. About the vulgar display of wealth, we have perfect unity of outlook with Pandit Nehru. But he should have also mentioned the vulgar display of asceticism and simplicity indulged in by many Indians. There is also a vulgar display of nationalism, puritanism and a "saintlier than thou" front. This should also have received castigation from the high hands of our topmost V.I.P. (No protocol). Pandit Nehru may with greater advantage practise pragmatism without preaching. We all have a working knowledge of the Congress moral code. Let it now be practised and not merely propounded **ad nauseum**.

A. C.

Meaning of Pragmatic

The Oxford Dictionary gives the following meanings, among others of the word 'pragmatic' as an adjective and of 'pragmatism' as a noun. Pragmatic(al) means meddlesome, dogmatic etc., and pragmatic sanction refers to imperial or royal ordinance issued as fundamental law. Pragmatism means officiousness and pedantry too besides having other meanings. Relating to the affairs of a state or community it means busy and active, especially officiously busy in other people's affairs; interfering and meddling; opinionated dictatorial, dogmatic, common estimation puts an ill character upon pragmatic meddling people. She is as pragmatic and proud as the Pope (examples). Pragmatic was used also in the sense of self-important, doctrinaire and crotchety. (Example) A wise man is not pragmatic, for he declines the doing of anything that is beyond his office. Which . . . may perhaps give me the title of pragmatic and overweening.

•Swift.

A. C.

The Budget

Our forecast of the Budget has not been far wrong. We thought that the funds required by our large-hearted and lavish Government could never come out of the limited number of pockets of the rich people. The rich are very few and even if they can pay large amounts in direct taxes individually, the sumtotal of their contribution to the State revenues can never be very substantial. So that the poor have to pay for they number in hundreds of millions where the rich are counted in thousands only. Indirect taxes were therefore undoubtedly indicated as far as raising of revenues went. The Finance Minister however did not try to modify the policy of the Government and allowed those conditions to continue which have created unemployment, loss of trade, economic imbalance and a progressive deterioration in the standard of living of the people. Inflation of currency, lack of consumer goods, profiteering, black marketing, etc., have reduced the Indian people to a condition which is worse than any that they have experienced ever before. Our Public Finance is organised on the basis of a number of assumptions which have no factual basis. And there are some principles and ideals which have no justifiable reasons to be there. And that is why we suffer.

A. C.

Control of Bank Credit

The Government of India's credit squeeze has for its declared objective a check on gambling in the share market. This is in keeping with the Government's general policy of moral reformation of all Indians. The high priority that morality obtains in India is really heartening. The total suspension of drinking in Bombay and Madras, the restriction of drinking in hotels excepting in bedrooms in Delhi and the abolition of prostitution in Calcutta excepting in Theatre Road, Camac Street and other unenlightened parts of the city; all go to show how the State in India looks after the souls of its nationals in preference

to looking after their creature comforts. We may expect the credit squeeze will do something to reduce the inflation of currency that the Government of India have been carrying on. A cleaner state at the close of the financial year will be a good thing for the Government. Of course, a Government with such high principles never does anything to hide its own indiscretions. So the moral upliftment of the people with special reference to their sinful habit of gambling must be their main target; and if the Government could redeem its prestige incidentally as a by-product of their missionary work, all glory to the Government.

A. C.

Bank Workers and Strikes

Fabian Economists did not believe in wholesale nationalisation of industries. They wanted control over all industries so that none went off the straight and narrow path of social virtue; and they wanted to own nationally certain key organisations and essentially monopolistic industries for reasons of national safety and as a wise precaution against private enterprise growing too big for its own or the nation's good. These "principles" of "socialism" have been studied by other nations and many have introduced these ideas in their own economy. India has been no exception. Her pattern of socialism contain many random pieces collected from various pictures and the result has not been either creative in point of economic art or useful for the general well-being of the people. Banking is an essential part of modern economy. No one can paralyse the banks of the nation without damaging all economic institutions to some extent. The Government of India have gone a good way towards total control of all banking and have also attempted to set up the State Bank of India as the greatest bank of the country. These actions of the Government have no doubt been taken for the general progress of banking in India and for the good of the national economy. But the Government of India did not take full cognisance of the fact that bank workers were an integral part of the

institution of banking; and, while the Government thought out in minutest detail all the controls, checks, probes, etc., that would enable them to act as the moral preceptors and fathers confessors of the people who kept their accounts with the bank or dealt with it for business; they never thought of putting themselves in *statu parentis* with the people who worked in the bank. The result has been that the State Bank of India has been a great source of loss and suffering to its clientele and the general public. And all for the unintelligent and lumbering methods followed by the bureaucrats who run the Government of India. Why cannot the Government do anything without delaying over it inordinately and long? Why cannot the Government prevent wasteful and injurious strikes in essential institution? Why cannot the Government remove from positions of power and responsibility persons who take a week to do what can be done in one hour by a wide awake and efficient man? And why do they take such delight in carrying out *Post Mortem* enquiries only? Is it not of greater advantage to conserve values than to make enquiries after they have been lost? The Government of India have a genius for preserving unwise and wasteful customs and for selecting lines of advancement and progress which, inevitably, land them in trouble!

A. C.

Government by Bullets

The South African Government is one of those throwbacks to the barbarous periods of history, when the rulers could do anything to the ruled and no questions were asked nor protests tolerated. The patricians, the nobility and the king or his agents could do anything without considering the rights or wrongs of their actions; for it was admitted by everybody, on pain of death, that they could do no wrong. Much as the tyrants of the world dislike any curbs on their predatory urges and recognition of the rights of the common people who toil and struggle mainly for the benefit of privileged persons; the barbarian institutions of unlimited autocracy and unquestioned superiority of the few, have

been dying a natural and universally welcomed death. Of the few exceptional countries in which a handful of privileged persons could dominate over entire populations; South Africa stands out as the rarest of all relics of the age of tyranny. In South Africa, the people have no souls to call their own; for only the descendants of European peasants, artisans and soldiers who rule the country, have any political rights. They can order entire communities to demolish their homes and to get out; or they can order the whole population to carry on their persons at all times special licence tokens which they could produce on demand to prove their *bona fides* as the slaves of the white minority. This sort of obnoxious interference with the freedom of the people should cause upheavals and revolutions, and the South African Government would sooner or later get flung out on the dung heap. The preliminaries of this highly desirable consummation are, however, causing uneasy feelings among the civilised peoples of the earth, who do not like to read at breakfast time, about mass murders or sadistic orgies of a statutory variety even when the perpetrators of these are the South African whites. The South Africans have a strange mentality. They are so conscious of the inviolate and totally domestic and private nature of their crimes against race and humanity that they resent any criticism from other nations. They are so full of their own rights that they cannot find any room for human obligations in their mental make up. And they destroy with a heavy hand the rights of their own countrymen while they gibber against external criticism of their tyrannical conduct. If psychiatrists could cure whole groups of evil men of their sinful obsessions, we could do something with the White Savages of South Africa. They would probably engage in cannibalism after this to prove their rights and nobody would be permitted to challenge them for fear of interfering with the domestic affairs of a friendly nation. What the world should realise and admit is that the South African whites are suffering from something akin to mass rabies and that they are diseased in mind and dangerous.

A. C.

Khrushchev Works for Peace

He who forges the sword usually dies on it. But if all people forge swords in abundance they may begin to think that they have overdone things. All people cannot relish the idea of nor agree to die on their respective swords just to fulfil a prophecy. They may, therefore, begin to think of a way out. Could swords be used for some other purpose than dying upon? Could they, perhaps, be converted to ploughshares of which there might be a shortage? Such thoughts may arise in the heart of sword makers in the natural course of contemplation of follies.

Mr. Khrushchev has now become an apostle of peace and he is touring the world quite frequently to gain more adherents to his point of view. The latest contact is General De Gaulle, who would make a valuable convert; for he had been a lover of combat and, if he renounced war, there would be one less to contend with in case the world swung over and away from Peace at any time. We have now many war-like nations among us which can no longer think of bloodshed. All over the world, soldiers are swearing that they believe in nothing but *ahimsa*. M. Khrushchev has therefore chosen a most opportune moment in which he could liquidate the war-like organisations like NATO and the rest of them. If France made a separate treaty with the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. would have to think out new solutions for many an old problem of military alignment. M. Khrushchev has however ignored a very ancient piece of wisdom which has helped many missionary in the past to achieve success. It is about charity beginning at home. As far as we know Russia has a number of well-armed nations with her who are her brothers in faith and who have a sort of understanding about common action in case of a *Zihad* (holy war). M. Khrushchev should have first approached M. Mao Tse-Tung to renounce war; for he is the greatest War Lord that China has ever produced. All his arms or a major and essential part are supplied by M. Khrushchev.

A. C.

Family Planning

The Government of India have plans about reducing the population of India. This they wish to achieve by inducing people to have less children. In the Second Plan they had a sanction for 5 crores for organising and arranging family planning. But the money could not be spent due to lack of ideas perhaps about the heads of expenditure. The organisers did not know whether to spend the money on wages of blacksmiths or for keeping carrier pigeons. They also did not know where to go to find a solution to the population problem and their travelling bills therefore were not considerable. Delegations could not be sent as no one knew where to send them. A sad state of affairs! In the Third Plan they have been sanctioned 100 crores of rupees and one cannot contemplate the possibilities of this extravagant gesture without experiencing a strange feeling of impending fall. A Neo-malthusian extravaganza in **Rastrabhāsa** slowly unfold itself upon our imagination. Ladies and Gentlemen of Chapra and Gorukhpur articulating awful words and phrases to explain the position to the apothecaries. And some Shakespearian Scholar declares: "The cry is still 'they come!'" We think the real foundation of family planning is in education and a higher standard of living. The 100 crores should be spent on education and on propaganda against child marriage. For the people are quite ignorant still and they marry very early as they did before.

A. C.

Rowdies in Examination Halls

Students sometimes go off the handle and behave like rowdies. This is nothing very serious, unless it becomes a habit and is taken advantage of by persons who attain their selfish ends by making use of the foolish young persons who appear in examinations. It has now become an established fact that these rowdy students break up examinations according to plans made in a cold-blooded fashion by others, who force issues like selection of text-books in this manner. The examination papers are also given in advance to selected students

in whom persons in possession of previous knowledge of the papers are interested. The whole thing stinks and the Governor should pass an ordinance and appoint some high-power investigators for the prosecution of persons who carry on the dirty work. Some men are behind all this and unless some of them are sent to jail for long stretches education in W. Bengal will be a tragic farce. There must be discipline among students and they must attend classes, read their text-books, take tutorials and sit for examinations in an orderly manner. If they act as the dupes of grown-up persons, such persons must be removed. We often hear that nobody can do anything to improve conditions in this field. We do not believe this. There are solutions to all problems and, also, persons who can get things done. Of course no one can do anything if useless persons are put in power. To get anything done, first we must remove the people who have definitely proved to be failures or collaborators with anti-social forces. We would suggest that the guardians should combine and demand re-organisation of the Education Department and removal of undesirable text-book writers and publishers, paper-setters, examiners, controllers, printers of examination papers and all others who have made education in West Bengal a pernicious make believe.

A. C.

Employment of Local People

All over the world, businessmen give employment to local people in preference to imported persons for the reason that the locals are cheaper to employ. They also do not require housing, long leave and higher wages on grounds of leaving their homes and separation from their families. In Bengal since the days of the East India Company the Bengalis have got employment in business houses and industries in spite of the fact that many employers have been non-Bengalis in Bengal. During the last few decades however the British took up an anti-Bengali attitude on account of the political activities of the Bengalis. After the British came a number of Indian employers who continued to follow the

policy introduced by the British on account of their dislike of Bengalis and because they liked to find employment for their own people whom they imported from other parts of India. This policy has not only aggravated unemployment among Bengalis but has made the housing and food position very bad. It is believed that the imported workers are no better than the Bengalis and that they cost more to their employers who do not mind paying them high salaries out of savings from income tax. These friendly employees of the non-Bengali employers are often the relations of the latter and monies paid to them are often monies earned by the sagacious employers. A discrete probe from the income-tax department into what goes on in the name of payment of high salaries to employees in many firms, may disclose a well thought-out plan of tax evasion. But our Government do not like to interfere with the personal freedoms of tax evaders. Some firms over which the W. Bengal Government have considerable influence by reason of business relations, also carry on an anti-Bengali policy of employment. There are some Bengali managed companies too which curry favour with Delhi by employing non-Bengalis and by placing fairly inefficient types in responsible posts to please high ranking "nepots" and their close associates. The position is bad and beyond control.

A. C.

Dandakaranya

The rehabilitation of Bengali refugees in the wilds of Dandakaranya is still a source of annoyance to the refugees, the State Government, the Central Rehabilitation Ministry and the general public, who pay for all projects in the long run. The Indian Government believe in the maintenance of **Maya**. They do not like reality to take over and disperse the clouds in which untruth and false values have a permanent home.

When the Hindus were pushed out of East and West Pakistan the Government of India should have done one of two things. They could have sent all Muslims out of India into Pakistan and made room for the refugees. Or, they could have occupied by

force contiguous areas in Pakistan in which the extra population could settle. But the Government of India would never face facts. They also refused to give back to Bengal the districts that the British had detached from Bengal and joined with Bihar, Assam and Orissa. For that would have reduced the size of Hindi-India. So, they went on to settle Bengalis in the worst possible spots in India where nobody lived before and gave powers to carry out these plans to persons who were not particularly gifted with insight, imagination and the emotional ability to establish workable human relations. Mr. Khanna has the mentality of a Sergeant Major of the old school and he likes to thump around in a heavy-footed manner. His Bengali counterpart, Mr. P. C. Sen, is suave and polished, but for a purpose which people say is not rehabilitation of refugees. And so about 200 crores of rupees go down the drain. The Indian Government have a genius for picking out and appointing persons to do things, who are usually unfit for the jobs they are expected to do. In the particular work of refugee rehabilitation they not only give power to the wrong men, but also remove from power such persons as are found capable.

A. C.

A New Party

Was it a new Party that India required to put right her ills? Or was it abolition of all parties or the strict limitation of party activities that might have effected a clean up of the accumulated evils of bureaucratic excesses and idealistic adventures that obstruct good Government and social progress everywhere in India. If the people could be made conscious of their rights and obligations and if they insisted that their representatives would not be permitted to put any party interests above the interests of the people whom they represent, the Congress, the Communist and the other political parties would soon have no occupation and would wind up. Those who want to serve the people would then be free to work for the people wholeheartedly and without any question of party discipline and directives. We agree

with some of the views expressed by those who want to form a new party; but we do not think new parties will solve our problems. Rather a new outlook in the people might change the political climate and enable us to put a stop to the exploitation of the people by political parties.

A. C.

Facts Accumulate

The Prime Minister of India must be in a singularly embarrassing position with regard to China. Such observation that she has let us down and has committed a breach of faith does not exonerate him a whit of the loopholes left in dealing with her. To begin with, he tells us that Mr. Chou En-lai gave him to understand when he was at Delhi that China had accepted the McMahon line as the boundary between the two countries. At least it, therefore, establishes beyond doubt that Mr. Nehru felt that there was room for clarification or confirmation on the point. And since it was no talk regarding their domestic affairs nor in the nature of after-dinner pleasantries, there should have been notes signed by either to indicate what subjects were discussed and conclusions reached. It appears that there is not a scrap of paper in support of Mr. Nehru's view-point. Secondly, as India's Military Intelligence Service reported that China was making a broad metalled road parallel to the McMahon line, whereas India, as before, is left severely to negotiate the most difficult terrain on the Indian side of McMahon line it should have prompted Mr. Nehru to reflect what China was about. The inclusion of large tracts of India as Chinese possession in their map and putting off the promised correction should have, as well, added to the uneasiness of the situation. The meaning became obvious to the poorest understanding when China seized the Tibetan tableland, from where she is now far better posted to mount military operations. It is only when China had gone ahead in her aggression against India—our twenty thousand square miles are already in their possession—that Mr. Nehru told his people how things stood. And then also in tune with his traditional 'but', he sought to mitigate the enormities of the occasion by saying that these were places, where the Government could not function normally and the military operate with any measure of

efficiency. The latter assumption is a gratuitous insult to our military, pitted against the Chinese army carrying on their vandalism in the locality. Therefore, the crux of the question, which should under no circumstance be glossed over, is, 'For whose faults, particularly, things happened in the manner they did to the loss of our territory and prestige?'

It is increasingly difficult to push out of thought in this connection, as Mr. Nehru is now being suspected of a move to surrender at least a portion of Indian territory in Chinese occupation, how far his idealistic gesture Kashmir continues to be a powder keg. It should have been nobody's business to commit unsought that Kashmir's accession would follow a different pattern; and not the ruler, as elsewhere, but the people would decide the question by a plebiscite. Then worse still, as Pakistan was being beaten back pell-mell and 'Indians', says Robert Turnbull in his *As I See India*, 'appeared about to take the last narrow sliver of territory held by Pakistan at the western end of the State's southern half' that Mr. Nehru ordered cease-fire; and India 'had to stop fighting with victory apparently in its grasp.' Even after these two events of great significance, India betrayed a lack of wariness and resolution. It is the indelible print that despite warnings repeatedly given by the late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee, and for which he was placed under duress, Mr. Nehru's over-trustful nature and a flaccid way of thinking drove us very near losing Kashmir altogether. Thanks to the memory of the late Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai—he stepped in between in the nick of time and saved us Kashmir. Pakistan, however, learnt too well to bank upon Mr. Nehru's constitutional 'To be or not to be', when face to face with the necessity for a swift, decisive measure. In fact, she took to sniping at us every now and then with results, we forbear to discuss in view of the prospect of an improved relation, envisaged by either Government. As we say this of Mr. Nehru vis-a-vis Pakistan, we must say without the slightest equivocation that we are far from opposing any of his humanitarian actions towards that state. And it is our abiding possession that during the carnage of September-October 1947, when the spirit of brute reciprocity was at its apex, Mr. Nehru, as epidemics began exacting their due

penalty, flew to Pakistan large stocks of cholera vaccines. But to China as we were discussing.

Mr. Nehru's last letter to Mr. Chou En-lai, dated 4th March, is suggestive of some cogent thoughts. He thanks the Chinese Premier for accepting his invitation to visit Delhi, 'so that we can have talks about our problems and explore avenues which may lead to a peaceful settlement of these problems'. Too much of a gentleman, a sense of delicacy possibly stands in the way of Mr. Nehru using the word 'aggression', to resolve which Mr. Chou En-lai was being invited. The expression peaceful settlement is however reminiscent of India's application to U.N.O. against Pakistan. Dr. Józef Korbel of a Commission, U.N.O. at one stage sent to India, Pakistan and Kashmir for an on-the-spot study, notes a rather important point in his *Danger in Kashmir*, namely, that were Pakistan's aggression the heart of dispute, India would have made the application under Chapter VII which deals with 'Aggression' and not under Chapter VI, which is concerned with 'Pacific Settlement of Disputes'. The gist of Dr. Korbel's contention is that since India sought settlement and no thrashing out of the question whether Pakistan committed aggression or not; and since peaceful settlement pre-supposes consent of both, Kashmir hangs. We feel certain, by the way, that the question shall hang on so long there are astute powers in the U.N.O. to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. But notwithstanding the sophistry, implicit in arguing a matter, on which hinge the moral values of a nation, in such a legalistic way, since the point made some noise and induced a belief abroad that India proved slack and inefficient in putting forward her case, Mr. Nehru needs being very careful, nay, unrelenting.

J. B.

Frankenstein Resurrected

To say, as Mr. Nehru has said, that the Congress High Command became aware of the communal flare of the Muslim League's election manifesto in Kerala only after the election was over is more clumsy than fantastic. In fact, he stands inextricably compromised, as Mr. K. M. Seethi Sahib, the Secretary of the Indian Union Muslim League, countered, immediately after, the

implications of the above by asserting that the Congress President Mr. Reddy and Congress leaders like Mr. Dhebar and Mr. Patil were fully at one with him to inspire a belief in the local Moslems that they were being invited to participate in the Coalition Ministry in making. He deliberately trod on a tender spot by emphasizing his re-espousal of separate electorate as 'a legitimate and essential device for adequate and proper representation of the Muslim Community'. Representation in terms of a community is a challenge to the basic principle of the Constitution of India and is in line with what led to her dismemberment. The most piquant touch in Mr. Sahib's statement is where he pinpoints that in the last General Election Mr. Nehru complained of inadequate representation of the Moslems in the selection of candidates for the Andhra Assembly by the Congress Committee of the State. It may, after all, be a faulty and no communal selection. There might have been no competent candidates or those otherwise worthy of selection from the Moslem Community. It might, as well, be—we wish it were really so—that they ruled out any selection community-wise. In a delicate matter like this Mr. Nehru could well have given a bit of his mind to the Selection Committee without justifying publicity. Had he exercised a little imagination he would have foreseen what sinister use it could be made of. It is too early to forget how such slipshod utterances were clutched by the Muslim League to constitute the sheet anchor of their demand for Pakistan. And at the Lahore Conference in 1940, the late Mr. Jinnah ripped up the foundations of the old nationalist in him to say that it was a dream for the Hindus and Moslems to evolve a common plank of nationhood. In fact, since now the History of India was at the crucial parting of ways; and the Moslems were led to live, move and had their whole being pitilessly bent on the hard bitter core of this new revelation. Irritating dissensions glided in the course of events into sanguinary debacles. And as Britain left India after breaking her by a chain of Ulsters, it is noble and manly on the part of India to live down the shattering past of a long-drawn pogrom in order to start anew with Hindus and Moslems of India as one people. It is, therefore, absolutely incumbent upon every one, who owes allegiance to India, to stand

loyally by the creedal enforcement of one Nation. To do otherwise is an act of treason.

The naivety and levity with which Mr. Seethy Sahib has sponsored separate electorate once again leads us to scan if he has at all realised how the Separate Electorate proved the seed-bed for the fratricidal division of India, and what colossal misery and complications it has brought in its trail. That question is finally laid to rest by His Highness the late Aga Khan himself, who led the deputation for separate electorate in 1906. "These were critical years", says he in his *Memoirs*, "in that vast complex process, which brought about in little more than forty years the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two separate states Bharat and Pakistan." In the circumstances, it deserves to be critically examined whether the Congress have unwittingly, unwittingly or in spite of themselves have given a fillip to the Muslim League to stage a come-back with the same old destructive Separate Electorate. In West Bengal it has already made a leeway for a foothold and forum. It has, in fact, put up a powerful plea and looks pretty well successful in luring the Moslems that since the Congress had, without qualification, made use of the Indian Union Muslim League to win Muslim support in the Kerala election, why should it not be reared up on sure foundations? Mr. Seethy Sahib, for all it means, has been elected Speaker of the Kerala Assembly.

J. B.

Uneasy Co-existence

A former Chief Minister of East Pakistan is being prosecuted for corruption before a special tribunal at Dacca. To prove the charge, the Government has adduced evidence to establish his weakness for power and what he did to please parties supporting his Ministry. In the concrete, he allowed the sale of rice from Government stocks at Rs. 10/- against the prevailing rate of Rs. 15/- per maund in September-November 1955, even if it was done with the consent of the Central Government. He also expanded his Cabinet from ten to eighteen members not strictly in public interest but to sustain his majority. As an alternative to the trial, the Chief Minister was given the choice to retire from public life and live in tongueless obscurity

for six years. Assuming that the prime motive of the present Pakistan Government is to weed out potential rivals, there is no getting away for any Rule now or hereafter from the healthy robust principle the people are being imbued with there. It is bound to make for a clean public life. All decent folk shall have reasons to feel grateful to those anywhere in the world, who have the boldness to enunciate them and translate them into practice.

What, however, worries us is the term of co-existence for any democracy if affinity of purpose and outlook is a necessary condition of such. We have no precise idea of other countries. But we do not feel happy to think of our own in contrast at the present moment, when charges of corruption against the high-ups of administration are the rage of the day. As we are at these reflections, we are somewhat taken aback by what our daily contemporary the *Jugantar*, with which so vitally associated is a Minister of West Bengal, says in its editorial of 15th March, under the caption Food Adulteration. We gather that a few years back, the Municipal Magistrate of Calcutta fined two merchants for adulterated mustard oil brought from U.P. and, what to some extent is the only deterrent, ordered the destruction of the large stock seized; and that Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, at the intercession of the Chief Minister of U.P. Mr. G. B. Pant, now the Home Minister of Indian Union, had the stock released for the owner. It is too shocking to be true. We believe that there must be some links missing somewhere. But since a rather ministerial paper rakes up the matter at a time, when the atmosphere is suffocating with the charges of corruption, it behoves all concerned to explain what it is.

J. B.

The Voice of Africa

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's broadcast to the nation at Accra, Ghana, on March 7th, this year, wherein he stated that the keynote of the proposed Republican Constitution of Ghana was 'one man, one vote,' and the unity of Africa; should be looked upon as a forecast of the shape of things to come. For the face of Africa is changing rapidly, and even the most confirmed Imperialist cannot deny that the "easy" days of Colonialism.

are over. Dr. Nkrumah's advocacy of a Federation of States in Africa is not anything new, even in Africa, because some plan of federation has always been afoot in Colonial Africa—only these have been piecemeal. The greatest champion of Imperialism, Cecil Rhodes, dreamt of a closely federated South and Central African territories, under a benevolent British jurisdiction of course. In fact all the British Colonies, comprising 22 territories, are grouped under 6 Administrative units (this included Ghana prior to Self-Government).

In spite of this logical growth of federated units, however, critics of African nationalism, and hangers on to thoughts of Empires, maintain a solid scepticism regarding this obvious solution to African problems. The age-old Colonial attitude of condescension to the incapable and inefficient Native is of course the bulwark of Imperialists, while the traders and businessmen who made hay while the sun shone, could not even dream of co-operating with a free Africa. In this Century, after two Great wars, the thoughts of all right-thinking men are in favour of giving freedom to all oppressed races. Many Empires have fallen, and some have gone with goodwill being maintained on the sides of the ruler and the ruled. India is the greatest example of this, and probably there is more business going on here today than previously.

Why then should Africa be an exception in this changing world of ours? No true democrat will dispute the right any nation or people have, to govern themselves, even if that government is not fool-proof, for which government today, whether white, black, yellow, or brown, is completely free of fools? So "Fool" Africa has a right to make her own economic, social, and political messes, because in any case, the white men have borne their "burden" of enlightenment and efficiency so well there, that it is difficult indeed for anyone to beat their solutions to humanitarian, economic, or political problems. As far as the first consideration goes, which African can inflict greater barbarity than those suffered under Leopold of Belgium's regime of "red rubber," and even the great economists of Great Britain weren't proof against "mere scheming groundnuts"! Philosophically of course, the new concepts of Apartheid of white South Africa, are beyond the understanding of all coloured races,

particularly Africans, to whom after all Africa belongs. Since we find thus that "superior" brains and ability have not always guaranteed success or rightness of action in Africa, we cannot understand the reluctance to let the poor African paddle his own canoe.

A further objection forwarded against federation is that the varied races of Africa cannot pull on together. Why should it be impossible for various types of Africans only to federate when all types of Europeans and Asiatics have succeeded in doing so? The U.S.A. consists of 50 states and 6 territories with peoples of all countries—English, Continentals, Chinese, Japanese with a few Red Indians thrown in, while the U.S.S.R. has 15 constituent republics of peoples of varied European and Asiatic races. As for India, numerically she has 14 states and 7 territories with one of the largest populations in the world, and a very varied population it is too, comprising as it does, Aborigines, head-hunters, Baniyas, Pundits, Harijans, Dravidakazagara and Panjab Subas galore.

So let those advocates of *Divide et Impera* be warned by the voice of Africa, Nkrumah, when he said, that "The Government realises that the present frontiers of Ghana like so many others on the African Continent, were drawn merely to suit the convenience of the Colonial Powers who divided Africa between themselves during the last century. For the object of this draft Constitution is to provide firm, stable and popular Government in Ghana, so that Ghana can assist in achieving a union of African States and territories." (The *Statesman's* report of Nkrumah's speech. 7-3-'60)

L. C.

On the War-path

Mr. Rajagopalachari has all along distinguished himself in Indian politics by his acumen and sharp individuality. He is ideologically non-ideological. He was the spearhead of the orthodox non-co-operators opposing stalwarts like C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru and had them foiled at the 1922 Gaya Congress. He pressed Gandhiji to concede Pakistan and felt no compunction to suggest leaving Bengal and Punjab in the lurch. There have been people to say

that were he listened to, India would have been spared the orgies of cannibalism, sublimely forgetful of the fact that she would have thereby lost the whole of Punjab and Bengal. And is not the blood spilled worth what India was able to retain? His truculent opposition to Desha-bandhu C. R. Das and Netajee Subhas Bose, which made him a *bete noire* to a section of our people, is at the same time to be viewed with the vast tribute he paid to Surendranath Banerjea, so much as to say that 'in the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea'. It underlines his make-up and is to some extent an indication that revolutionary politics is not his forte. His attitude to the 1942 Quit India Resolution is definitely apathetic. All the same the Congress, as India wrought her Freedom, gave him his dues in full ample measure. The Governorship of West Bengal, Governor-Generalship of India, Chief Ministership of Madras, Ministership at the Centre and the blue ribbon **Bharat Ratna** were his in succession with a pension to boot. Discretion as the better part of valour, all these years he never criticised the Congress or spoke anything in disparagement of the head of the Congress Government. But now that he has retired from service—Is there anything in it which has fermented?—either has become vicious and he must fight it tooth and nail, for otherwise, there is no chance of a 'good government' in the country.

Mr. Nehru is a socialist since when he entered politics. Mr. Rajagopalachari, however, tires of him and his socialism, only since when some vested interests have taken charge of the powder behind the shots of private sector in Industry. It is, by the way, for the Prime Minister of India to reflect to what extent this support of his following in the Cabinet is contingent on his capacity to distribute purse and patronage. It is no pleasure, but we have to say by way of warning that the mass of people have taken Mr. Rajagopalachari's change of front in this light. With a clarity of outlook which once marked him, he is now

generating more heat than light; and we sincerely hope that such embarrassing panegyric as to call him 'Our Bernard Shaw' is no incentive to spend his dynamism in bellicosity.

Within the brief compass of this Note, we cannot discuss his new-fangled political philosophy, for which he has developed, a Messiah complex. This much, however, will suffice that with regard to his tirades against Communism, his 'enemy No. 1,' he is making the late Mr. Foster Dulles green with envy in his grave. Let us, however, remind him how Gandhijee viewed the matter. "I would," he said, "be a hundred per cent Communist myself—if Marx's final stage were the first stage and if Lenin's economic ideals were put immediately into practice." In other words, he contemplates the beginning of Marxist millennium in the State withering away not by blood-bath but as the *raison d'être* of a new order; and secondly, by putting into practice, without much mincing of the matter, Lenin's economic ideal, 'From every man according to his capacity to every man according to his needs.' Gandhijee was academically thin, but dowered with a transcendental gift of realisation; and it is our great misfortune that he had not had the time to elaborate his thesis.

J. B.

The Yearly Fiasco

We do not know if it is shame, sorrow or humiliation which afflicts us the most as we have to see year after year what we should call fiasco in University Examinations. A good number of things have combined to bring about such a state of things. It is not peculiar to any particular University but is growing fast into a festering sore in the social life of India. No remedy is possible of being thought out without a thorough grasp of the contributory factors. A probe is urgently called for.

Confining for the present to the uproar arising out of Civics 2nd paper and Physics 2nd paper in the Intermediate Examination of the Calcutta University, let us coolly and dispassionately apply ourselves to the

question whether the questions have been set beyond the syllabus. If the charge has no legs to stand upon nor the questions are unusually stiff as to be incapable of justice being done to all of them during the time limit, it is well and good; the entire blame in that case is to be laid at the door of the students and is to be tackled under the category of student indiscipline. If, on the other hand, the limitations of the syllabus have not been respected by the paper-setters, nothing more callous, more perverse can be imagined. Whoever is found guilty of this first wrong must be dealt with suitably as also being guilty of all consequential wrongs. As for the system of setting questions to test the intelligence of the students, it is to be observed to what extent it is a departure from what was all along in vogue. Any violent departure entails complications and is bound to be resented. The next point with regard to the testing of intelligence of an examinee in the course of three hectic hours, it must have to bear a close relation to the teaching in colleges. Let there be a remorseless searching of hearts. A student of the 2nd Year Class, particularly, can have the benefit of his teachers for hardly ninety days for the year, during which he has to complete the left-over courses. How many colleges do at all complete the courses? What if any is the scope and opportunity for a teacher, in such circumstances, to discuss lessons in their various aspects such as to be able to rouse his students' deep interest in the subject, so that he is inspired with a sense to pursue it in his own way? It is atrocious to teach them in one way and examine them in a diametrically opposite way. Chagrin and discontent in such conditions is inevitable. It will be a mistake to take the outburst as any cutaneous eruption. It needs being treated deep down the skin.

J. B.

Short Memory

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, merits appreciation for intending to bring out short bio-

graphical sketches of our patriots. That the public should have an opportunity of purchasing such books at a comparatively cheap price is welcome. The names, possibly tentatively published for the first thirteen, leave however, room for speculation as to what precisely has prompted him to give them the priority. Anyway, the subject is a very delicate one and we forbear to spin it out to any length. All the same, we must say that we shall very much regret to see Surendranath Banerjea omitted in the first selection for, amongst the following reasons, the principle, first come, first served.

In a nutshell, Surendranath's was the initiative and lead to found the Indian Association in Calcutta. Early as 1876, he refused to christen it the Bengal Association, as pressed by some of the then stalwarts, because, as he said, they would work for an all-India federation. His all-India tours over the Civil Service regulations contain in them, as Sir Henry Cotton observes in his *New India*, 'the seed of the Indian National Congress.' In 1883, he convened in Calcutta the National Conference to emphasize the need of a forum for representative Indians to chalk out a line of action in matters that concern the people vis-a-vis the Government. Wilfred S. Blunt says in *India Under Ripon* that this conference is the first stage towards a National Parliament. In the second session of the Indian National Congress in 1886—Lord Dufferin-sponsored first Congress of 1885 did not so much as even invite him to attend—he declared from the Congress platform, "Self-Government is the ordering of Nature; and it is not new to us." He raised the Congress from the stage of prayer to one of Demand and he signalled his first presidency at Poona by protesting against 'anything', that would 'steriotype on political servitude'; and warned, 'We cannot afford to palter with our birth-right or sell it for a pottage.' In the 1897, Amraoti Congress, because of some of the very influential leaders of Western India, there would be no resolution on Tilak's incarceration. But Surendranath made ample compensation when speaking on the detention of Nattu Brothers, "The Nation," he

said, "is in tears for Tilak"; and struck his note of manly challenge to say, "Though I am here physically, my soul is in jail attuned with Tilak's." The house rose to a man in one spontaneous outburst—"Tilak Maharaj Ki Jai." With regard to his contributions to the making of the Congress a power to reckon with, it is enough to say that Sir Narayan G. Chandravarker said, in reference to this controversy as to whom its fatherhood is to be assigned, "If a father be found out, we must not hesitate to say that Surendranath is the grandfather—he is the father of our national consciousness." In confirmation of the above it is as worthwhile to recall what Sree Rajagopalachari said in the first lap of our freedom on the floor of the Calcutta Senate Hall, November, 1948—"In the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea." At all events, there need be absolutely not a breath of demur to the fact that he dauntlessly spanned its teething period and this how the leaders of today started with a bank balance. It is, again, the epic leadership that ushered in the political renaissance in Bengal, the magnitude of which made Gopal K. Gokhale, the true gentleman he was, say, 'What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow.' The evening of his life was strewn with heated controversy and passions ran high. But sixteen years after his death, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was unveiling his statue at the Calcutta Esplanade, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said, "There is not a single weapon we (non-co-operators) have used which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjea." Popularity in politics is too frail a reed to lean upon; and it is a blunder to assess a man's place in history by counting how many tongues cheered him or jeered him. Possibly, the point that counts is what factor he was in the changes of his country. Judged from this standard, there is hardly, **in point of time**, a more striking figure in Indian politics. And it behoves our countrymen to read, reread and inwardly digest what Gandhijee meant by his tribute,

remarkable for its depth and serenity. It was 1926—the days of Non-co-operation's stress and strain; from the southern end of Bhawanipur, Calcutta, he walked 16 miles to pay Surendranath a visit. Pressed hard to take a car, he said, "I am on my pilgrimage—a car is a misfit."

In our last December, January and February issues, we have discussed by thumbnail sketches Tilak, Gandhi and Banerjea to emphasize their distinctive contributions, all coalescing to constitute the lifeline of our national endeavours for Freedom. We should deem it our religious duty to utter this note of warning that nothing of party or province or the particular views of this or that man should even in a remote manner taint the selection and presentation of our subjects of memoir. Dr. Keshkar's is a very very solemn responsibility. He has to prove equal to the occasion.

J. B.

Algeria

While the rest of the world is in a state of uneasy speculation where the cold war is concerned, something far more ominous is looming over Africa. The following extract from the **New York Times** of March 6 will illustrate our point. We do not know why General de Gaulle has thus veered away from the path of peace, but it bodes evil, both for France and for Algeria:

The French army command in Algeria has bitterly opposed any settlement of the nationalist rebellion short of full military victory over the nationalists. In 1958, when the army put General de Gaulle in power in France, it looked to him for that victory. De Gaulle has been unable to produce it. The war, under way for more than five years, has cost France 13,000 soldiers and military victory is still not in sight.

Six months ago de Gaulle proposed a solution based upon a cease-fire and self-determination for the Algerian population of 9,000,000 Moslems and 1,000,000 Europeans. Since then many of de Gaulle's officers have turned against him. The cli-

max came five weeks ago when army units openly sympathized with the Rightist insurrection against de Gaulle.

Last week de Gaulle went to Algeria to mend relations with the army and reassert his control over his officers. In three days of closed sessions at army command posts, the French President made a series of speeches which caused considerable confusion in Paris and other Western capitals.

On Thursday, de Gaulle was quoted as saying that "there will be no Dienbienphu in Algeria"—a reference to the defeat that brought about France's evacuation from Indo-China. He was also reported to have said France would remain in Algeria and the Algerians would be asked to choose the form of her continued presence: "France must not leave. She has a right to be in Algeria. She shall stay." In other words, de Gaulle seemed to be saying, his policy of self-determination does not mean that France will accept Algerian independence. His statements brought rejoicing among the army and the European settlers who want to keep Algeria French, and consternation among the Algerian Moslems.

But on Friday de Gaulle let it be known that he also opposes the "integration" of Algeria and France—the course which the army favors as a means of submerging the Algerian Moslems in a French majority. He was quoted as saying: "Separated from France, Algeria would not be able to live; on the other hand, the Algerian Moslems cannot be Frenchmen from Provence or Brittany." De Gaulle has indicated he favors the establishment of some kind of federated Algeria with local autonomy and continued close links with France.

On the other hand, de Gaulle evidently realizes that such a solution is not now in prospect. Again and again he was quoted as telling his officers last week that "the Algerian problem will not be solved for a long time" and that the Algerian nationalists were not likely to accept a cease-fire but would have to be defeated in the field.

His tour of Algeria and the statements he made came on the heels of a new statement by the nationalists. On Monday, Ferhat Abbas, President of the Algerian Provi-

sional Government which was set up by the nationalists, announced that they would negotiate a cease-fire only on condition that "the French Government . . . agree to talks on the guarantees of a free referendum."

In effect, M. Abbas was saying France would have to discuss political conditions with his regime—a step de Gaulle had long since barred on the ground that negotiating with it "would be tantamount to building it up as the only valid representative (of the Algerians) and to elevating it in advance to being the Government of the country."

Taken together, the statements of de Gaulle and M. Abbas last week appeared to foreshadow a long war. The prospect of continued fighting contains little hope for either side since neither appears to be able to win a decisive military victory.

In Paris, the developments came as a shock to many circles which had been hoping for a negotiated settlement with the nationalists. French officials insisted that de Gaulle had not altered his basic policy of self-determination. But members of the National Assembly took a different view. Rightist circles claimed de Gaulle was finally coming around to their view—that there can be no peace until the French army has crushed the nationalists and that an independent Algeria is out of the question. Center and Leftist circles expressed concern that de Gaulle had, at the very least, changed the emphasis of his policy. Correspondents expressed frank perplexity over where de Gaulle's statements left the situation.

Sino-Nepalese Agreement

The Statesman reports as follows:

Kathmandu, March 25.—Nepal and China have agreed to demarcate their border scientifically along the traditional line, says P.T.I. To do this, they have agreed to set up a joint commission to which will be referred any differences that may exist now.

This was agreed to by the Prime Minis-

ters of the two countries, who signed an agreement in Peking on March 21.

Both countries would demilitarize their common frontier to a depth of 20 kilometres on either side.

Talks for a treaty of friendship and peace will be held in Kathmandu when Mr. Chou En-lai comes here.

The two Prime Ministers agreed that there were no Sino-Nepalese border disputes except a few slight differences which should be settled in a friendly manner.

Their joint communique disclosed an agreement to open diplomatic missions in each other's capitals.

The economic agreement gives Nepal Chinese aid of Rs. 10 crores in addition to the aid China gave in 1956.

The border agreement declared that the contracting parties have decided to determine concretely the boundary between the two countries in the following manner:

1—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is identical, "the boundary line shall be fixed according to the identical delineation on the maps of the two sides."

The joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct on-the-spot surveys and erect boundary markers. The territory north of the boundary line in these sections "will conclusively belong to China, while the territory south of the line will conclusively belong to Nepal, and neither contracting party will any longer lay claim to certain areas within the territory of the other party."

2—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical, whereas the state of actual jurisdiction by each side is undisputed, the joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons

from each side to conduct surveys on the spot, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections in accordance with concrete terrain features (watersheds, valleys, passes, etc.), and the actual jurisdiction by each side.

3—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical and the two sides differ in their understanding of the state of actual jurisdiction, the joint committee will send out joint teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to ascertain on the spot the state of actual jurisdiction in these sections, make adjustments in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections.

The aid grant will include equipment, machinery and materials, and other commodities, adds **Reuter** from Hongkong.

Chinese technicians and experts will be sent to Nepal to help "in the construction of the items of aid to be specified under the present agreement." Nepalese students will also be trained in China.

The communique said the Chinese aid would not include the remaining £3 million, provided under the 1956 agreement, which has not yet been used by Nepal.

It said: "The two sides held frank and free discussions on matters of common interest, in particular the question of consolidating and further developing friendly relations."

Mr. Koirala, who also saw Mr. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, during his stay, invited Mr. Chou to visit Nepal.

Mr. Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with pleasure, the communique said. "The two sides agreed that they would discuss and sign the treaty of peace and friendship between the two countries during Mr. Chou En-lai's visit to Nepal."

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By M. C. CHAGLA,
Ambassador of India to USA

A Constitution of a country does not spring ready-made like Minerva from the head of Jove. It is either the result of a revolution or a part of the continuity of its history. If it is the result of a revolution, the Constitution bears traces of the revolutionary ideals of the people. If it is the result of mere evolution, then it gives indications of its past history. In the case of India, whose Constitution was enacted in 1949, it was the result both of a peaceful revolution led by Mahatma Gandhi and also the result of transfer of power by Great Britain which meant that there was no break in the continuity of its history.

A Constitution also embodies the aims and aspirations a people seek to achieve and the mechanism by which that can be done. Our Constitution graphically and eloquently in its preamble lays down the objectives for which the Constitution was enacted and these are:

To constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic; to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

Our Constitution sets up a Democratic State. The democratic form of Government requires that ultimately the popular will must prevail. It is impossible for people directly to govern themselves and, therefore, the system of representative Government is devised and our representative institutions are based upon adult suffrage. Every adult, man and woman, in India has the vote and they elect their representatives to Parliament. In our last elections millions of people in India (out of total electorate of 193 million, 121 million voted in the General Elections in 1956) went to the polling booths and recorded their votes and hundreds of observers from foreign countries paid a tribute to India that the

elections held were completely free. How free they were you can judge from this instance that in the small State of Kerala, the Communist Party was elected to power in the teeth of the opposition of the Congress Party which is in power and which governs the country through our Parliament in Delhi. The Congress Party could have easily prevented a Communist victory if it had 'rigged' the elections, but to its credit it refused to do so.

American and British Models

We had to decide whether we should adopt the American or the British model of representative Government. In the British model, the Government is a part of the Legislature and is responsible to the Legislature and continues in power only so long as it has its confidence. In the United States, there is a separation of powers and the Executive is an irremovable Executive. Your President is elected by the people and he continues in office for four years irrespective of whether he has the confidence of the Congress or not. As you know, today, although the President was elected by the Republican Party, the Democratic Party is in a majority both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

In another important respect, we followed the American example and not the British. In this country and in India the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. All authorities must function under it and must be loyal to it. Under the British Constitution, Parliament is sovereign and can pass any law, the only limits to its sovereignty being those of practicability and reasonableness. An important consequence follows from the Constitution being supreme. If the Constitution is supreme, the Executive and the Legislature must be kept within constitutional bounds and must not be permitted to transgress the limits set by the Constitution. In India, as in the United States, this function has been

assigned to the Judiciary. In England, however important the Judiciary may be and however high its traditions, it must bow before the Sovereign Parliament. It has no right to consider the competence of Parliament to pass any law or to consider the constitutionality of any law. In the United States and in India, the position is entirely different. The Judiciary in America and in our country have been armed with the powerful weapon of judicial review. It can scrutinise every law passed by Parliament or the State Legislature to determine its constitutionality and, if the Legislature has exceeded its powers or overstepped its limit, the law can be declared void and inoperative.

Another important respect in which we have followed the American model is in writing into our Constitution a Bill of Rights similar to the provisions of your Constitution. Our Constitution calls them Fundamental Rights. These are rights guaranteed to all citizens and, in some cases, even to those who are not citizens. These rights are to be looked upon as inalienable rights of an individual which every human being is entitled to enjoy if he is to maintain his human dignity. They deal with equality before law, prohibition against discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, right of freedom of speech and expression, right to form associations or unions, right to acquire, hold or dispose of property, right to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business, right not to be deprived of life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law, right to freedom of conscience and to freely profess and practise religion, right to one's own culture and to study in any educational institution, right to be paid compensation for compulsory acquisition of property.

Rights of the Individual

In the modern complex society, conflict always arises between the rights of the individual and the security and interests of the State. When the State pursued

a *laissez faire* policy, the individual was left alone to pursue his own path and to manage his own affairs, but in the modern State which is a Welfare State and which looks after the welfare of its citizens, there is inevitably more and more encroachment upon the rights and activities of the individual. The most difficult problem of today is to draw the proper line between the conflicting claims of the State and the individual and to secure that the all-powerful State does not overstep this line. It may be said that in every case the rights of the individual must be subordinated to the social good. On the other hand, it may be equally cogently argued that the social good is determined by the State and that what the State thinks to be the social good may not necessarily be the social good envisaged by all the individuals inhabiting the State. It may also be argued that there are certain individual rights which are so fundamental and on which depends the very dignity of the human soul that no interests of the State or even the security of the State can be permitted to violate these rights.

Our Constitution has tried to solve this difficult problem in a very practical and, on the whole, satisfactory manner. The Legislature has been given the power to make laws which may contravene these fundamental rights if the contravention is in the interests of the public order, security of the State, public morality or maintenance of friendly relations with a foreign State. The Judiciary are constituted the custodians of these fundamental rights. Whether the restrictions imposed by the Legislature upon fundamental rights are reasonable restrictions or not is made a justiciable issue and by making it justiciable, the Constitution has placed in the hands of the Judiciary tremendous powers. It is not possible to deprive the citizens of any of their fundamental rights by a majority in the Legislature. The Legislature is controlled by the Judiciary and every citizen has been given the right to challenge any legislation or any act of Government or its officials which tends to deprive him of any of these rights and it is for the

Judiciary to determine whether the challenge is justified or not.

It has been urged with considerable force that this power of judicial review may act as a serious impediment to important social and economic legislation which India may desire to carry through in order to fight poverty, in order to do social justice, in order to raise the standards of its people and to achieve economic independence. It has been pointed out that the Courts of Law tend to be technical and may invalidate legislation on narrow theoretical grounds overlooking the larger public good and, therefore, regret has been expressed in certain quarters that our Constitution did not establish the sovereignty of Parliament and make Parliament the custodian of fundamental rights rather than the Judiciary; because it is urged that Parliament is the best judge of what legislation is necessary and to what extent legislation should trespass upon individual rights. But, our Constitution makers felt and quite rightly felt that it would be dangerous at the very inception of the new State to give uncontrolled power of legislation to the Legislature. It was realised that for a long time to come only one party would be in power with hardly any opposition and that democracy in India might have been imperilled if a single party was given the power to ride roughshod over individual rights and to ignore the protests of those who did not belong to that party. Therefore, even at the risk of slowing down the progress of the country, in the interests of freedom and democracy, an independent impartial authority was constituted to act as the arbitrator between the individual and the State and to adjudicate upon the rights and liberties of the former and the security and the interests of the latter. It is, therefore, that you find in India today that although we have launched upon a great adventure of industrialising our country and of bringing prosperity to our people, we are doing it democratically through democratic processes without regimenting our people and without sacrificing the freedom of the individual.

The people of the United States can well understand and appreciate the importance of the Judiciary and the power of judicial review given to the Judges. The Supreme Court here exercises that power and every citizen here feels that the Supreme Court is the protector of his rights and liberties and that the Congress cannot pass any law and the Government here cannot do anything which would in any way curtail those rights of the American citizens which are safeguarded by the American Constitution. The citizen of India has the same feeling with regard to the Judges and the Courts in India. It is essential that if the Judges are to play this important role satisfactorily, they should be completely independent of the Legislature and the Executive and that its integrity and impartiality should be beyond question and should be accepted as such by the public. Therefore, under our Constitution, the Judges are irremovable and are, in no way, controlled by the Legislature or the Executive.

Centre and the States

The American Constitution is a federal Constitution and there is a clear demarcation between the powers of the States and of the Federation. You have here what I might call a dual citizenship, citizenship of the State and citizenship of the Federation. You have also a dual Judiciary, one set of Judges enforcing State laws and the other the federal laws. In our country it was realised that it was necessary to have a strong Central Government to avoid the danger of fissiparous tendencies among the different States. Therefore, in India, the citizen owes his allegiance only to the Union of India and although there are High Courts in different States and a Supreme Court in Delhi, the Judiciary is one and integrated. It enforces both State and Union laws or what you would call federal laws. The Supreme Court in Delhi is the apex of the different Courts in the country and it is not only the highest federal court, it is also the highest Court of Appeal.

One difficulty which is always felt in a federation and you often felt it here is the demarcation of subjects on which the State Legislature can legislate and the Federal Legislature can legislate. The American Constitution naturally owes its characteristics to its past history. You had here independent States which decided to federate into the United States of America and, therefore, we have vestiges both in the American Constitution and in the Constitution of different States of important powers reserved to the States. In India, we have devised a rather novel machinery. There is a Union or federal list consisting of subjects in respect of which the Indian Parliament can legislate. There is a State list of subjects on which the State Legislature can legislate and we have a third list which is called the Concurrent List in respect of which both the Parliament and the State Legislatures can legislate. But, what makes our Union Parliament strong is the provision that all residuary powers of legislation are with the Union Parliament. In the United States, it is the contrary and residual powers are left to the State Legislatures. The device of the Concurrent List helps the Union Legislature to bring about uniformity even in matters where the State Legislature has legislative power. Under that list, both the State Legislature and the Union Legislature may cover the same legislative field but the legislation passed by the Union Legislature prevails over the State legislation. Here different States have different laws sometime in important matters like criminal or divorce law, etc. and the Congress has no power to bring about uniformity.

An important feature of every federal Constitution is the bicameral legislature; the lower chamber represents the people and the upper chamber represents the constituent States. In India, we have adopted the bicameral system but not with the federal characteristics. The House of the People which corresponds to the Chamber of Representatives in the Congress is elected on the basis of adult suffrage. In the Council of States which corresponds to the Senate here, the States are not equally

represented as here but according to their population.

In bringing about the Indian Union and consolidating the different parts of India into one, we had considerable difficulties after independence. As you know, under the British rule, there were many independent Indian princes who ruled their own States as dictators. If you look at a map of India in British times, you will find parts of India which were ruled by the British painted red and the States of the Princes shown yellow and there were hundreds of these yellow dots all over the map, some large and some small. After independence, we liquidated these Princes not by violence or coercion but with their consent and we repainted the map of India in one colour.

Secular State

I should like to draw your attention to one aspect of our Constitution and that is that it sets up what we call a secular State. To translate it into American parlance, it means that we have a complete separation of Church and State. In our country, we have no official religion. In our country every man and every woman irrespective of class, community and race can look forward to any office and can enjoy the same right as anybody does. We have no two classes of citizenship, a higher and a lower one. We have no ghettos in our country where we shut up people and deny them the rights of citizenship. India was cursed for centuries by the existence of what were known as 'untouchables' or people of the lower caste who were segregated. Mahatma Gandhi carried on a powerful fight against untouchability and today under our Constitution untouchability has been abolished and even made an offence and untouchables have been given the same rights as people of higher castes. Only a few days back, an untouchable was appointed as Chief Minister of one of our States. It is like appointing a Negro as a Governor of one of the southern States. I agree that we cannot bring about social equality by law. You have the same problem here. Here also Negroes have equal rights under the Constitution but unfortunately social discrimi-

nation is still practised against them. It takes time for people to change their attitude of mind. It is only when we realise that all men are not only equal before the law but also in the eye of God that we will have both in this country and our country a completely casteless society. Things have improved a great deal here and so have they in India.

Directive Principles

The Constitution of a country is only a machinery through which the country achieves its goal or what Socrates called 'the good life.' A Constitution may contain all the trappings of democracy; it may have a Legislature elected through adult suffrage; it may have Ministers responsible to that Legislature; it may have a strong Judiciary and even so, the Constitution may achieve nothing if it is not worked for a definite purpose and in order to achieve a specific goal. The goal of our country is set out in unmistakable terms in the Preamble to the Constitution to which I have referred.

But, these goals can only be achieved by laws passed by Parliament and by State Legislatures and, for that purpose, in the Constitution we have a chapter on Directive Principles which are intended as clear unmistakable guidance to the Legislatures even though they have no legal force. They contain more or less precepts and impose a moral, if not, a legal duty upon the country to apply the principles contained in this part in making laws. It is interesting to see what some of these Directive Principles contain. They lay down that the citizens have the right to adequate means of livelihood; that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women. They also provide that the country shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing right

to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want. They also lay down that the country shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities. They also lay down a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution within which the State shall provide for free and compulsory education for all citizens until they complete the age of 14 years. These are the Directive Principles which in the last ten years we have been trying to give effect to by the laws that we have passed. This is the socialistic pattern of society towards which we are aiming. May I say one word about our socialism? There is a great deal of misunderstanding in this country as to what socialism in the context of Indian society means. Our socialism is not a doctrinaire socialism. It is a pragmatic one, but what we are trying to do is what I have just pointed out to you as embodied in our Directive Principles. You will find on a close study of these Directive Principles that you in this country have already successfully carried out most of them and, where you have not, you are working to give effect to them. I think this country is more socialistic than India, but unfortunately people here do not realise how socialistic they are.

In the last ten years, we have also brought about a social revolution again giving effect to these Directive Principles. We have passed laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance under which we have given greater rights to women in India. Today, the women in India occupy the same position as men. There are women holding high positions in every walk of life. We have women as Governors, as Ambassadors, as Judges and as Ministers.

In the ultimate analysis, a Constitution must be judged by what it helps the country to achieve and applying that test,

I think our Constitution has helped the country, Parliament and Government to achieve many of the goals which the people of India solemnly resolved to do when they enacted the Constitution.

Justice Holmes, a very wise man, one of the wisest your country has produced, once said that like all life a Constitution was an experiment. You have been experimenting with your Constitution for nearly two centuries and during that period it has helped you to create a free and prosperous society. We have been experimenting with ours only for the last ten years—

and we also hope, especially because our Constitution so closely and strikingly resembles yours,—to achieve a free and prosperous society. Our society is already free. We need your help and co-operation to make it a prosperous one.*

*Text of the Mary Keatinge Das and Taraknath Das Memorial Lecture delivered by Mr. M. C. Chagla, Ambassador of India, under the auspices of Columbia University at the McMillin Theater, Broadway and West 116th Street, New York City, on Monday, February 1, 1960.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

A Historical Analysis

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The problem of unemployment in India can be traced back to the end of the 18th Century when our own system of industrial production was gradually destroyed through coercive measures adopted by the East India Company and the competition of products manufactured by the large industrial establishments of Great Britain. It is well known that the principal feature of ancient Indian village community was that each one of the village groups had its own occupation either principal or subsidiary to agriculture and such occupational groups were placed within the village community in such a manner that production and consumption were well balanced and the employment for nearly all was ensured. Agriculture was no doubt the main source of livelihood but the village communities did not depend on agriculture alone. There were always other means of livelihood either integrated with agriculture or followed independently. Such industries met not only the internal demand but had also built up a wide and profitable export market.

Evidence of export of the products of

these artisans till the Industrial Revolution, is available. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea gives definite information of India's external trade in industrial goods. The artisans were organised in units similar to the European guilds of the middle ages. The entrance to a trade, the wages, sales, prices and conditions of work were all carefully regulated. Wages were paid in money or in kind. The artisan sometimes worked as an independent unit with or without apprentices or for a dealer. The dealer might either simply advance money to him, have a lien on his product which he purchased at a settled price as soon as it was complete after deducting the advances made, or he might himself act as the employer making the artisan work for wages. The employer provided the raw materials in turn to spinners, weavers, and dyers. Separate Royal Workshops were also in existence where a certain number of artisans were collected together and made to work for wages. This type of organisation existed generally for highgrade articles for the Courts, the wealthy classes and for export. The

position of the middle men or dealers was generally better than the artisans. The dealers mostly acted as bankers, traders and in many cases as promoters of industrial enterprises.

The East India Company on their arrival found Indian Industry and trade in this condition. The Company's agents appeared first as dealers. Their main concern was with trade and especially with the external trade. The East India Company introduced a new encouragement to manufacture by extending the scope and market of Indian merchandise. Within a short time, there was a great increase in industrial activities. This is evident from the Report of Mr. Brown on the Commerce of British India in 1802-03, when he remarked that "Previous to the year 1798, a ship arriving in the Bengal river with funds to the extent of thirty thousand, (30,000) and in want of bale goods, was compelled to remain until they could be manufactured at the different aurgangs; whereas at the present period there are seldom less than one million sterling in value of cloths belonging to native merchants deposited in Calcutta for sale and of every other species of merchandise in equal proportion."¹

They bought goods, mainly cotton and silk manufactures through the native dealers and thus began to come into direct contact with the industrial producers.

The Company established factories in important centres for collecting merchandise. These were more of the nature of purchasing agencies rather than producing centres. The commercial residents of the Company were in their charge. They followed the traditional system of placing orders and making advances to the actual handicraftsmen and collect the goods from them direct as soon as the manufacture was complete. In Bengal the products were collected from craftsmen at the centres of production. In Madras attempt was made to attract workmen to particular centres and

employ them in a manner comparable with the old Royal Workshops. In this way the Company's agents came into direct competition with the local dealers.

Their rivalry at this stage was not with the actual producers or artisans but with the traders.² Their first attack was on the commerce or on the tertiary sector of employment. The Company by virtue of their charter had a monopoly of the trade of India and private traders of the land were practically at their mercy. Before the Industrial Revolution, therefore, the policy of the East India Company was a danger to the trade both internal and external but it did not affect the productive system which was rather encouraged by their activities. The employment position thus remained more or less intact.

Before European manufactures began to flood the Indian market, it was India that had built up an extensive export trade in many European countries. In a letter to Robert Dundas, the Court of Directors of the East India Company pointed out, "The articles of first necessity their (Indians') own country furnished more abundantly and more cheaply than it is possible for Europe to supply them. Except woollens and metals hardly any of our staple commodities find a vent among the Indians. The Chief commodities suited to the European market.....which India had hitherto been found to produce are spices, pepper, drugs, sugar, silk, saltpetre, indigo, raw cotton and above all cotton manufactures of singular beauty and endless variety. These last have formed from time immemorial the grand staple of India."

It was this cotton industry that was first affected by the influx of the British goods. Cotton Industry was established at Manchester at the beginning of the 18th Century but goods produced were inferior to Indian goods. The Industrial Revolution enabled England by the beginning of the 19th Century to manufacture industrial goods on a mass scale and export them to foreign markets. After the Industrial Revo-

1. Extract from Mr. Brown's Report on the Commerce of British India in 1802-03 (R. N. Chaudhury. P. 19).

2. Vera Anstey: Economic Development of India, p. 105.

lution many of the Indian artistic products exported to England began to be undercut in the British market, by the English factory products. The impact of the cheaper and less artistic factory products indirectly helped to bring down the quality of the products of handicrafts in India. The products which suffered most were cotton textiles, silk textiles, and silken-embroidered goods, woollen textiles including carpets, carved stone and wood, silver, copper and brass ware, carved ivory and lacquer work.

This impact had a serious repercussion in India. So long the Company's agents bought goods in India at the Indian market price. When due to the British factory competition they found that the prices of the commodities would have to be reduced, in order to compete with factory goods in British market they began to adopt coercive measures in India for a reduction in their cost price, mere decline in quality was not sufficient to bring the price to such a level that competition with the factory product would become possible. Therefore great pressure was now brought to bear upon the producers of the goods in India. As a first step towards reduction in cost the local dealers were eliminated and the Company's agents established direct contact with the producers through their factories. Full advantage was taken of the poverty of the people. A system of advances was introduced and the producers under the circumstances then existing were compelled to accept the advances. The Company's agents forced them to part with their goods at a dictated price because the producers accepted an advance which he could not refund. Penal measures against artisans unwilling to work for the company at the dictated price began to be frequently adopted. There was physical violence as well. Such was the Indian artisans' relation with the British agents. They could get better price from Dutch and Portuguese traders even for their inferior goods. The following extract from Dr. Buchanan's comment is illustrative. Buchanan says, "Each man on becoming bound (Asami) to the Company received Rs. 2/- and engaged not to work for any person until he had made as much as the Company required and no

other advance has ever been made by the Commercial Residents. The agents ordered each man to make a certain number of pieces of such or such goods and he is paid for each on its delivery according to the price stated in the tables."³ In this way the artisan was deprived of the right to sell his commodity in the open market at a competitive price. He was bought over for Rs. 2/- and was compelled to deliver all his goods at a dictated price to the Company's agents. Employment remained but the remuneration was drastically reduced. A study of the decline of industries under the Company's coercive measures brings out this fact that the artisans became completely desperate and demoralised and left their hereditary occupations. These men adopted agriculture as their only means of livelihood. Thus the pressure on land increased and with the decline in industries agriculture became the only means of livelihood and employment. The tertiary sector of employment, i.e., dealership in goods was already reduced by the infiltration of Company's agents in this sector and the consequent elimination of the local dealers. The destruction of the industries as a result of the Company's agents' eagerness to reduce the purchase price drove away a large number of people from the secondary sector of employment. Only the primary sector remained and this was absolutely insufficient to provide adequate employment and fair income. In this way there was a complete change in the pattern of employment and the scope for employment also became reduced. The maladjustment between man and material created at this stage got no opportunity of being removed. The problem of unemployment in its real sense originated at this point.

Dr. Buchanan made a survey of economic condition of Eastern and Southern India during the period 1804 to 1814. The records left by him give a good picture of Indian village life, its economic conditions and the employment position. From his accounts as well as from other narratives it is found that a large proportion of the Indian popu-

3. Montgomery Martin : *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 355.

lation was engaged in various industries besides their principal occupation, namely, agriculture, down to the middle of the second decade of the 19th Century. Weaving was still the national industry of the people. Millions of women increased the family income by their earnings from spinning, dyeing, tanning, metal working, and numerous other small industries provided employment to millions. Thus even fairly long after the Industrial Revolution Buchanan found Indian industries in a flourishing condition.

The Charter of 1813 introduced a change in the commercial policy which accentuated the decline of the Indian industries. Merely a change in the motive power brought about by the Industrial Revolution was not the only cause of the decline of Indian Industries. Indian goods were not only fine and artistic but were articles of everyday use. These goods produced by manual labour continued to compete with British products manufactured with steam power. Dr. Buchanan's survey indicates that unequal motive power was not enough to kill the hereditary skill and dexterity of the Indian artisans. The commercial policy of Britain had to be altered and political pressure had to be applied in order to establish British machine products in Britain's own market and also in the Indian market by ousting the handicrafts of the Indian artisans. Dr. Buchanan's survey has left an account of the period till the Charter of 1813 and is thus very important from this standpoint. In Dr. Buchanan's survey of Patna City and Bihar districts with a population of 3,364,420 the number of spinners were estimated at 330,426 and all the spinners were women, i.e., one tenth of the total population of the province were employed in one industry alone. Greater part of these women spun only a few hours in the afternoon. According to Buchanan's calculation the value of the thread spun by each spinner was nearly Rs. 7½ pies per year out of which the profit was nearly 50 per cent. Although the total earning for the year might look incredibly low at the present time it can reasonably be believed that at the then current

prices this earning represented substantial income. It represented the output of only a few hours in the afternoon. Had the needs been greater the high percentage of profit would certainly have attracted them to work longer hours.

In Shahabad spinning and weaving were the great national industries. Each woman made Rs. 1½ a year through spinning. It was added to the income of the families to which the women belonged. Each loom made an annual income of Rs. 20½ a year and each loom required the labour of a man and his wife as well as one boy or girl. Dr. Buchanan suspected that as a family could not be supported for less than Rs. 48 a year, the income of each loom was understated. But he did not say that the weavers had no land. Rather in his statement we find that half of the district was under Rice cultivation. If we take into consideration the fact that the weavers had some land which provided them for their food for the year, the income from the loom might have been quite sufficient.

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1813—when the Company's monopoly trade in India was taken away and private trade was allowed in the Indian market. A Parliamentary Enquiry Committee, was set up in that year to inquire into the conditions of the Company's trade.⁴ In respect of Indian manufactures the House of Commons sought to discover how they could be replaced by British manufactures and how British industries could be promoted at the expense of Indian industries. The real object of this Parliamentary Enquiry was to promote the interest of the British manufactures which had been excluded by Napoleon from the Continental Ports. An outlet for British manufactures was therefore desperately needed, and this Committee was appointed to eke out a solution.

In this Committee of Enquiry there was a great divergence of opinion about the commercial potentiality of Indian

4. R. C. Dutt—Economic History of India, pp. 242, 245, 249.

manufactures. The excellence of Indian products of small and cottage industries was however asserted by Sir Thomas Munro before this Committee. Sir Thomas Munro had spent twenty-seven years in India and spoke from his own experience. The unequal competition of British goods enjoying steam power and also greater political backing against Indian goods was explained by John Rankin, a merchant examined by the Commons Committee of 1813.

John Rankin made no hesitation to disclose the objectionable nature of such prohibitive duties and thus he said, "I took upon it as a protective duty to encourage our own manufacture." Henry St. George Tucker was in India for a long time and became a director of the East India Company. Writing in 1823, i.e., ten years after the date of the Parliamentary Enquiry referred to above, he condemned England's commercial policy towards India. The way in which Indian Industries were forced to go down has been fully illustrated in his statement. He wrote, "What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and of late partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent; but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this Country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possession. India is thus reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of an agricultural country". It was stated in evidence in the Commons Committee of 1813, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to that period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price 50 to 60 per cent lower than those manufactured in England in mechanised factories. It therefore became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition.

H. H. Wilson said that the mills of

Paisle and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufactures. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms. The vitality of the Indian Cottage Industries which provided independent and subsidiary employment to millions was proved.

R. C. Dutt traced the Commercial policy of Great Britain towards India in the 18th and earlier years of the 19th centuries. He said, "Endeavours were made which were fatally successful to repress Indian manufacturers and to extend British manufactures. The import of Indian goods to Europe was repressed by prohibitive duties; the export of British goods to India was encouraged by almost nominal duties. The production of raw material in India for British industries and the consumption of British manufactures in India, were the two-fold objects of the early commercial policy of England."⁵

Montgomery told a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1840: "I do not agree that India is an agricultural country; India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilization. I do not suppose that India is to become the agriculture farm of England; she is a manufacturing country; her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages, and have never been able to be competed with/by any nation wherever fair play has been given to them. I speak not now of her Dacca Muslins and her Cashmir Shawls, but of various articles which she has manufactured in a manner superior to any part of the World. To reduce her now

5. R. C. Dutt—Economic History of

India, Vol. II, p. vii.

to an agricultural Country would be an injustice to India." per cent lower than the price of the British product in its home market.

It is, therefore, clear that even by the middle of the 19th Century a man like Montgomery Martin who had personal and extensive knowledge about India believed that the Indian manufacture could compete with the products of any country in the world if the competition was fair. Martin further said, "The cry that has taken play for free trade with India, has been a free trade from this country, not a free trade between India and this country.....The decay and destruction of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places where native manufactures had been carried on is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade. I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker."⁶ Most of the witnesses before the Select Committee of 1840 had much to say about the displacement of Indian labour by the introduction of English manufactures—clothing, tools and implements, glassware and brass articles. The people of India deprived of their occupations, turned to agriculture chiefly. India instead of exporting manufactured goods began to export raw materials in large volume. But here also differential treatment was made in regard to Indian products. Indian sugar had to pay a higher duty than the Dutch Indies Sugar when imported in England. Similar distinction was made between Indian and American cotton. It was thus political pressure and political discrimination which drove up the largest source of employment and threw the people entirely on land.

The following facts therefore emerge prominently :

(1) In spite of organisational difference, i.e., small Indian Industry against large British Industry the former continued to compete with the latter. The price of the product of the small Indian industries in its export market in England was 50 to 60

(2) In spite of the great difference in motive power, i.e., manual power in India and steam power in England, the Indian industry maintained its superiority.

(3) It was political injustice which ultimately succeeded in strangling Britain's Indian competitors. The closure of India's export market in England through prohibitive duties, dumping of British products in India under political pressure and a planned discouragement of Indian industries were the causes of the final decline. The export market was lost; the home market in India contracted to a large extent but in spite of such heavy discouragements the industries were not totally killed. The strength of the small industry against so many odds had been demonstrated. Although it was declining, it maintained its existence.

After private trade was permitted in 1813 a new development in India had taken place. There was a change in the pattern of industrialisation and consequently in the sphere of employment as well. More emphasis was now laid on production even at the cost of employment. The only objective became maximum production at minimum cost. British traders came to India and began to start large-scale industries. Greater reliance was placed on mechanisation. This new phase in industrialisation may be divided into three sections, namely, plantation, mining and manufacturing industries. Indigo was the first plantation industry introduced in Bengal. About the middle of the 18th Century Europe's requirements of indigo was supplied from St. Domingo. In an insurrection in St. Domingo the indigo factories there were destroyed. India about the year 1779-80 became the source of indigo. The French and Spaniards manufactured indigo in St. Domingo but in India the British took up the trade. Bengal, Behar, Madras, North-Western Provinces became the principal areas for the cultivation of indigo and this new industry became a source of considerable wealth to

6. R. C. Dutt—Economic History of India, Vol. II, p. 112.

them. The ryots were very much oppressed and the people of India did not get the full benefit of this new industry. During the period of indigo prosperity this industry employed a considerable number of workers both in cultivation and in manufacture. The introduction of synthetic indigo in 1897 dealt a serious blow to this industry. In spite of this early in the Twentieth Century the industry still supported about 2½ lakhs of people but the number began to decline gradually.⁷

Although the possibility of tea cultivation was being suggested as early as 1788 but actual plantation was not undertaken until 1851. After some rise and fall the industry became more or less firmly established in 1869. Acreage production and export of tea began to increase rapidly with the expansion of foreign markets. The leading province in tea cultivation became Assam followed by Bengal. Assam and Bengal together cultivated 80 per cent of the total area under tea and raised 84 per cent of the total production. The tableland of Assam with its two contiguous districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in Bengal and the region over the Malabar Coast in South India including the Nilgiris and Travancore produced together 98 per cent of India's tea crop. In 1905, the earliest year for which records of the garden workers are available the average daily number of workers in this industry all over India was 5,53,821. This number rose to 9,73,352 in 1918, the highest figure ever reached in this industry till 1928. In 1928 the total number of workers in tea was 1,06,787 or 57 per cent of all plantation industry. The total number of plantation labourers in all three plantations namely tea, coffee, and rubber was 10,53,944.

These plantation industries may thus be considered to have supplied additional employment to more than 10 lakhs of people. It was a net addition and it did not displace any other industry.

Similar is the case with mining industry. Existence of coal in Bengal has been

traced, as far back as 1774. In 1775 the mining industry started but the quality of coal was not satisfactory. The year 1820 might be recorded as the date of first regular operation of the coal industry in the Ranigange Coal Field. The industry showed signs of development only in the second half of the 19th Century and specially after the construction of the E. I. Railway, which passed through the Ranigange Coal Field and served not only as a carrier but as a large consumer of coal. The foundation of cotton and jute mills provided further stimulus to the coal industry, the progress of which became rapid. This industry had provided employment to 150,000 people which is also a net addition to employment. Most of the coal mine labourers have been recruited from the neighbouring cultivating class. They had still maintained their link with the land: they went to attend their village twice a year during the sowing and harvesting seasons. Thus for many of them the coal industry came as an additional source of employment.

Plantation and mining industry instead of displacing industrial labour had introduced new sources of employment.

The development of sources of power both thermal and electrical has not come into conflict with the small industry but on the other hand these have stimulated the development of small industries providing for further employment in the secondary sector. Similarly the development of basic raw materials like iron and aluminium has helped in the growth of other industries and stimulated employment. This has not been the case with the development of large-scale industries for the manufacture of consumers' goods.

The industries that first attracted the English Capitalists were cotton and jute. In 1878 the first cotton mill, the Bowreah Cotton Mills Co., Ltd., was established at Fort Gloster near Calcutta and for the first time in India steam power was used in spinning and weaving of cotton fabrics. The outposts of industrial revolution being first planted by the cotton industry gradually spread to other industries, such as sugar,

7. Imperial Gazetteer, 1908, p. 374.

rice husking and grinding, oil milling and others.

This rise of modern industries was a new source of danger to the wide-spread Indian small industries. Large-scale factories were established by the British agency houses. Although they provided immediate employment in these factories, the employment pattern ultimately suffered a very serious change. For example, cotton spinning was the main source of employment to the women next probably to paddy husking till the first quarter of the 19th Century. The introduction of power spinning in the large textile factories deprived the village women-folk one of their principal sources of income. Instead of helping the family to some extent even with this small earning they became totally dependent on the male members. When the factory milling of rice came, it made them absolutely helpless. The appearance of the husking machine made a large section totally unemployed, namely, the village women-folk.

Although the first cotton mill was established in Bengal, it was not before 1854 that the real beginning of the industry was made. The first successful cotton mill was started in 1854 in Bombay by C. N. Davar. Since then a large number of mills were erected in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Madras and other places and rapid expansion of the industry was evident. From the beginning this industry was financed and controlled by Indians although European managers were often employed. Production of yarn and cloth by steam power in India had its foundation firmly laid.

By the beginning of 1875 there were 48 cotton mills in India with looms and spindles estimated at 10,000 and 10,00,000 respectively (Ref. Pillai 189). The growth of the mill industry together with the expansion of employment between 1877 and 1939 may be seen from the following table:⁸

| Year | No. of Mills | No. of Spindles. | No. of looms. | Average No. of hands employed. | No. stated |
|------|--------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1877 | 51 | 1,244,206 | 10,385 | | 161,189 |
| 1900 | 193 | 4,945,783 | 40,124 | | 260,276 |
| 1914 | 271 | 6,778,895 | 104,179 | | 282,227 |
| 1918 | 262 | 6,653,871 | 116,484 | | 343,723 |
| 1922 | 298 | 7,331,219 | 134,620 | | 384,623 |
| 1927 | 336 | 8,702,760 | 161,952 | | 384,022 |
| 1930 | 348 | 9,124,768 | 179,250 | | 403,226 |
| 1932 | 339 | 9,506,083 | 186,341 | | 417,803 |
| 1936 | 379 | 9,856,658 | 200,062 | | 441,949 |
| 1939 | 389 | 10,059,370 | 202,464 | | |

From this table it is found that since 1877 the increase in the number of mills has been about eight times, the increase in the number of spindles about ten times, increase in the number of looms twenty times, but increase in employment has been less than three times. This shows that there has been greater mechanisation and greater utilisation of power in the spinning section than in the weaving department and the progressive mechanisation of the mills made it possible for them to be run with less than proportionate number of men. The net result was that employment lagged behind while the number of mills went on increasing rapidly. Thus the balance between production and consumption could hardly be maintained. Employment lagged behind and the total purchasing power of the people did not increase. At every state of advancement of big industries there was some increase in employment but there was a corresponding and more than proportionate decline in employment because the new big industries wiped out the smaller competitors which employed larger number of people.

The production of the mills increased to such an extent by the Second World War that imports were very much reduced. The

8. Indian Year Book, 1940-41, p. 762 and Report of the Cotton Millowners' Association, 1939, p. 389.

handloom production, however, continued to maintain itself, even against this dual competition of imports and mill production. The greatest difficulty for the handloom was (and still is) the price and availability of yarn. Even with this serious difficulty as regards its only raw material, handloom production remained almost constant.

Due to the elimination of different industrial sources of employment and the increasing dependence on agriculture as the sole means of livelihood poverty began to increase. Attempts from non-official quarters were made to discover the cause of this increase in national poverty. Justice Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, Digby and others began to write on this subject. All of them said that the main cause of poverty was foreign exploitation, drainage of national wealth and the ruin of Indian trade and industries. Although the number of people depending on agriculture increased heavily, the methods of cultivation remained the same and productivity did not increase. Therefore productivity being low and dependence on agriculture being greater, per capita earning from agriculture which was already low declined still further. Agriculture provided employment only for five months a year and for the rest of the year there was all-round idleness. With greater number of people falling upon agriculture fragmentation of land increased with a consequent increase in number of uneconomic holdings. As a result the number of landless people in the rural sector with a chance of employment only during the five months of the agricultural season began to increase. The establishment of modern factories therefore failed to bring any substantial benefit to the poverty-stricken people of India. It gave them cheap products, it brought wealth to the richer section, enriched the treasury of the Government through high revenue, it imported a new tempo to the dull economic life of the country, but it did little to give relief to the people who had been deprived of their traditional profession by the power-driven factories of modern age. Large-scale factory opened new avenues of

employment no doubt but that was too scanty to provide the large labour force.

The industrial development in India was not commensurate with the need of the country. British capitalists developed those industries only where they were certain of maximum profit. They had no intention to improve the condition of the people or to make arrangements for the profitable employment of those who had been driven out of their village handicrafts. Only the consumption goods industries were established while the basic and key industries remained quite undeveloped. No balance between production and consumption was maintained. Capital formation was very low and the country depended exclusively on foreign capital for all essential requirements of the industry. The condition became so precarious that towards the end of the 19th Century, a series of desolating famines occurred to endanger the very foundation of the economic life. It was no longer feasible on the part of the government to adhere to the policy of *Laissez faire* and to shirk off their responsibility of maintaining economic stability. Consequently the Government was obliged to appoint in 1880 a Famine Commission to investigate into the cause of the recurrence of famine and to suggest remedial measures. The Famine Commission found in the introduction of a diversity of occupations the most important remedy and made detailed recommendations regarding the directions in which the Government might usefully aid in the fostering of new industries. As to the cause of famine, the Commission said, "At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupation, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments." The Commission hit the right nail on the head and made the

accurate diagnosis but unfortunately it failed to prescribe the remedy suitable to India. Industrialisation was its recommendation but the Commission had no concrete idea of the form and actual working of the industrial organisation which would be appropriate to make provision of employment for the surplus population. The Commission could not penetrate into the root of the economic system of India. They took India as they found her at the time of the Commission and had no eyes to her past history when full employment to the people was accorded by the organised village industries. Although the Commission failed to realise that industrialisation on British model was absolutely inadequate for a vast country like India with such a huge population, it acknowledged the intimate relations between famine, industrialisation and employment.

The only practical outcome of the recommendations of the Commission was that the Government issued an order to its officers in 1883 asking them to confine their indents on the European markets to those articles that could not be obtained in the country. An Industrial Exhibition was organised in Calcutta in 1884-85 and this led to the foundation of Calcutta Commercial Museum. Provision, although inadequate, was made in certain parts of the country to impart technical and industrial education.

Towards the end of the century the evils of dependence on foreign capital for economic development was realised. The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 brought about a psychological change. The economic demand was merged into the larger and more comprehensive demand for **Swaraj**. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report said, "The Swadeshi Movement was the positive and the boycott the negative expression of the same purpose." Inspired by the ideals of the movement, a great wave of industrial enthusiasm spread all over the country. A number of factories depending on modern technology were established for the manufacture of textiles, hosiery, pencils, cutlery, matches, glass, etc. A revival of old cottage industries were also made along with

modern mechanical industries. But most of these enterprises collapsed shortly after their inception. Lack of practical training on the part of the workers and even more at the lack of experience of their promoters, in combination with the apathetic attitude of the Government brought about their destruction and ruin. Instead of helping these new infant industries, the Government deliberately pursued a policy to hamper their progress. Differential railway rates were allowed to continue to the prejudice of Indian manufacturers. Competition from imported goods were permitted. Most of the Indian industries therefore died a natural death. The experience of this endeavour however emphasised the fact that without strong and vigorous backing of the Government at least in the initial stage, industries in India had no chance to establish firmly. Thus in the period before the First World War, Indian industries were very poorly developed. The outbreak of the war in 1914 gave for the first time in the annals of British regime in India, a real impetus to industrial development. Industrialisation so far was only piecemeal in its development. The war brought a new orientation. The demand for Indian manufactured goods increased enormously, partly because imports were completely eliminated from Indian market and partly on account of the new War demand from Indian troops in Mesopotamia and other Eastern War Centres and from England and the Allies. India was therefore in a favourable position for incurring a great industrial stimulus.

With the outbreak of the War the problem that worried the Government of India most was how to secure huge War material from the undeveloped industrial units. The difficulty of securing import threatened to jeopardise Indian economic life. Hence there was urgent need for a new constructive economic policy. In their despatch of the 26th November, 1915, Lord Hardinge's Government put this question to the India office. Consequently the Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916, to investigate whether existing industries would be able to supply War demand and also to find out the actual industrial potentiality of

India. The Commission was instructed to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit recommendations for a permanent policy of industrial stimulation. The object was to relieve the United Kingdom from the necessity of supplying extraneous demands. Accordingly steps were taken to develop Indian resources for the supply of the forces in India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt.

In 1917 the Indian Munitions Board was created. The Board's primary function was the utilisation to the utmost extent of Indian resources in materials of all kinds, except food and fodder, required for the prosecution of the War. The Board had to meet civil as well as military demands for stores.⁹

The ability of the Board to develop industries in India had been strictly limited by the concentration of its energies on its primary object, namely, the immediate supply but within those limits it had been able to foster the growth of indigenous industries in many ways, the most important of which were—

(1) the direct purchase in India of articles and materials of all kinds needed for the army and civil departments and the railways,

(2) the diversion, whenever practicable, by means of the priority system and its control over Home indents, of all orders for articles and materials from the United Kingdom and elsewhere to manufacturers in India,

(3) the giving of assistance to individuals and firms who desired to import plant or to engage chemical and technical experts and skilled labour from Home or elsewhere, in order to establish new industries or develop old ones.

(=) the dissemination of information and expert advice and the giving of other direct or indirect economic management to persons prepared to establish new industries in India.

With the exception of foodstuffs, medi-

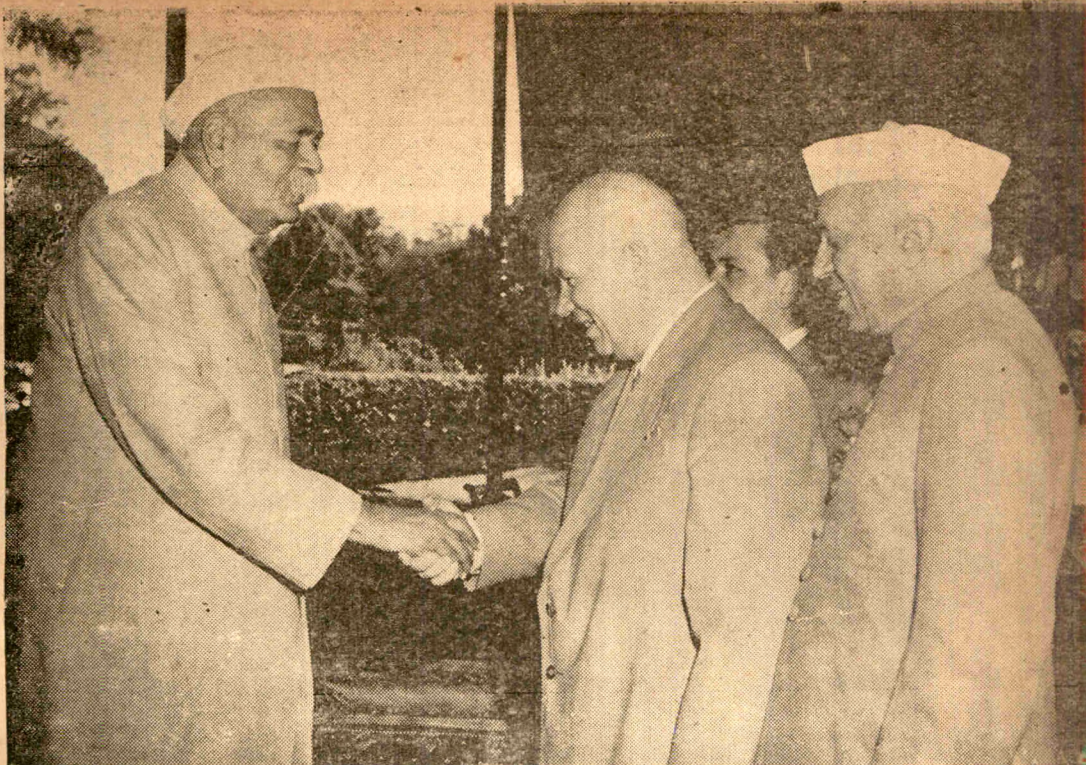
cal stores, and certain technical stores such as mechanical transport, for the provision of which there already existed special organisations, the Indian Munitions Board became responsible for the supply of all articles required by the armies stationed in and based on India, by Government departments and by State Railways, as well as for certain materials needed by the British Government.

The following list of articles among others which the Board repeatedly refused to recommend priority, on the ground that they, on a suitable substitute, could be manufactured in India, show that opportunities have been afforded to Indian manufacturers by the War—carbolic, sulphuric and hydrochloric acids, caustic soda, magnesium chloride, zinc chloride, felted bag sheaths, brushes and brooms of all kinds, leather and cotton beltings, boiler composition, bolts, nuts and rivets, locks and padlock, galvanised buckets, buttons, buffer straps and buffers, buffer jute pickers, cast iron piping, lamp chimneys and gloves, chrome leather, disinfecting fluids, firebricks, soldering fluid, glass dishes and jars, various surgical instruments, penknives and pruning knives, scissors, leather washers, manilla rope leather articles, linseed oils, anti-friction ocheres, metal and metal polish, red and yellow paints and varnishes, roller skin, soap, tallow, tea chests and tea lead, twine, paraffin wax, cotton webbing, ship fittings, sheepskins for rice mills, gears, cast iron wheels, wooden handles for tools, hand tools and machinery spares of all descriptions.¹⁰

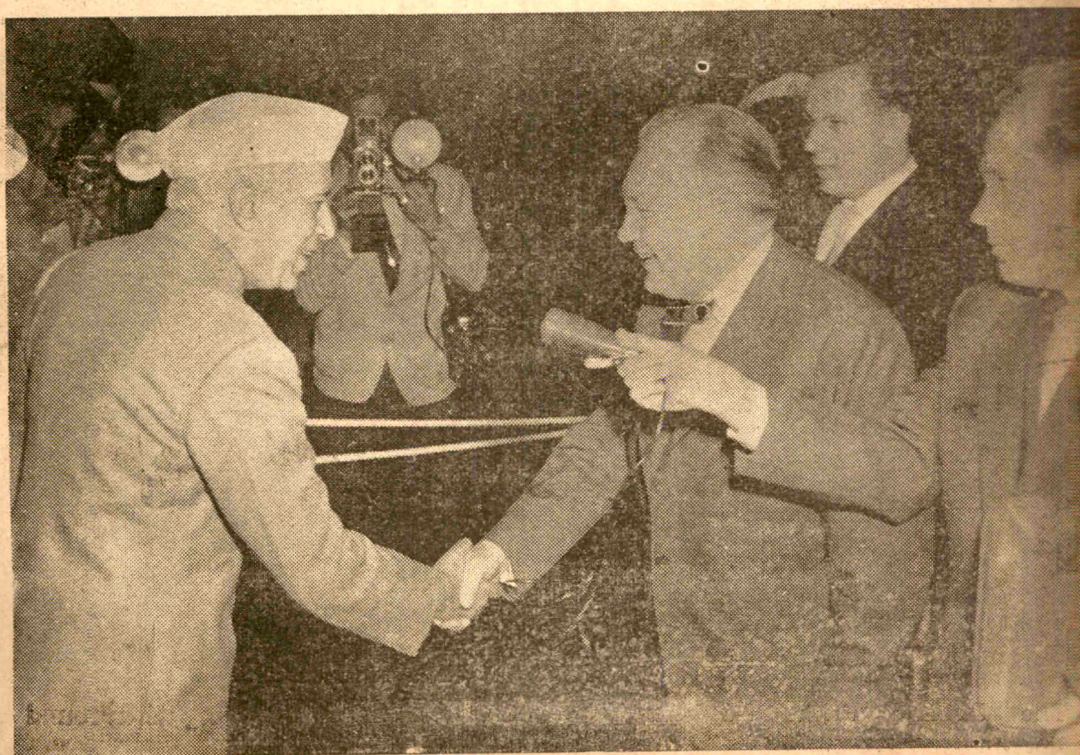
The Board's policy led to the simultaneous development of Indian industries in all the three sectors, namely, large medium and cottage. In order to encourage industries the Board's policy was to deal with the manufacturers direct wherever possible. During Sept. 1918, store worth Rs. 3½ crores were purchased. Of this amount 47 per cent was paid to purely Indian firms; 26 per cent to purely European firms, and the rest to firms European in management but composite in share hold-

9 Munition Board Report, p. 2.

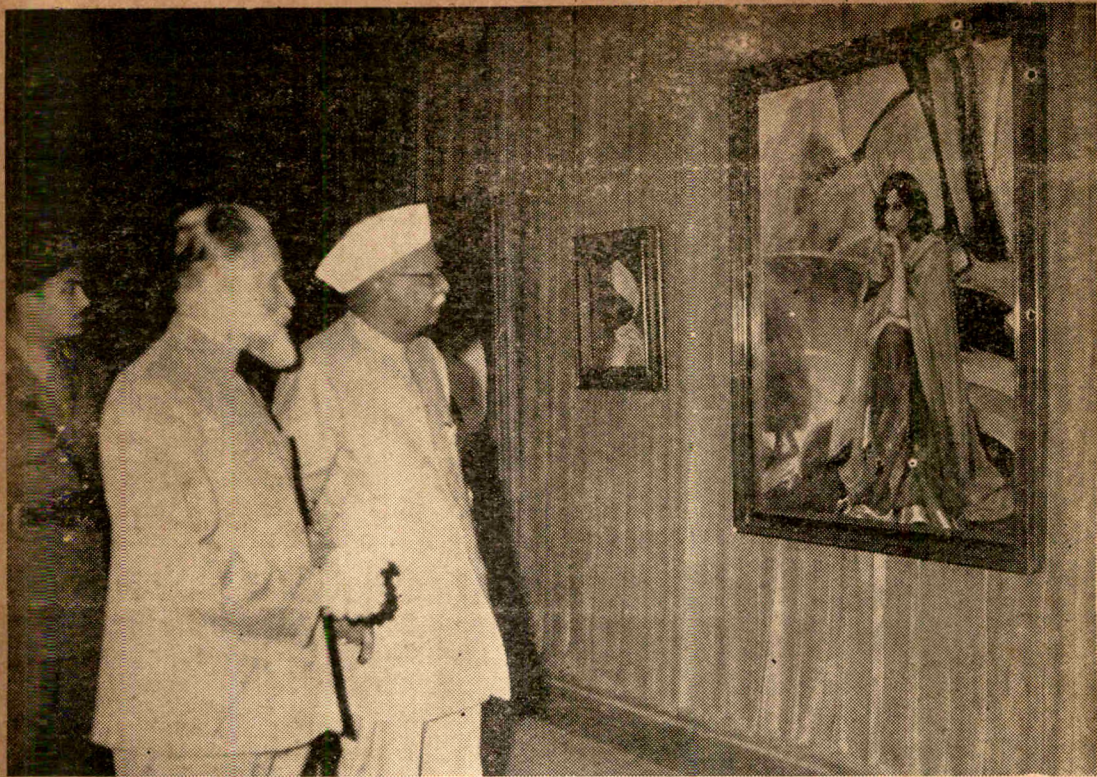
10. Munition Board Report, p. 13.



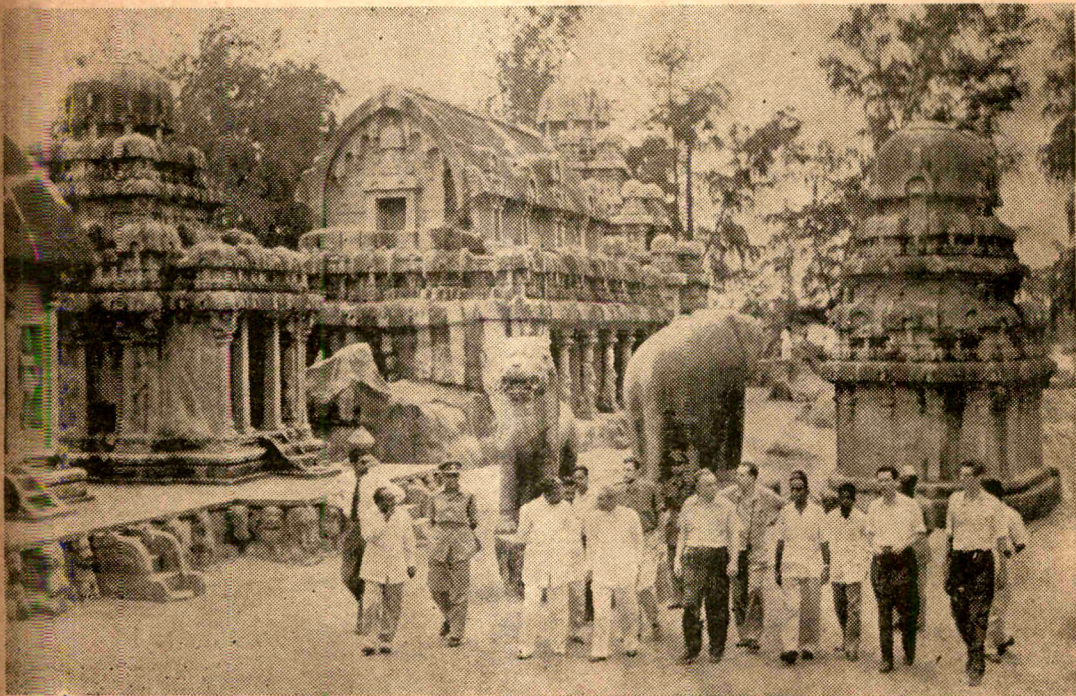
Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, being introduced to Prime Minister Mr. N. S. Khrushchev of the U.S.S.R. at a lunch given to the latter by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru



The Prime Minister of Finland, Dr. V. J. Sukselainen was received at the Palam Airport by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru



Dr. Rajendra Prasad being conducted round the Exhibition of Svetoslav Roerich's paintings by the artist



The Finland Prime Minister Dr. Sukselainen and party being taken round the Panch Rathas, rock-cut temples at Mahabalipuram, during their recent visit to Madras

ing. In addition to this over one crore a month was paid for hides and leather almost entirely to Indian firms.

The Board has paid special attention to the development of what may be called 'key' industries, so far as this has been possible in India. For instance, attention has been focussed on the accessories used by the milling industries in this country, such as roller skins, pickers, etc. Other industries, to which considerable attention has been paid are the manufacture of anti-friction metal, ferro-manganese glass, pottery, refractory bricks, disinfecting fluids, tea pruning knives, tea chests, asbestos boiler composition, glucose, articles, and graphite crucibles. In most of these, considerable success was obtained by manufacturers. Ferro-manganese was even exported on a large scale. The development of the glass industry had been considerable, and such articles as bottles and phials, which were imported previously entirely from abroad, used to be manufactured in the country on a commercial scale. Refractory materials, suitable for lining the hottest furnaces, were made in India and it was hoped that the country would soon be independent of foreign imports of these articles. On an analysis of the list of industries developed show that a number of small industries increased their production under this stimulus of encouragement. Pruning knives were being made in numbers practically sufficient to supply the entire demands of the tea industry. About 2 lakhs of such knives are required every year. They began to be manufactured by Aspinwal & Co. in Southern India, Johnson & Co. of Aligarh and by local blacksmiths and manufacturers in Darjeeling, Manbhum and Shillong. Although one of the main difficulties was in the supply of steel, "some of these local products are quite satisfactory and the makers do make a fairly large trade in them. The first knife made from Tata Steel was produced by Batakristo Pal & Co., Calcutta and as a result of the experiment, Tatas have offered to supply steel of the quality required," hoes, digging fox, kodalies, etc., required by the tea industry were also manufactured.

In the jute industry practically all the consumable stores and all the machinery were, before the War, imported from the United Kingdom. Bobbins, plane tree rollers, pickers, roller skins, belting porcelain thread guides, etc., all came from England. Careful examination has shown that all these stores and many others can be successfully produced in this country, and they are now being produced successfully on a commercial scale. Bobbins of excellent quality were made by A. T. Mookerjee, while plane tree rollers have been made by Davenport & Co.'s saw mills in South India. Porcelain guides were made by the Calcutta Pottery Works.

In Bengal, attempts had been made to organise the hand weavers, and for the manufacture of dosuti for tents, and tapes and khaki webbing were manufactured by hand on a large scale in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, Howrah, Hooghly, Nadia and Bankura. Buttons were also made for the army by the Home Industries Association and by other firms.

The cutlery industry made a great headway. Munition Board Report says that the making of knives of various kinds has always been an indigenous industry especially in the Punjab where it has been in the hands of the small artisans. Manufacture of cutlery by the small artisans has been done in other places as well like Aligarh, Nezamabad, Wazirabad, Kanchannagar, etc. During the First World War military purchase of knives in large numbers gave a great encouragement to this industry. Clasp knives were required for the equipment of the individual soldier and were purchased from the village artisans. After some trouble the wooden handle was made by them. Collins says that "these knives were manufactured for the most part without machinery and the work of the artisans were organised by manufacturing firms like Johnson & Co. of Aligarh, by small capitalists or by blacksmiths of more than average intelligence with capital of their own. Knives and spoons were also purchased in large numbers. Many of the class knives produced were not only of excellent quality but compare very favourably in price with the imported

articles." Pruning knives were also manufactured from waste steel, which was also encouraged by the Munitions Board.

Development during the War was hindered for:

(a) the great difficulty under war conditions of obtaining essential machinery and materials such as cannot be made in India.

(b) the shortage of coal and coking plant coupled with a shortage of railway wagons and coasting vessels,

(c) the difficulty of procuring from abroad chemical and technical experts, who were all needed in their own countries,

(d) the shortage of skilled labour.

This account shows that when there was a keen desire to develop modern industries in India, under pressure of War, with Indian resources, want of funds and want of skilled personnel did not hinder the progress although difficulties were felt. Dependence of Indian industries on foreign machinery was another handicap but even that did not retard the progress of industrialisation. Granted only adequate protection, it has been proved that India can develop her industries to a very large extent with her own resources. The shortness of time during which this was done indicates her great potentiality in industrial development. Where the structure of industry was smaller, the progress was more rapid. This progress increased employment in the country to a very substantial extent.

The Munitions Board depended on the medium and small industries which could come into production with small capital, indigenous experts and ready-made tools and implements. The Board did not approach the small industries with any object of encouraging cottage or small industries but had approached them only in their own interest. These industries supplied the Board with articles which before the War had almost ceased production in the country and were imported. For the period of War imports were stopped and competition between big and small industries was eliminated. Opportunity of the

additional demand created due to heavy Government purchase was so great that all the types of factories, big, medium and small, were able to take the fullest advantage. Production increased because demand increased. No doubt it was a War demand. The Government was the purchaser and the goods purchased were required mostly for destruction in the war. It has, however, been proved that if the direction of demand be changed and the demand comes from the people during peace time and due to an increase in their purchasing power, production can keep pace with the growing demand. Even when the demand is sudden and very large such increase in production through small units has the additional advantage of a large increase in employment. The co-ordination between large and small industries that came about under stress of War may also be effected during the peace time under a definite plan. If the small industries with their slender resources could supply such a huge demand, i.e., a War demand and the civil demand of the people enjoying additional purchasing power that came into circulation, there is no reason why they should not do the same under normal conditions. The Munitions Board and the Industrial Commission were critical about the products of the large industries but they have generally appreciated the quality of the products of the small factories. From the comments of the Board and the Commission it appears that although a good deal of rust had accumulated on the Indian products, culture will remove the rust and bring them out again in their old shining golden light.

The Munitions Board and the Industrial Commission's Report both admitted the potentiality of Indian small industries. The maximum employability in this sector was admitted.

The anxiety of the Government of India during the last decades of the 19th Century about the economic distress of the Indian people had made them think about plans for the elimination of such appalling poverty. Such poverty was eliminated to a very large extent under pressure of War

through a revival of cottage industries. This fact might have struck the Industrial Commission when they recognised, in their Report, the labour-absorbing capacity of the small industries and said that this was a necessity for a large and highly populated country like India. During the War years when the twofold competition, namely from imports and large factory products, was eliminated the smallest assistance brought about a rapid and widespread expansion of the small industry. That is, it was proved that the Indian small industries can stand on their own legs even when only one difficulty was removed, i.e., they got an assured market. It was also proved that they had almost indefinite capacity to produce more and to employ more men.

In 1939 on the outbreak of the Second World War it was again demonstrated that Indian industries have ample potentialities and may flourish with proper assistance. The small industries were again called upon to undertake war supplies and again they responded in a splendid manner.

Overseas orders exceeding Rs. 160 crores were placed in India during the first two years of the War. These orders covered a wide range of manufactured goods. It has been estimated that as many as 20,000 articles required by a modern army had been manufactured in this Country. The change brought in the economic structure as the Historian of the Supply Department, Government of India, has put it was as follows:¹¹

(a) From the point of view of agricultural production, there has not been much change except a slight shift from the production of raw materials and non-good crops to the production of good crops like rice and wheat.

(b) As far as the main pre-war industries like cotton textiles, jute, coal, tea, sugar and matches are concerned, the change in production is practically negli-

gible. Some other industries like iron and steel, cement, paper, etc., have however achieved some increase in output, while there has been an appreciable increase in the number of small engineering establishments in the variety and volume of work done by them. Ordnance Factories have increased in large number, and production of munitions and army equipment has risen many times over their pre-War levels.

(c) The cessation or curtailment of imports brought about a rise in the output of certain industries, viz., glass, electric bulbs, and fans, canned goods, biscuits and confectionary, pharmaceuticals and drugs, surgical instruments and appliances, heavy and fine chemicals.

In this huge production the cottage and small industries played a very important part. As a consequence, the Historian of the Supply Department remarked that employment has increased substantially since the outbreak of the war.

It was not for the Second World War alone. Four other factors also encouraged this industrial advancement, viz., (1) Government gave an assurance of extending protection against unfair foreign competition to industries, created to meet War requirements, after the War; (2) Government of India started a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research; (3) it also tried to solve the shortage of technicians by launching technical training scheme and (4) the establishment of Post War Reconstruction Committees helped a smooth transition from War to peace economy.

But it should be remembered that whatever steps the Government had taken in respect of industrial development were taken with the object of expansion of production only. The question of employment was not the issue before them and hence it was totally neglected.

It is for this reason that the need and effectiveness of a dispersal of industries was not realised and our greatest problem namely unemployment and consequent idleness of a very large number of people was left unsolved. The problem however was

11. Oversea Economic Series, India, 1949.

acute with the educated middle class people. The scope for white-collar technicians in large factories was still restricted. Small industries could have absorbed them. But it was neglected because the absorption of man-power in gainful employment was not the objective of the State policy. The unemployment problem in independent India was left as a legacy of the British Rule.

The economic history of India for the last two centuries shows that the small industries can thrive well and provide employment, either through independent units or through subsidiary occupations in addition to agriculture, in very large numbers, only when one primary condition is satisfied, viz., the market is assured. When market is assured, the producing units spontaneously grow up. They find their own finance even by pawning the jewellery of their womenfolk. They secure their own raw materials. When production expands, competition starts and equality begins to improve. The industries can continue either as ancillaries or as producers of complete products.

In the 20th Century, the Indian small industries have found assured market during the two World Wars. After Independence some industries have benefited through a change in the Government's stores purchase policy. Purchase of small industry products is being encouraged. Some

industries are taking advantage of the restriction of imports while some of them who depend on imported raw materials are suffering.

The biggest difficulty of our small industries lies in the dual competition, i.e., competition from imported goods and competition from national big industries. India adopted the policy of protection against imported goods for the development of her industries. As a result, industries thrived, production increased, the country became independent of the imported products, but it did not solve the problem of employment. If the policy of protection is extended to the small industries against these two competitors, it is certain that they will quickly develop and provide employment in an ever increasing manner. Even if there be some rise in price as a result of such protection, it will be offset by a rise in employment and creation of fresh purchasing power. The sacrifice will be temporary and will not be higher than that which had to be rendered during the period of protection of big industries against foreign competition. The suggestion of the Mahalanobis Plan Frame in this respect was a sound one. Development of small industries by spoonfeeding through subsidies cannot place them on a secure and permanent foundation. Modern researches have proved that small industries can have both the virtues of economy, efficiency and lower cost.



FORESTS AND FOREST RESOURCES OF INDIA

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

With a fast-growing population at the rate of roughly five million a year, India needs more and more land for the production of more food, for housing, erection of factories, roads and railways, research and educational institutions, universities, hospitals, sanatoria, national parks and garden cities, industrial centres, creation of lakes of huge dimensions, etc., from year to year. Moreover, the land needed for each class is inadequate for the present population inasmuch as under foreign rule no attention worth the name was bestowed on what are deemed essential for all-round healthy growth of a civilized nation. With the attainment of Independence the nation is trying to make up lee-way for what is found lacking and has suddenly been brought to a sense of deficiency in respect of land accentuated by the unfortunate partition of the country.

Of the various uses the most important is the land for cultivation that presently grows food, or land capable of producing food such as current fallows, other fallow lands and culturable wastes, i.e., "(i) all lands which have once been cultivated but were later abandoned due to one reason or the other, and (ii) areas definitely known to be culturable provided both these types of land can be reclaimed at a reasonable cost and with a reasonable effort. Such land may either be fallow or covered with shrubs and jungles which are not put to any use."

The next important group directly concerned with the growing of alternative diets (milk, etc.) and other field crops are (i) permanent pastures and other grazing grounds and (ii) land under miscellaneous tree crops, etc., i.e., "cultivated land which is not included in 'net area sown' but is put to some agricultural use, such as 'land under Casurina trees, thatching grasses, bamboo bushes and other groves' for fuel, etc., which are not included under orchards."

In order of importance regarding use of land as stated above, the essentiality of

forests in human existence is most undeservingly overlooked.

Before man had learnt the use of even the most crude implements for growing food and had completely to depend on the bounties of nature, forests provided him with all his wants: it was so simple to collect or pluck fruits to allay his hunger. The shadow of forests and the mountain caves served for him his shelter to rest his limbs. In forests, made habitable and comparatively safe, the highest summit of human thought and spiritual life were attained.

The importance of forests is fully realised when it comes to the assessment of influence they had exercised on the distribution of human race. Centres of human habitation grew up on the fringes of forests that could supply the want of food, be it fruits or small animals including birds, without much risk and effort to himself. The march of man from his original home has been directed and diverted by natural barriers of which the forest is the most important.

The forest lost some of its all-pervading influence when the question of food and clothing materials was relegated to the domain of agriculture. It can be easily surmised that it took thousands of years before man reached such a high stage of economic development. Still man had to depend on forests to a very large extent for meeting his other needs such as materials for house and boat building and fuel for heating and cooking. For many centuries timber has successfully withstood the onslaughts of other building materials such as brick, stone, steel and the like. But regarding its supremacy in the field of fuel it had considerably to give place to coal (a product of wood), oil, natural gas and water as a source of heat and motive power. What it has lost in this respect, it has gained as a raw material of great industrial significance.

Forests have yielded lands for cultivation and gradually for other purposes through deforestation which had proceeded without any regard to its baneful consequences. The welfare of human society, it

is overlooked, is closely knit with the existence of forests.

It is difficult to enumerate all the benefits which are bestowed by the forests on man in the order of their importance.

In protecting the top-soil from erosion and thus preserving the fertility and helping in the growth of future vegetation, forests have the largest contribution. The net-work of roots of closely growing trees, big and small, affords protection to the mother earth on which they grow and holds the earth firmly in its place. Moreover, by breaking the force of the stream-flow, caused by heavy rains, with the roots, the trees increase the resistance of the soil to erosive action of the water and the distribution of a large volume over a wide surface becomes possible.

A complete prevention of erosion is not possible but it can be greatly reduced and if this objective is not attained the silting up of the river beds attended with devastating floods in vast stretches of land lying on both sides of the river becomes irresistible. The ramifications provided by the roots of trees is the best that nature could design. It has been said that "except for a large layer of concrete, there is nothing known that will hold the soil so firmly on sloping land as a cover of trees." Further, the thick foliage of forests breaks the mighty force of torrential rains beating the soil directly and causing looseness in its consistency.

If forests cannot prevent floods, surely they mitigate their destructive character and partially control them. The tree trunks, roots and the undergrowth divide the rushing water into several weaker streams. The dead trees, branches and twigs, mosses and ferns, resting on the floor of forests obstruct the rush of water of which a large volume percolates into the lower strata of the earth, which is not possible when water in large volumes rush towards a lower level leaving very little for absorption by the soil over which it passes.

There is close relation between the temperature and rainfall of a country inasmuch as "forests lower the temperature of the inside and above it. The vertical influence

of forests upon temperature extends, in cases, to a height of 5,000 feet," writes Raphael Zon, author of **Forest Resources of the World**. The influence of forests on temperature is most noticeable in tropical and sub-tropical regions. Naturally the temperature of the soil covered by forests is lower and the forest atmosphere is similarly cooler than what is found in uncovered tracts. "In summer, the relative humidity of the air is higher in the forest than in the open." It is common knowledge based on observations of ages that "forests increase both the abundance and frequency of local precipitation over the areas they occupy." Woytinsky, W. S. and E. S. writing in **World Population and Production** observes that "forests increase the amount of moisture in the wind and thus provide additional precipitation in the areas beyond their limits. Wind absorbs at least as much moisture in passing over a square mile of forest as over a square mile of water."—(Forests and Mankind by Pack & Ors.).

Forests have served as natural wind-breaks to human habitation. In the plains, particularly during the hot weather, when strong currents of wind and desert gales sweep the fields lying deep in the neighbouring areas dessicating and singeing the crops, forests serve as belts against "the hot blown-soil that is deposited deep into the country helping in the formation of sand dunes" in such localities.

Because of the purity of forest-air, its hygienic influence is well recognised. It is free from dirt and dust, smoke and injurious gases. The atmosphere of its surroundings is pleasing, sombre, free from noises and shocks that play deleteriously on human nerves. While cities and other congested localities are full of unhealthy bacteria, forests are comparatively free in this respect.

The oxygen released by the green foliage of trees is really invigorating. Ozone is found in appreciable quantity in forest areas. It has been maintained by specialists that "villages surrounded by forests are never visited by cholera, and in India, troops are removed to barracks built in the forest to arrest the disease."—(R. Zon).

Though individual taste is the determining factor in the matter of selection of a locality, it may be said without fear of much contradiction that forest areas are more congenial to men who want to lead a quiet life in close communion with nature enjoying physical health and mental tranquillity. For healthy recreation centres, after-care colonies and sanatoria for convalescents, the forest area is deemed to be the best. It is not without reason that the Hindu Shastras enjoined a sojourn to the forest in old age to pass the rest of the life in meditation for higher spiritual bliss.

From the early days of human society uptill now forests have served as hunting grounds and "a retreat from the enemy attacks," providing in addition a great bulwark against invasion. With highly efficient equipments of modern warfare, troops will not still be able to pass through trackless forests and would have to find out a way that lies elsewhere.

Thus the services rendered by forests indirectly are more valuable than the physical economic products that forests can supply. But the worth of such articles are not negligible. Besides wood and timber, barks, rubber, tanning materials, dyestuff, fruits and nuts, cinchona, camphor, grass, bamboo, canes and rattans, gums and resins, vegetable drugs, and a host of other commodities are exploited from the forest.

In spite of the intrinsic value of the forests denudation has proceeded all over the world with India figuring prominently in the list. It has almost reached the danger point and further loss of forest regions cannot be looked upon with equanimity.

According to the **Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1955-56, Vol. I** (p. iv), land in India has been classified in the following manner:

(See Table in the next column)

Then forests come to occupy only 17.4 per cent of the total reporting areas according to village papers. There is a major discrepancy with the figures published in **Indian Forest Statistics (1954-55, Vol. 1)**—the latest that is available in which the percentage is 22.3 (instead of 17.4) calculated on the basis of 1,259,793 sq. miles

| Heads | Thousand acres | 1954-55 | | Increase (+) Decrease (-) |
|--|----------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|
| | | 1955-56 | 1954-55 | |
| Reporting areas (i.e., area according to village papers) | | 719,555 | 719,210 | +345 |
| 1. Forests | (100.0) | 125,554 | 123,774 | +1,780 |
| 2. Not available for cultivation | (17.4) | 188,388 | 120,078 | -1,690 |
| 3. Other uncultivated land other than fallow | (16.5) | 96,979 | 97,989 | -1,010 |
| 4. Fallow lands | (13.5) | 60,414 | 61,612 | -1,198 |
| 5. Net area sown | (18.4) | 318,220 | 315,757 | +2,463 |
| | (44.2) | | (44.0) | |

(Figures within brackets show the percentage of the total for each individual year).

as the total geographical area (according to the Surveyor General's Report) out of which forests cover 280,896 sq. miles.

In any case the forest area is much lower than India's requirements; particularly so when the Government aims at "maintaining one-third of its total land under forests."

Even then the forest is most unevenly distributed amongst the different States of India in which Madhya Pradesh holds the highest proportion. Before Madhya Bharat had been merged with 3,517,000 acres. Madhya Pradesh had 32,380,000 acres all to itself. Next is Assam with 12,042,000 acres. Bombay without accretion under the Reorganisation of States possessed 10,776,000 acres and Bihar (9,881,000 acres), Andhra Pradesh (9,024,000 acres), Orissa (8,799,000 acres), U.P. (8,713,000 acres) and Madras (6,024,000 acres) are those coming next in importance.

With the idea of checking further deforestation and making up the deficiency, the national policy of India is formulated

on the basis of six paramount needs of the country, viz.,

(1) The need for evolving a system of balanced and complementary land-use, under which each type of land is allotted to that form of use under which it would produce most and deteriorate least;

(2) The need for checking:

(a) denudation in mountainous regions, on which depends the perennial water supply of the river system whose basins constitute the fertile core of the country,

(b) the erosion progressing apace along the treeless banks of the great rivers leading to ravine formation, and on vast stretches of undulating wastelands depriving the adjoining fields of their fertility,

(c) the invasion of sea-sands on coastal tracts and the shifting of sand dunes, more particularly the Rajputana desert;

(3) The need for establishing tree-lands, wherever possible, for amelioration of physical and climatic conditions promoting the general well-being of the people;

(4) The need for ensuring progressively increasing supplies of grazing, small wood for agricultural implements, and in particular of firewood to release the cattle-dung for manure to step up food production;

(5) The need for sustained supply of timber and other forest produce required for defence, communications and industry;

(6) The need for the realisation of the maximum annual revenue in perpetuity consistent with the fulfilment of the needs enumerated above.

The vital needs indicate the functions forests are to fulfil, and provide the fundamental basis of the policy governing the future.

WORLD AGRICULTURE FAIR

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

Agricultural fairs date back to the dawn of civilisation. These take place periodically in different countries to demonstrate their own harvests. But no such fair has been organised on an international scale. The World Agriculture Fair now on display in Delhi is therefore not only a novel affair, but it is also a grand spectacle of the astonishing changes that have occurred from the time man learnt to upturn the virgin soil to the present day when atomic power is in our service.

In this process of revolutionary changes, while some of the countries like the USA and the USSR are in the front line other countries like our own are very much behind them. The result is obvious. For food shelter and almost all branches of human activities we have to include our name in all conceivable foreign-aid schemes. Not only circumstances but we ourselves are also responsible for that.

The initiative of the Bharat Krishak Samaj to organise the present World Agriculture Fair deserves congratulations. Fourteen different countries and two inter-

national organisations have taken part in the Fair. In the national sector there are the different states of India. In addition there are pavilions representing (1) Agriculture; (2) Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Science; (3) Horticulture; (4) Forestry, Soil Conservation, Forest Industries, and Wild Life; (5) Agricultural Extension, Publicity and Publications; (6) Marketing, Warehousing; (7) Plant Protection; (8) Fertilizer; (9) Agricultural Machinery; (10) Indian Herbs and Medicine; (11) Food; (12) Rural Housing; (13) Irrigation and Power; and (14) Atomic Energy.

In addition, the Rural Industries Pavilion set up by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission represents the different States of India. In this pavilion one can see the villages of India with the characteristics brought out in bold relief.

The biggest and the grandest show has been presented by the Government of the U.S.A. Its covered halls with beautiful golden domes and open spaces occupy about two and a half lakh square feet of space. It has been built at a legendary cost of 12.5

million rupees. This **Mela USA** or popularly known as **Amriki Mela** has been opened by no less a personality than President Eisenhower himself. In his message issued from the White House welcoming the Mela USA he states, "The values and goals highlighted in Mela USA—Food, Family, Friendship, and Freedom are among those shared by our two great democracies." After seeing the Mela one can come out not only with the knowledge of America's farms—yesterday and today, their land and its resources, how science and scientific instruments are wielded by the farmers, but also a complete cycle of their progress. In addition there are free joy-rides for the children which they claim to be a feature of every American County Fair.

There are the Mela Moving Picture Theatre where a constantly changing programme of films is shown on a regular schedule. Special mention must be made of the displays demonstrating the wonders of the atomic energy. The exhibit is introduced by a three-minute colour motion picture, projected on a unique hemispherical screen, in which the spectator can see many of the agricultural benefits of atomic research. These are some of the highlights of the USA pavilion.

Side by side stands the spectacular pavilion of the USSR. Facing the pavilion on the open grounds, one can see the sky-high column displaying the model of the Lunik. In addition to the various achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of Agriculture, general information about their industry may also be obtained. Models of the celebrated Sputniks are also there. Quite interesting is their electric map of the USSR. It also speaks. Should a visitor desire, a recorded voice will tell you in English or in Hindi about the various changes that have taken place and also narrate the corrections that will have to be made when the seven-year plan is fulfilled

Then they show how nuclear radiation and radio-isotopes are used in scientific investigation in biology and agriculture. One can see the treatment of potatoes with gamma radiation. These potatoes are preserved in good condition throughout the



A general view of the Fair

year, inasmuch as gamma radiation treatment renders it immune to disease and destroys pests.

As you move round, you will come across thousands of exhibits and a mass of figures. Supplementary to these are the cinema shows bringing to the visitor the fact that in the USSR amenities in the villages are at a level with the cities. This has been possible, they claim, by free collective and co-operative work amongst all categories of people, cities co-operating with villages.

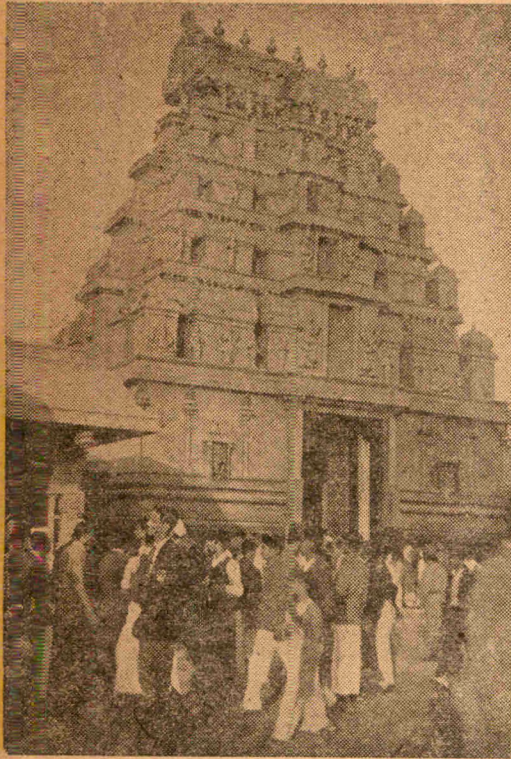
Adjacent to this is the imposing structure of the Chinese pavilion built in their own fashion and depicting the latest achievements made by them in the field of Agriculture.

Then comes the pavilion of the German Democratic Republic, displaying amongst many other things a full-size glass cow demonstrating the complete mechanism of the production of milk in the body of the animal.

Poland has brought prefabricated structure for their pavilion. Like all other foreign pavilions they also display their

latest advances in machinery to increase their agricultural production.

Although Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Pakistan, U.A.R., Iran, Iraq, and



The Madras Pavilion

Gopuram—Rameswaram Temple

the Republic of Vietnam, are not specially described here, every one of them, without any exception, has shown their own achievements clearly indicating the gap that exists between them and our country in agricultural field. In fact, a move through the foreign pavilions makes an impression on the visitors about the great care they take about their cattle and poultry farming in contrast to the care we take of them in spite of the theoretical sacredness we have for cattle in general and cow in particular.

No less interesting is the States' Wing of the Fair, as all the different States of India are there with all the pomp and show befitting the occasion.

The Punjab has put up a massive stream-lined pavilion. The replica of the temple of Ramewasaram with its imposing

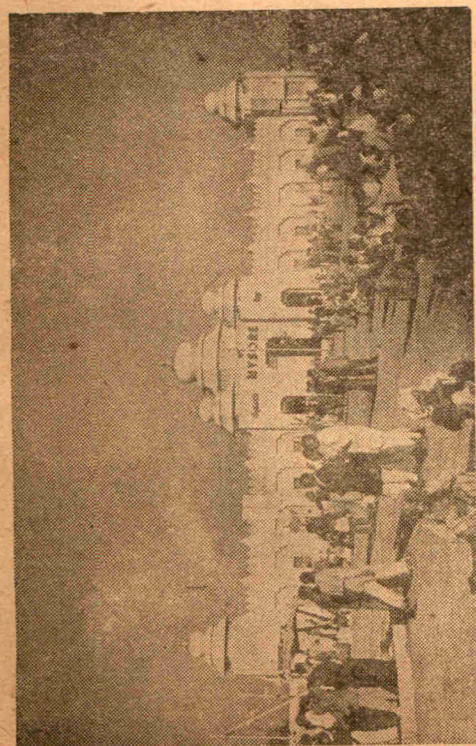
Gopuram erected by Madras is wonderful. The Sanchi Stupa is reproduced by the M.P. The Bihar pavilion as presented in the Buddhist style, the Vidhan Saudha of Mysore, Kashmir with its enchanting Dal Lakes, the typically built Rajasthan pavilion, the Andaman House, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Kerala, and Andhra, all of them beckon you and remind the visitors that they are the sons and daughters of the same soil which they must nourish with the greatest possible care to get the optimum result.

The West Bengal pavilion deserves special mention. In the introductory hall one comes across a wall-painting repre-

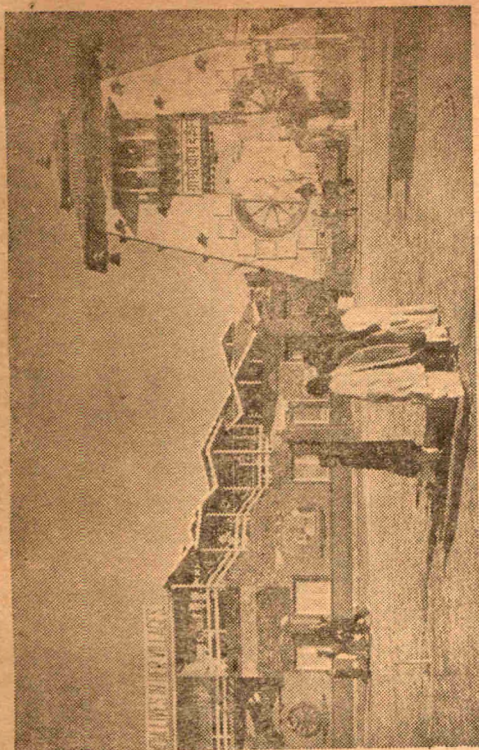


Leaders of Tomorrow—Assam Pavilion

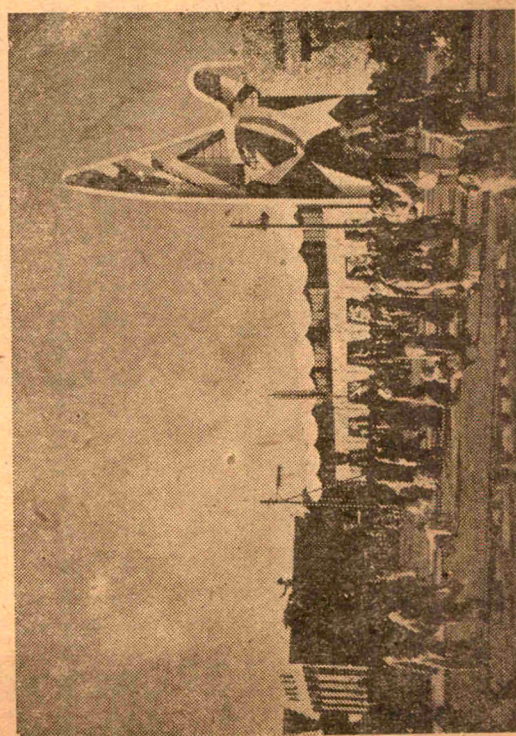
senting our great forefathers and the panorama of our land. The green level meadows, the flora and fauna of the land, the royal Bengal of the Sunderbans, are



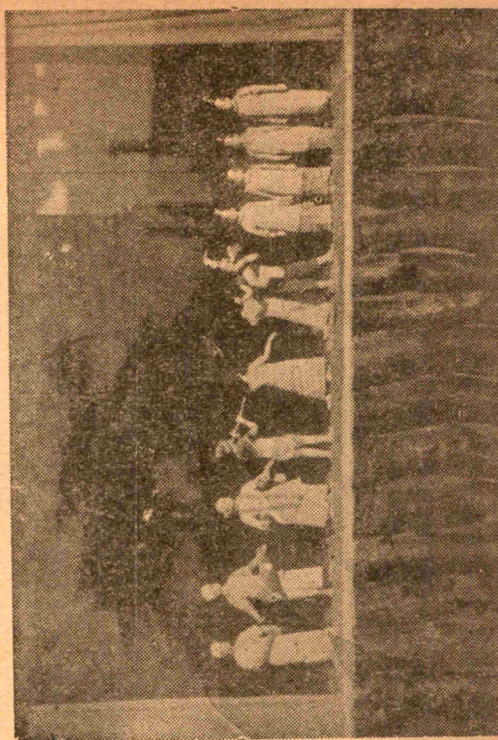
Mysore Pavilion



India lives in her village



Streamlined Punjab Pavilion



Manipuris and others living in regions bordering Assam

charming. The working model, life-size and life-like, of a paddy husking device (Dheki) with three ladies' models in operation is bound to make an indelible impression.

Apart from so many countries and different States of India, there are other organisations, a brief mention of which has already been made in the beginning.

In spite of everything, the entire thing could have been boring had there been no attractive shopping centre and free entertainment by way of open-air dances and cinema shows of feature films and documentaries. Miniature trains and motor coaches frequently encircling the Fair make it more attractive.

The arrangements made to facilitate farmers to come and see for themselves are praiseworthy. They are aided by so many seminars and discussions. They must be initiated into the advanced techniques and methods without which they will never become self-reliant and will never be in a position to fill up the gap between the ever-increasing population and food production. This of course has to be done suiting their genius and tradition so that their acceptance may be spontaneous. On return to their respective places they should be organised and encouraged to tell all around them as to what they have seen

and how they must apply henceforward to drive away the menace of hunger for good.

Another commonplace problem which troubles many is the problem of food and vegetable preservation. The Central Food and Technological Research Institute has done it well to organise in the Science pavilion of the Fair a two-week course programme in food and vegetable preservation by way of lectures and practicals.

What has been stated above is only very a small fraction of the information that you can gather from the Fair. To put it in the words of President Eisenhower, the Fair as organised shows that "Today, we have the scientific capacity to abolish from the world scene at least this one evil, both tragic and inhuman, hunger that emaciates the bodies of the children, that scars the souls of their parents, that stirs the passion of those who toil endlessly and earn only scraps. Men, right now, possess the knowledge and the resource for a successful worldwide war against hunger—the sort of war that dignifies and exalts human beings."

If we are not spurred to action, the Fair will go down in history as a colossal waste. We should not allow history to blame us.

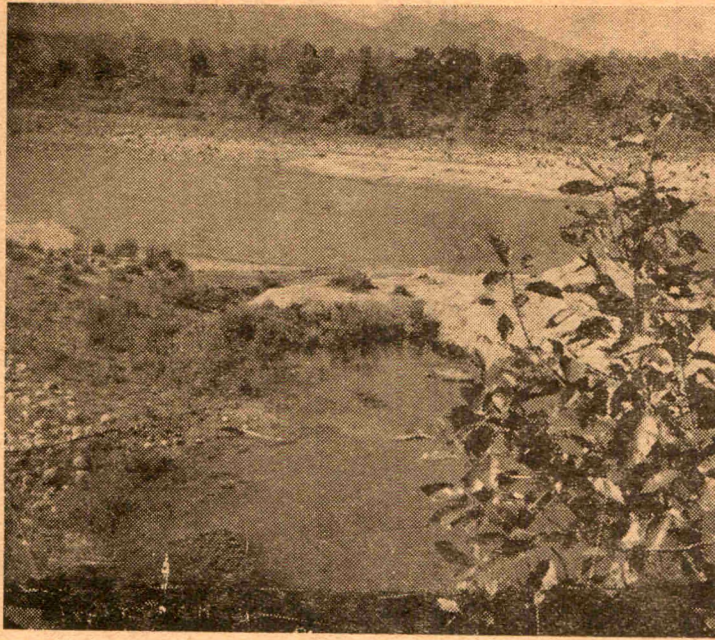
(Photos: By the author).



CORBETT NATIONAL PARK

Ideal Resort for Wild Life Study

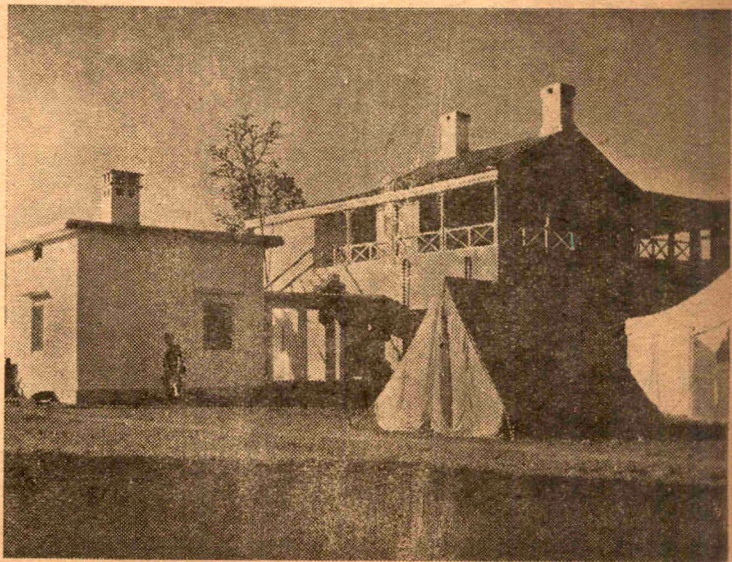
Situated in the foothills of the Hima- to see wild life in its natural, undisturbed
layas, partly in Garhwal District and state.



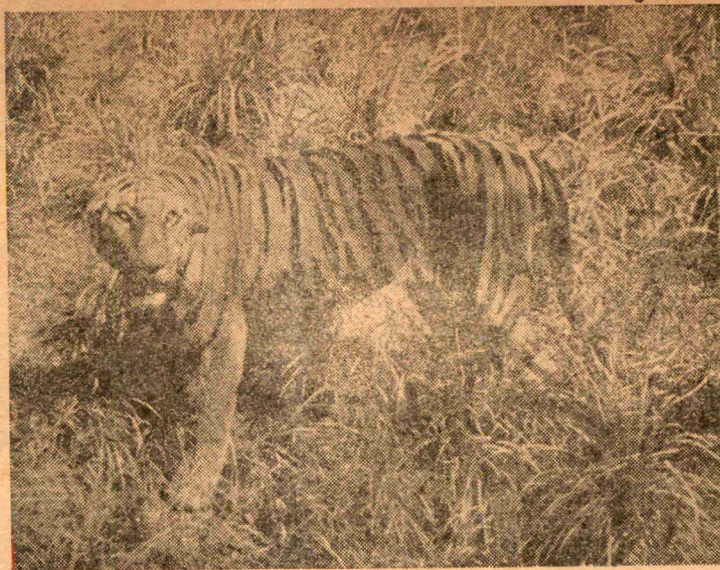
A view of the Ramganga which surrounds the
Corbett National Park on two sides

partly in Nainital District of Uttar Pradesh, One can see tiger, elephant, leopard,
the Corbett National Park is only 182 sloth-bear, sambhar, spotted deer, hog
miles from Delhi by road. In
this wild life preserve
spread over 125 sq. miles of
thickly-wooded hills and
grass-covered valleys almost
every type of Himalayan
foot-hill flora abounds.

It is ideally located. It
has thickly-wooded hills of
'Sal' and 'Haldu' trees pro-
viding good cover for the
wild animals. It has a num-
ber of grass-covered valleys
which provide feeding
grounds for the herbivorae.
And it has plenty of fresh
water from a number of
streams which join the Ram-
ganga river. The river itself
surrounds the Park on two
sides. The Park is a quiet
resort for visitors who wish



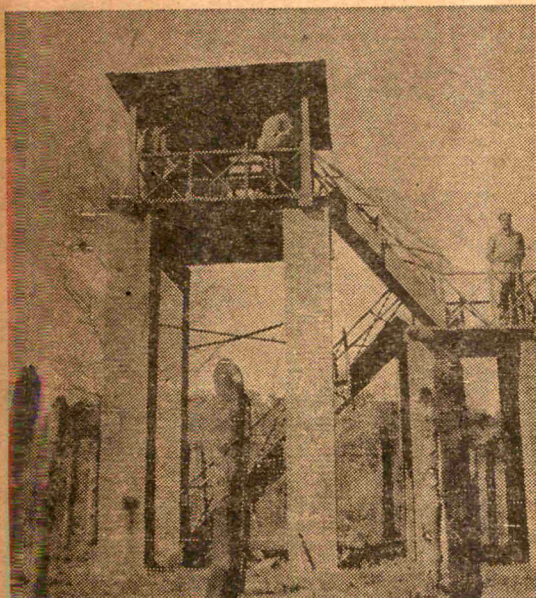
The Dhikala Forest Rest House in the Corbett
National Park



A scene of a tiger prowling in the high reeds and grass in the Corbett National Park

deer, wild pig, porcupine, flying squirrel and goral among animals; python and crocodile among reptiles; and among birds,

jungle fowl, pheasant, black partridge, green and rock pigeon, dove, hornbill, egret, heron, kingfisher, blue-jay, mynah and parakeets. In the Ramganga mahaseer, some weighing 80 lbs., and goonch fish are in plenty. The best season is from February to the end of May. Monsoon rains cut off the Park from outside till the end of November.



An observation tower near Paterpani Forest Rest House in the Corbett National Park

There are a number of forest rest-houses in the Park area. Commanding a beautiful view of the Ramganga river and the high ranges of the Himalayas, Dhikala in the Patli Dun, a broad flat valley, has a furnished doubled-storeyed forest rest-house, a tourist hutment and students' dormitory. For visitors crockery, cutlery, cooking utensils, light and running water are available. A cook's services are available too.

Eight watch towers and machans have been set up in the Park for study and photography of wild life. Two trained elephants are stationed at Dhikala to take tourists round the Park, and an officer from the Forest Department is posted there to guide and help them.—P.I.B.

THE GIFT OF GORDON BATTELLE

Battelle Memorial Institute

By WILLIAM A. ARTER

Because a watch manufacturer wanted a durable watch spring, a housewife of Detroit, Michigan, today leads a normal life instead of the dreary existence of an invalid afflicted with heart disease. Connecting these seemingly disparate items are 12 years of research at the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio, to produce a special alloy, and another year of research and testing to fashion a spring from it. It is such a spring which enables the defective mitral valve of Mrs. Mabel Streeter's heart to close firmly at each heartbeat, preventing blood from leaking back into her lungs.

The story is a dramatic example of how industrial research serves the cause of human welfare.

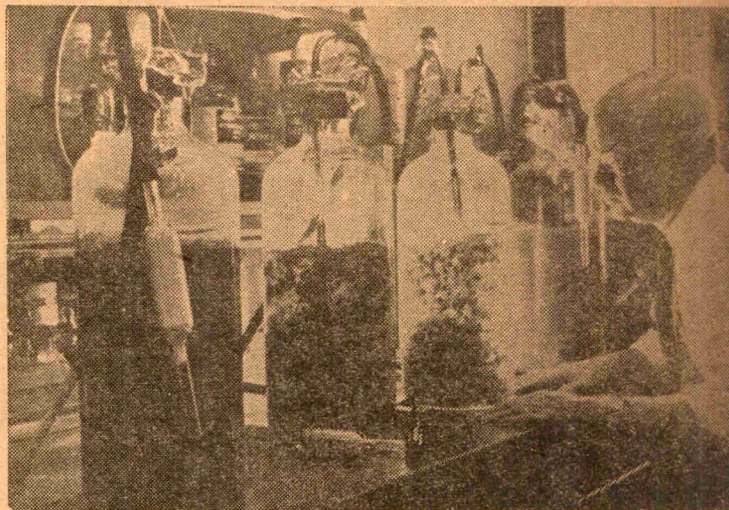
Dr. James Wible, of Wayne University Medical School in Detroit, had long pondered the possibility of repairing defective heart valves such as Mrs. Streeter's in this fashion. But he knew of no spring material which would combine all the necessary properties and give un-failing service for many years, free from rust and corrosion and compatible with body fluids.

One day, as he passed a jeweller's shop, a wristwatch display caught his eye: "The Heart That Never Breaks," a slogan said of the watch's spring. Dr. Wible went inside, and learned that the Elgin Watch Company had so much confidence in its Elgiloy spring that it guaranteed the spring for the life of the watch. Dr. Wible decided to pursue the matter further. He visited Elgin and discussed his problem with technical director Thomas Green, who co-operated eagerly, fabricating Elgiloy springs to Dr. Wible's specifications. Over 75 of them were used by Wayne University doctors in experiments with dogs, to perfect surgical techniques.

Finally, they were ready for Mrs.

Streeter. A diamond-shaped spring, sheathed in nylon, was attached to her heart. Soon the spring would be covered with new flesh by endothelium action, and would restore the mitral valve to proper functioning.

Thirteen months after the spring went into action the doctors reported the operation and its results in a medical journal. Once chronically ill and bedridden as a result of an attack of rheumatic fever, Mrs. Streeter had made a dramatic recovery. She was doing housework, shopping for her family, climbing stairs. X-rays showed



Experiments for economical factory production of palatable protein foods at the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio

that her greatly enlarged heart had returned to practically normal size. At the time the paper was prepared the tiny spring had flexed over 38 million times, and was expected to continue for a normal lifetime.

Such a miracle of prosthetic surgery was possible only because there happened to be a metal like Elgiloy. But happened is not quite the word. This remarkable alloy was brought into being through 12 years of diligent research and careful experimentation at the Battelle Memorial Institute. At the request of the Elgin

Company, concerned with the problem of spring breakage, a team of metallurgists, metallographers, chemists, and other technical experts tackled the problem systematically. They tested a number of materials, including stainless steel, copper-beryllium alloys, molybdenum, and tungsten, carefully noting both advantages and weaknesses. They found that some combination of cobalt, chromium, and molybdenum gave strength and corrosion resistance. Nickel, iron, and manganese were added for workability. Carbon and beryllium improved the alloy's recoil power.

friend, W. George Waring, a former professor of his who was trying to "make something out of nothing"—working to recover valuable materials from mine tailings and mine water. Battelle lent a hand by building a small laboratory for Waring.

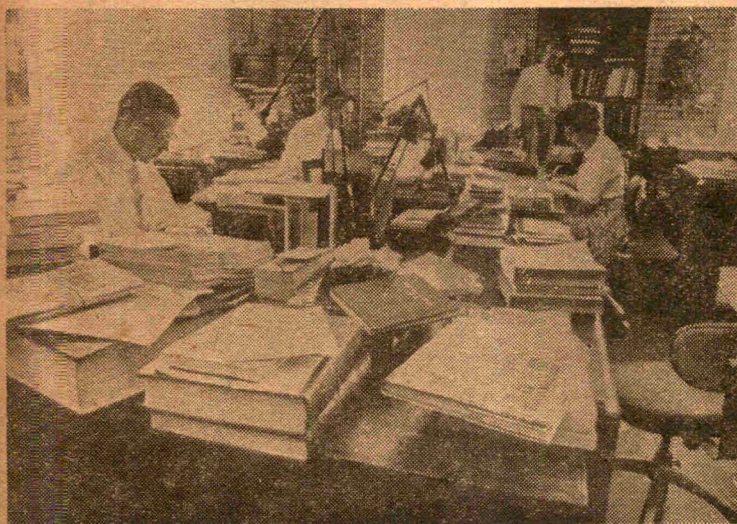
Watching with fascination the successful development of Waring's project, Battelle was deeply impressed. The commercial value of the recovery process may not have been too significant, but in the idea behind it he saw a genuine service to humanity: the use of science for the recovery of valuable material from former

waste products. While Battelle spoke and wrote little on this subjects, he started acting. He spent a year visiting laboratories throughout the United States, gathering ideas, studying ways to further applied research not only as a means of making industry more efficient and productive but as a positive contribution to people's welfare.

Gordon Battelle died suddenly at 40, following an operation, but his dream took concrete shape in the Battelle Memorial Institute "for the encouragement of creative research . . . and the making of discoveries and inventions in connection with . . .

industries." To the Institute he left the bulk of his wealth, and the endowment was more than doubled two years later when his mother willed most of her estate to the Institute.

Dr. Horace W. Gillett, former chief of the metallurgy division of the U.S. Bureau of Standards, was the Institute's first director. His passion for accuracy, incisive reasoning, and scientific integrity was balanced by natural warmth and friendliness, and from the beginning an informal, friendly atmosphere characterized the Institute. Co-operation was a key word at Battelle, then as today, and the idea of "team research," relatively new when the



The Library staff of the Battelle Memorial Institute informs the scientists of the recent experiments

Battelle scientists prepared and tested many combinations of these metals, and finally found one that met all requirements perfectly. Elgiloy began its useful career in watches; later came its use in toaster pop-up mechanisms, reed valves, drawing instruments—and, eventually, in the human heart.

Son of a dynamic industrialist who had risen from a humble clerkship to the presidency of an iron and steel works and to great wealth, Gordon Battelle became a metallurgist and started working in his father's enterprises. In 1914, he struck out on his own and began developing lead mining and smelting operations in the State of Missouri. There Battelle met an old

Institute opened in 1929, was its cornerstone.

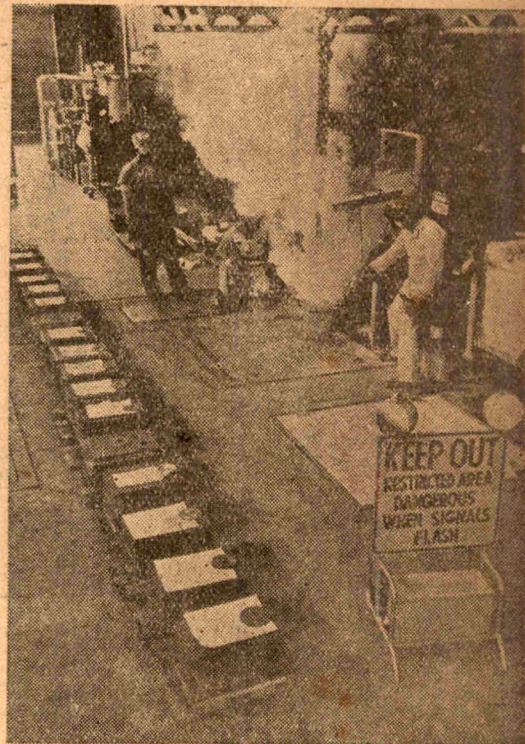
An example of team research shows how effective it can be, and how it can save both money and labor: Some years ago a group of oil-well drillers commissioned the Institute to find a remedy for excessive underground breakage of drilling pipe. Battelle Institute put together a team of metallurgists, metallographers, physicists, corrosion chemists, and experts in materials engineering. The team attacked the problem on several fronts simultaneously, and in 10 months had identified the many factors contributing to pipe breakage. No single cause or cure existed, but the team found a solution through a many-faceted remedy. The solution saved enormous amounts, while the cost of the research was only a fraction of what was often lost in drilling a single well.

The growth of Battelle Institute parallels that of industrial research as a whole, which accounts for over half the current production of many businesses. When Dr. Clyde Williams became director of the Institute in 1934, expenditures for its research totalled \$126,000. By 1940 the figure was \$500,000 and the growth since has been a phenomenal 4,500 per cent, making Battelle the nation's largest not-for-profit, independent research institute. Its staff has grown from 20 to over 3,000, and its plant has more than 22½ acres (9 hectares) of floor space.

Notwithstanding these staggering statistics, the Institute's projects are not all huge and costly. There are many such, of course, but also many small ones: Two years ago, there were 643 separate research studies in progress. Some minor ones requiring only standard laboratory equipment may cost \$1,000 or less, so that even small companies can and do use the enormous facilities of the Institute. The statistically "average" project currently costs less than \$30,000 per year's work. Comparing such costs with the expense of building, outfitting, and staffing a private research laboratory, one sees what a boon the Institute is to small companies, which can buy from it as much research as they need, when they

need it, without costly permanent overhead.

Very large companies, often with vast research facilities of their own, turn to the Institute for other reasons. It may be that their specialized laboratories lack the equipment for a certain project, or that a Battelle Institute scientist or team has already done promising work in a certain field. Or it may be that the company needs additional facilities and manpower for a temporary overflow volume of research. The Institute is on call for any project, large or small, serving all industry on the same basis.

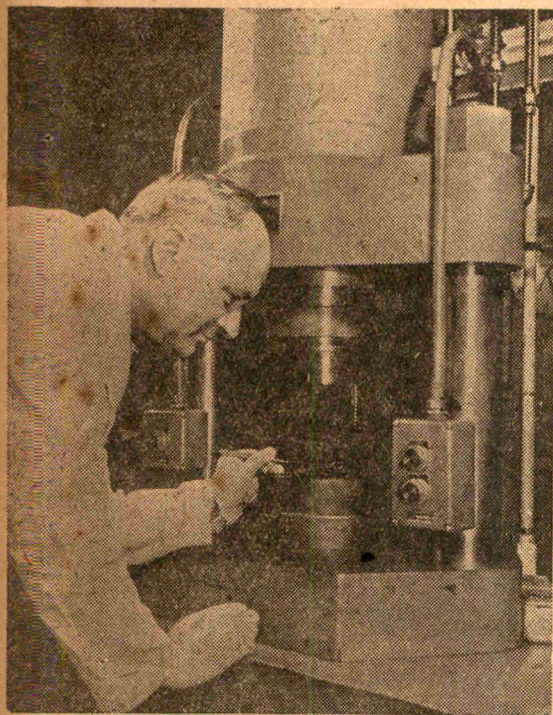


Workers in the experimental foundry for testing different types of furnaces and sand molds

Serving industry, however, was only the first step in Gordon Battelle's plan. He wanted research ultimately to benefit everyone. And that often is the result of research at the Institute, as well as at the many other research organizations throughout the country. A few examples from the

Institute's current files suggest the extent of its contribution.

Factory production of palatable protein foods is a case in point. Promising results have been obtained with rapid-growth algae, but these, though nutritious, are not tasty. The Institute's pilot experiments with factory-grown morel mushrooms have produced a high-protein food with full consumer acceptance by an easy, economical, and rapid new process.



This tiny spring, made of an alloy developed for watches, can withstand 70 tons of pressure

In another field, several groups of Battelle scientists are studying different methods of food preservation. Least radical of those under development is an "electronic refrigerator" which does away with the need for a compressor. The principle being employed was discovered by the French physicist Jean Peltier more than a hundred years ago: that when current flows in a certain way across the boundary between two dissimilar metals, heat is absorbed from the surrounding medium. A new material

developed by solid-state physicists at Battelle Institute makes it possible to exploit this process and produce cold with less expenditure of electric energy than that of a standard compressor-type system. People may soon be able to have absolutely silent refrigeration at less cost.

Pure water supply, so often taken for granted, is becoming a matter of first concern in many communities, and Battelle Institute has tackled this problem by conducting several studies on ways to demineralize sea water, the one inexhaustible source. One promising method literally freezes out salts in a continuous process that may be set up on a huge scale. Another experiment employs the sun's energy in a continuously operating solar still.

Most research seeks a material to satisfy a need. Battelle Institute, on occasion, is asked to reverse the process and find new needs for an existing material. A group of copper producers, for instance, were interested in finding new, non-metallurgical uses for copper. Battelle scientists went to work, with most interesting and beneficial results. Added to the fertilizer ordinarily used in some tobacco-growing areas, copper increased yields by as much as one-third—bringing the farmer \$40 for every dollar he spent on the new copper compound. Properly used, copper could also be useful in ship-hull paints to reduce barnacle infestation, which can add as much as a hundred tons to the weight of a vessel, increasing fuel consumption and requiring unproductive dry-dock time while barnacles are being removed. Still another use of copper exploits its fungicidal properties; added to concrete mixtures, it gives protection against athlete's foot in shower rooms, bath houses, and swimming pools.

Even the briefest mention of the Institute's recent and current studies would take pages; they range from the use of nuclear energy in manufacturing to the development of improved eyeglass frames, washing machines, and a host of other consumer products; from the welding of many "unweldable" metals to producing plastic materials for dozens of uses, and to developing improved pharmaceuticals.

The Battelle Institute is well aware of its debt to science at large, and strives to be a good citizen in the community of scientists by sharing its findings and contributing to the common fund of knowledge. The monthly Battelle Technical Review carries two comprehensive staff-written articles and some 1,500 abstracts, and Battelle staff members publish hundreds of technical papers, articles and reports; they also prepare, in

whole or in part, a number of technical books. In a year, the Institute's information service distributes over a hundred thousand reprints of technical papers and other literature, and gives scientific technological help to thousands of people. Gordon Battelle's dream of wedding scientific theory and research with industrial practice has indeed brought significant benefits to people everywhere.—USIS.

JADUNATH SARKAR'S COLLECTION

FOR NATIONAL LIBRARY

An eminent historian's treasure of books changed hands on March 19, and became the nation's property.

Built up over a period of 60 years, by the late Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, the invaluable collection has been donated by his heirs to the National Library.

The historian's wife, Shrimati Kadambini Sarkar, formally handed over two volumes of manuscripts from the collection, signifying the transfer, to the Librarian, Shri B. S. Kesavan, at a ceremony at her residence here.

The two manuscripts are of *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai*, a history of Shah Shuja, and *Ibrat Namah*, a history of Shah Alam II. Both are in Persian.

Students of history have always regarded Dr. Sarkar's collection as a mine of source materials for the study of the Mughal and the British periods of Indian history.

Besides their intrinsic value, many books in the collection acquire a special significance from the marginal notes made by the historian. These will be an important guide to the future generations using the books.

The collection consists of printed books, journals, pamphlets, off-prints from journals, manuscripts, photo-copies of rare manuscripts and maps totalling about 2,500. It includes some unpublished writings of Dr. Sarkar, mainly

translation into English of extremely rare documents in Persian and other languages.

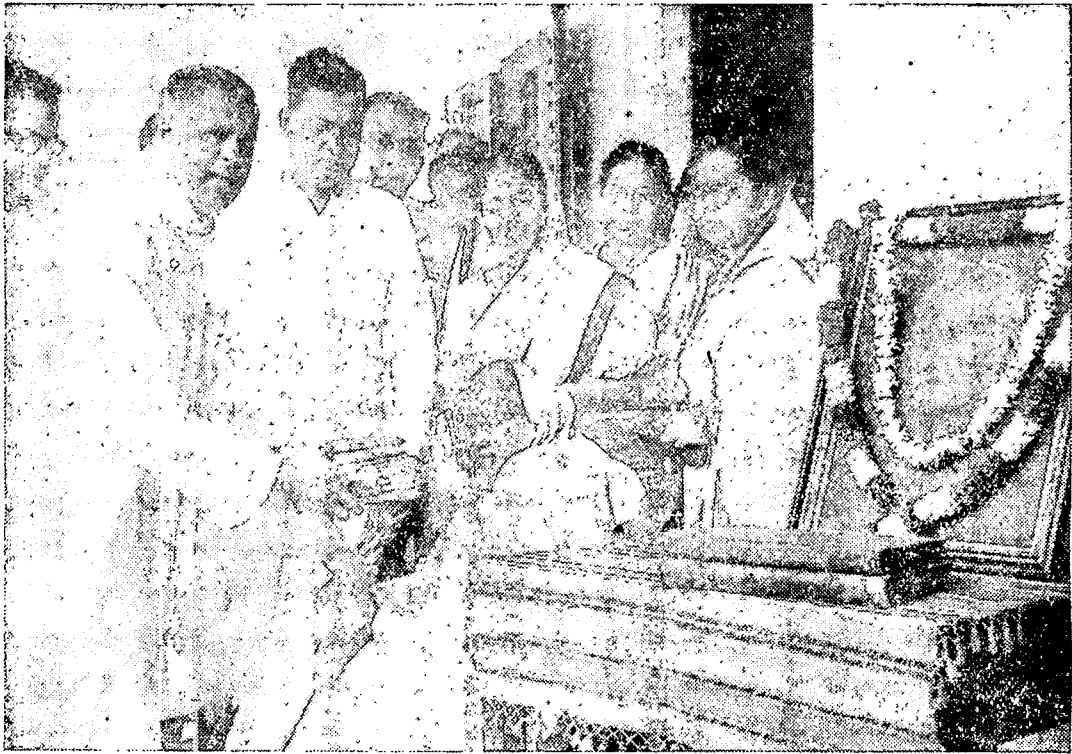
Books on the Mughal and British periods of Indian history form a major part of the collection and reflect Dr. Sarkar's special field of study. His interest in other branches of study is illustrated in the existence of a fine nucleus of books on Napoleon Bonaparte, on Burma (Kingdom of Ava) and on Sanskrit and English literature.

Dr. Sarkar became keenly interested in military strategy in his early youth and he maintained the interest till the end of his life. Some rare publications on the subject offer testimony to this interest.

Almost all the major works on Shivaji and the Marathas, Rajput kingdoms and the Revolt of 1857 are available in the collection. A large number of manuscripts, some copied from rare originals, cover the histories of the Mughals and Marathas. Most of these manuscripts are in Persian and some in Marathi and Hindi.

There are books on Portuguese and French India. The history of Portuguese India is rounded up by almost all of Panduranga Pissurlencar's publications in Portuguese.

The collection includes many typed copies of French works on India and translations of Persian works into English by Dr. Sarkar himself. Some of the translations are from originals



Shri B. S. Kesavan, the librarian, accepting the gift, two volumes of manuscripts of the late Shri Jadunath Sarkar, from Shrimati Kadambini Sarkar seated by the side of her late husband's portrait

preserved in the British Museum and the national libraries of other countries.

There are also a number of books in Bengali and Marathi. The Marathi books are indispensable for the study of Maratha history. The Bengali publications include biographies of some 19th century Bengali leaders and regional histories of Bengal.

The maps in the collection are extremely rare and are of great importance for a proper appreciation of the geographical basis of the late Mughal and early British period of Indian history.

This is what Dr. Sarkar himself wrote of his collection in January 1958, a few months before his death: "Today my collection of Persian manuscripts and Marathi printed sources is indispensable to the students of our mediaeval history as it has brought together in one place the necessary works which are scattered in many towns of India and the famous public libraries of Europe."

As soon as it is processed, the collection will be open for use by scholars. The listing of Persian manuscripts has already been taken up.—*PIB*.



THE ART OF ADVERTISEMENT—ITS HISTORY

By ASHIM BHADRA, M.A., D.J.

Display of oneself is an instinct of animality. What, however, distinguishes a man from other animals in this respect is that he has developed it into an art to palm off his wares as well. In other words, from the urge of enhancing his own value, he sets to evaluate his goods for a commercial purpose. This profit motive has evolved into a pattern called advertisement. Advertisement, generally speaking, has come to mean attracting public notice for an enterprise. It is a form of human intercourse whereby the advertiser communicates with the people at large.

In ancient days, when barter was the rule of exchange, the mode of advertisement was rather crude. It was more or less confined to the disposal of surplus commodities.

Signs and Street Criers

The earliest—possibly the earliest—media of publicity are signs and street criers. Before the people were acquainted with newspapers, magazines or any other media, they constituted the only modes of advertisements.

"Signs over shops and stalls seem naturally to have been the first efforts in the direction of advertisement and they go back to the remotest portions of World's History."—(History of Advertising—Henry Sampson).

These early signs were mainly made of either stone or terra-cotta and they were symbolic in character. As the people could hardly read, the message, the signs carried, had to be expressed in pictures instead of letters. The main function of these signs was to identify a merchant's place of business. Some thinkers are of opinion that the sign was "in a sense the visual expression of the name and likewise served to identify a seller of goods and services." To them it was the second step in the evolution of advertising media. They opine that "the earliest function of advertising was to identify"—and that was done by erasing the surname and putting there instead the

professional designations such as "John—the blacksmith." It was, no doubt, a very good identity and served also the purpose of publicity. But with the availability of several specialists of the same kind, the name was not adequate enough to serve the purpose of identification and hence the signs.

The Street criers supplemented the signs as the first means of advertising media. In ancient Greece and Rome they used to announce the affairs of the State and news of Commercial interest such as the news of outgoing and incoming ships, commodities for sale and the names of the merchants, who owned them or carried their trade in them.

In later period, announcement through Street criers was more popular in France than in any other country. "The criers had charters from the government and were often organised in a kind of union. Their numbers were usually restricted. In the province of Berry, France, in the year 1141 twelve criers organised a company and obtained a charter from Louis VII giving them the exclusive privilege of town crying in the province."—(The History and Development of Advertising—Frank Presbrey).

The ruler of land helped these criers enforcing the shopkeepers to employ those criers. But with the growth of printing advertisements the system was totally abolished.

Display

The later development that we find in the realm of advertisement was the display of goods. In by-gone days the cities were walled up and merchants assembled at the gate-ways, which were, by and large, the most conspicuous places with a view to display their commodities. This system of exhibition has not been totally abolished even today, rather we find now-a-days a more refined and artistic window-display. Sometimes, instead of showing actual things for sale display of some symbol was used to catch consumers' attention easily.

Written Advertisement

The first written advertisement can be dated to 1000 B.C.—preserved in the British Museum. It was written on a papyrus containing an announcement of an Egyptian Slave-owner for the come-back of a runaway slave.

Written advertisement was not popular before the middle of the 15th Century, naturally, as the people could not read and write. The invention of printing type paved the way for newspaper advertisement, leaflets, bulletins. These advertisements were mainly devoted to the sale of books. But advertisements for other commodities were not altogether unknown. It is interesting to note that, John Milton's essays were those of the first books, advertised in London Papers.

The following is the first printed English advertisement written by William Caxton in the year 1477 in a form of a Poster announcement.

"If anyone, cleric or layman, wants to buy some copies of two or three service books arranged according to the usage of Salisbury Cathedral, and printed in the same desirable type in which this ad: is set, let him come to the place in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, where alms are distributed, which can be recognised by a shield with a red central strip (from top to bottom) and he shall have those books cheap. Please don't tear down this notice." (Translated into modern English by Dr. Edward Pousland of Worcestor Junior College).

Here are some specimens of advertisements that reveal the peculiar characteristics of early-printing period.

"This is to certify, that my child being almost reduced to the very Grave, from the extreme Agony he underwent by violent Breeding of Teeth, was thro' God's Goodness restored to perfect Ease and Safety, upon the use of that truly Noble Medicine, prepared for those cases, by Mr. Perronet Surgeon in Doyt Street, near Blooms Bury, witness my Hand, S. Warburton Raisormaker in Grays-Inn-Passage, by Red Lyon-Square. This medicine is sold at 2s. 7d. the Vial, by the Author aforesaid Mr. Alcraft at the Blew-

Coat-Boy Against the Royal Exchange, Cornhill and by Mr. Watkins Tobacconist against the Market, in King-St. Westminster."—(From the *Spectator*, 1711).

"That excellent and by all Physicians approved China Drink, called by the Chinese, Tcha, and by nations, Tay, alias Tee is sold at the Sultaness Head, a Cophee-house in Sweeting Rent by the Royal Exchange, London." This was printed in September 1658 without display type.

By the middle of the 19th Century the art of advertisement made a great progress both in variety and volume. The main development was made in the field of the psychology of advertisement. The mode of presentation and its artistic layouts reacted on the peoples' mind in such a way that they felt for buying the commodities.

The increased power of advertisement gave impetus to the producers to augment their production and competition was obviously the result. Market expanded and the installation of long distance transport-system helped the producers.

It is quite relevant to think that the transport facilities had a tremendous influence on the growth of widely distributed publications and widely circulated newspapers, magazines helped to increase the volume of advertisement.

In modern period, another development was due to the invention of Radio. The advantage of advertising through Radio over other written advertisements is that the listener does not take the trouble to read. So the appeal is direct and almost personal.

It is quite true that the art was taking a complex shape gradually. The advertisements did not end in an announcement only. Its enlarged volume added to other complications and gave birth to some agencies, whose business it was to deal with the ever-growing complexities of advertisement. The first advertising agency was established in England in 1800 A.D. In U.S.A. it was organised by Volney B. Palmer in 1840-41.

With the advent of 20th Century, advertisement has come to be associated with the term science. Advertisement is a

part of selling and that to be successful all the factors are to be taken into consideration. Right from 1900 A.D., we find two other terms, viz., market research and consumers' analysis were associated with advertisement. "Not merely is a consideration of the former 'all-important' factors of art, copy, layout and typography, but thought must be given to the product to be advertised, the character of the prospective buyer, their purchasing powers, their place of abode."—(Advertising: Theory and Practice—C. H. Sandage, Ph.D.). These were the criteria of perfect advertisement in the beginning of the modern period.

INDIA'S NEIGHBOUR : BHUTAN

By HEM CHANDRA HALDER

So long the lofty peaks of the Himalayas guarding the northern frontiers of India used to put us in a state of perpetual peace and tranquillity. But the recent Sino-Indian dispute over territories in the heart of Himalayas has given us a jolt and an awareness that we must fix our look a bit more attentively into the happenings of the inner recess of these lofty peaks.

In the cloister of these Himalayan peaks are situated three other smaller States—Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, each having its borders with India and China. So a discussion about one of these States—Bhutan, its past and present, and our relations with that State is likely to be useful.

The Country

The tract of the country to which the name of Bhutan is generally applied, but which in the ancient Hindu writings is called Madra, extends from the southern declivities of the great central ridge of the Himalayan mountains to the foot of the inferior heights constituting the natural boundaries of Bengal and Assam. It is bounded on the North by Tibet, on the West by Sikkim, on the South and East by India.

Bhutan is about 220 miles long and 90 miles broad and presents a succession of the most lofty and rugged mountains on the surface of the globe. Their stupendous size normally precludes the possibility of obtaining a general view of their direction and

course. Intercepted between the high peaks are narrow beds of roaring torrents which rush with restless violence. The normal elevation varies from two to seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, while some of the ridges extend from twelve to twenty thousand feet which remain snow-capped during a greater part of the year.

The general character of extreme ruggedness is hardly at all interrupted save by some basins between the retiring flanks of the ranges. Of these, the most remarkable are found in the more central parts of the country. These valleys have been formed by the fluctuating and impetuous course of the rivers which rush through them. The valleys of Boomdungtung, Jugur and Jacessah, Paro and Punakha are amongst the most lofty in the world; and far exceed in elevation to any in other parts of southern Himalayas.

Land and People

The natural beauty, productivity of the soil, the healthy and bracing climate of these hilly regions have been testified to by many who have visited the country since long past. Speaking of Dumsong, Ashley Eden who visited the country in 1864, observed :

"The view from this place was magnificent; the snows of the Choolah, Nitai, and Yaklah Passes were all quite close; on

three sides of us were the different snowy ranges of Bootan, Sikkim and Nepal; we could see within a space of sixteen miles the four countries of Thibet, Sikkim, Bootan and British Sikkim. The place would make a magnificent Sanatorium" (para 27).

Dr. Griffith, who accompanied Capt. Pemberton in 1837, described the land as follows :

"In Bootan, the grand forests which have excited the admiration of all travellers in the Himalayas make their appearance. At such, oaks, magnolias, rhododendrons and several species of firs attain to great perfection. On the borders of the woods, patches of swards, adorned in the spring with beautiful herbaceous plants, are frequently met with and form the prettiest objects in the whole scenery of Bootan."

Capt. Pemberton observed as follows:

"There are probably few spots on the globe presenting more favourable conditions to longevity than the lofty mountains and bracing air of Bootan" (para 26).

The early origin of the people in this land of beauty and fascination is still obscure. Apparently the Bhoteahs have not possessed Bhutan for more than a few centuries. There are many versions of which the most dependable is that it formerly belonged to a tribe called by the Bhoteahs Tephoo; they are generally believed to have been people of Cooch Behar. About 300 years ago some Tibetan sepoys were sent from Khampa by the orders of the Lhasa Government to look upon the country, a fight ensued, the Tephoos gave way and went down to the plains with the exception of a few who remained with the Bhoteahs. The Khampa, and later on, the Wang tribes from Tibet took fancy to the country and remained there forming a little community without organisation and government. Gradually the country began to be inhabited by people from Tibet and Sikkim in the northern region, and from Bengal and Assam in the southern region.

According to present statistics the population is estimated at 7 lakhs with a mixture of 137,700 Nepalese, 9,000

Tibetans and 30,000 Lepchas. The density is 38 per square mile. The language spoken is a dialect of the Tibetan, more or less blended with words and idioms from the surrounding countries. In dress, religious ceremonies and other habits of life the people resemble closely to the Tibetans.

Social, Religious and State structures

The State and religious structures have undergone changes since 1907. Formerly Bhutan was under the dual control of a Dhurma Raja, the religious head and a Deb Raja, the temporal head. It would be interesting to note how in early times these two institutions originated and developed and influenced the life of the people.

Dhurma Raja

Since the occupation of the country by the Khampa tribes, it is said that they were visited by a travelling Lama from Lhasa named Shepton La-pha. He acquired great influence over the people of the little colony, and they eventually made him their King under the title of Dhurma Raja. He was succeeded by another Lama from Tibet, named Farchoo Doopgein Shepton. He was a very religious man and was much respected by the people. His followers who entered the country along with him were subsequently named as the Wang tribe—and the ruling caste of Bhutan has since been drawn from this tribe. When he died he said that if his body was preserved, he would re-appear again in Bhutan. Three years after his death, his incarnation is said to have re-appeared at Lhasa in the person of a little child, who announced himself as the Dhurma Raja of Bhutan. He was brought to Bhutan, and when the late Raja's cooking utensils and other articles were put before him, he identified them, thus establishing his identity as the promised re-incarnation. Hence originated the system of the Dhurma re-appearing by successive transmigration from one corporeal frame to another. During the interval between the death of a Dhurma Raja and his re-appearance, or until he arrived at the age of maturity after his last birth, the office

was held by a spiritual chief named Lama Thepoo.

The Dhurma Raja was regarded as the supreme head of the Monasteries and exercised control over other Lamas scattered all over the country. His administration was carried on with the help of a Council composed of twelve principal Gylongs or priests who habitually lived in the Palace and who controlled the religious pursuits of the people. The Gylongs were numerous. They were regarded as a privileged class. In the Castles of Poonakh and Tassisudon alone their numbers were estimated as several thousands. They formed a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the country; the most lofty and favoured sites were studded with their monasteries and houses. They used to lead a life of idleness and were fed on the toil of others and general revenues of the State.

Deb Raja

The institution of the Deb Raja developed after the Dhurma Raja. When it was found that administration of religious and temporal powers in one hand was difficult, the Dhurma Raja appointed a Dewan which ultimately led to the system of Deb Raja.

The secular administration of the country was vested in the Deb Raja. He was assisted by a Council, called the Lenchen, composed of the following:

(1) Lam Zimpen (Chief Secy. to Dhurma Raja), (2) Donnai Zimpen (the Dewan), (3) Timpoo Jungpen (Governor of Tassishujung), (4) Poonakh Jungpen (Governor of Poonakh), (5) Angdu Forung Jungpen (Governor of Angdu Forung), (6) Deb Zimpen (Chief Secretary to Deb Raja), (7) Joom Kalling (Chief Judge).

Besides these, the Penlows or Governors of the three Provinces into which Bhutan was divided, viz., the Paro Penlow, the Tongso Penlow and the Daka Penlow, when at headquarters, used to attend the meeting of the Council. These Penlows and their subordinates, the Jungpens, or the district administrators used to exercise supreme powers in their jurisdiction. These Jungpens were appointed by the Penlows.

As a natural consequence, every change of Penlow was immediately followed by a change in the person of the Jungpen. But as everyone of these Jungpens were not prepared so easily to part with power, there was a constant fight for power among these persons. So also among the Penlows for supremacy at the Durbar and the Deb Raja was virtually a puppet in their hands.

Present position

This system of Dhurma and Deb Raja has undergone revision in the present days.

In 1885, the Tongso Penlow, Ugyen Wang-chuk overcame his rivals in a civil war and became predominant. The Dhurma Raja died, and no re-incarnation was found to replace him and the Deb Raja continued to administer the spiritual needs also of the people.

In 1907, Ugyen Wang-chuk was elected hereditary Maharaja of Bhutan by the Lamas, Councillors and the people. His grandson is the present Maharaja—Jigme Dorji Wang-chuk. He was installed in October, 1952. He is a young man in early thirties, well-versed in Hindi and English besides Tibetan literature over which he has great mastery.

British Missions and British relations

This brings us to a brief consideration of the long relation which the British, holding sovereign power in India, exercised with the neighbourly State of Bhutan.

As can be anticipated, Imperialism does not rest content with occupying a particular country, however coveted the prize may be. British relation with Bhutan was characterised by the same policy; but what was achieved in India could not, by historical conditions, be achieved in full in the case of Bhutan.

In order to fulfil British designs in relation to Bhutan, several Missions were despatched to that country. Thus Bogle Mission to Tibet (1774) and Capt. Turner's Mission to Tibet (1783) passed through Bhutan. The other Missions, viz., Kisher Kanta Bose's (1815), Capt. Pemberton's (1837) and Ashley Eden's (1864) were despatched with the obvious intention of

negotiating some border disputes with Bhutan. But how far these Missions were despatched with such a simple purpose, and having nothing secret behind them, will be revealed from the following.

Most of their reports were secret and confidential, but their real motive could not be left hidden even in the open reports that some of them left. Thus Capt. Pemberton, in the opening paragraph of his report, could not keep secret the imperialist jingoism characteristic of these agents and boasted thus:

"Bhutan was as little known as the more lofty and inaccessible region beyond it, and would probably have continued so had not her rulers, **in ignorance of the real character of those by whom the conquest of Bengal was effected**, been guilty of aggressions upon those bordering States."

He could not therefore keep secret that what the British did in relation to Bengal would be repeated in the case of Bhutan also, the border issue remaining.

Ashley Eden was more outspoken. Though he went to negotiate some border dispute, yet what he looked more carefully, and what was behind his mind will be revealed from the following. After his arrival in Darling and seeing the country, he remarks:

"It was impossible to avoid contrasting the present state of this portion of the country with what it would be **under our rule**" (para 28).

How the question of 'under our rule' comes, one can easily see for himself. Here the intention has been put in only, but on reaching Paro; one of the important Provincial headquarters, and seeing the Fort there, he could not remain secret. He observes:

"It would be necessary to bear in mind, in the event of our having at any future time to attack the Fort, that shot directed anywhere lower than the verandahs would not find its way into the court, but would go through the store-rooms and be stopped by the rock" (para 33).

After reaching Poonakha, the capital, and noting meticulously the conditions there, and of the Fort, he writes:

"There is a bridge at the Fort, and a force marching on Poonakh should divide here, and marching up either bank of the river, take the Palace at Poonakh in front and rear and cut off all chance of escape." Moreover,

"The Palace of Poonakh is entirely commanded by a height on the West Bank, and it would be difficult to conceive a place so ill adopted for defence. One round of shell would set the whole place in a blaze, and the bridges being held, and a force posted to the North of the Fort, not a man could escape" (para 38).

These remarks are very significant. Perhaps anything more is not needed to reveal the real intentions of those innocent-looking Missions.

The Eden Mission ended in failure. The rulers of Bhutan had full knowledge how such earlier British Missions in the case of India led eventually to her subjugation. Eden was even kept in confinement, and he was able to escape with great difficulty.

Next year, in 1865, what was behind these Missions became manifest. Bhutan was invaded, but the British could not carry out their objective to subjugate the country. The sturdy people with the hills serving as natural fortifications defeated an English garrison with losses of men and guns, and a Treaty was subsequently signed with Bhutan.

This fact alone would not have saved the independence of Bhutan, but developments inside India and the experience of the Great Rebellion of 1857 stayed the hands of the British towards further expansion, and the independence of Bhutan was saved.

The eventual relations of the British with regard to Bhutan was guided by a Treaty signed in 1910 in which the Bhutanese Government agreed to be guided by the advice of the British Government in regard to external affairs, while the subsidy to the Bhutan Government was raised.

Indo-Bhutan relations

After India had attained independence, she became busy in adjusting her relations with neighbouring countries on a new

basis. The three Himalayan States including Bhutan have three types of distinct relation with India depending on the degree of internal development in each country. India renewed the old Treaty that existed with Bhutan by a fresh Treaty signed on 8th August, 1949. By this Treaty:

(1) The defence of Bhutan remains India's responsibility and Bhutan agreed to be guided by India in her foreign relations.

(2) Dewangiri which formerly belonged to Bhutan was restored to her.

(3) The subsidy which Bhutan enjoyed from India was increased to Rs. 5 lakhs.

This Treaty worked well so long, and there were friendly ties of Bhutan with India.

But since 1949 a new element has been introduced in the politics of the high hills—the emergence of the People's Republic of China. Tibet has been forced to become a part of this Republic where Chinese rule has been extended.

Bhutan has a long border with China and the people on the northern side belongs to the same ethnic, religious and cultural groups as with Tibetans. The communication and business intercourse of this region are also linked up with Tibet. So long the old *status-quo* in Tibet was maintained, but after the departure of Dalai Lama, China has launched a programme of sweeping reforms in Tibet. Road and Air communications are being opened up on an extensive scale. Far-reaching changes in social structure and religious practices are taking place. The face of Tibet is being rapidly changed.

This is bound to have serious repercussions in Bhutan. The Ruler cannot remain a silent spectator to this changing scene in the heart of the Himalayas. The position of the State of Bhutan as a buffer

between China and India will give the Ruler a sense of a greater bargaining power in relation to India.

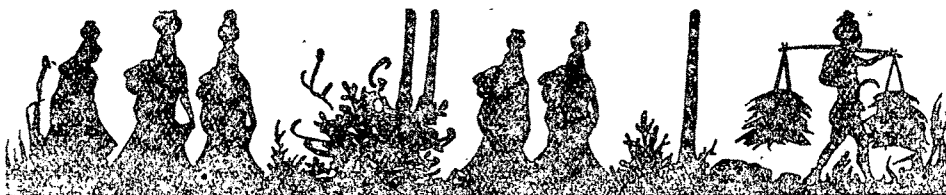
This position has already began to manifest itself. So what was Rs. 5 lakhs as India's subsidy to Bhutan has suddenly jumped up during last month (after the Sino-India border dispute) to a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs. This subsidy had in the past also worked as a weak link in the chain of India's relation with Bhutan, and it has always tended to increase in Bhutan's favour as will be seen from the following table:

| Year | Subsidy increased to |
|------|----------------------|
| 1841 | Rs. 1000/- |
| 1865 | Rs. 50,000/- |
| 1910 | Rs. 1,00,000/- |
| 1942 | Rs. 1,00,000/- |
| 1949 | Rs. 5,00,000/- |
| 1959 | Rs. 12,00,000/- |

The increase from 5 lakhs in 1949 to 12 lakhs in 1959, a big increase, is very significant.

Not only the subsidy has thus increased, India, in order to fulfil her responsibility of the defence of Bhutan, has agreed to grant a credit of Rs. 15 crores to Bhutan for building of roads.

Roads and communications when opened up, will cut through the isolation of the Country, internally and externally with India. Development of communication will give rise to a development of consciousness of the people, and popular demands including a form of representative government will increase. So out of the dark, misty, snow-capped feudal Bhutan, a new country will emerge demanding greater attention from India for maintenance of friendly relation.



INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

Cuttack Session

By DR. SUDHIR NANDI

It was a chilly winter night. We reached Cuttack while it was still dark and dazed. There were volunteers to receive us at the station. My old friend Prof. Roy was there to greet us from amongst a host of unknown faces. They were all kind and hospitable. We drove to the famed parties of the Ravenshaw College in a luxury car and we were taken immediately upstairs to our allotted room. The delegates' camp was housed in the college hostel. The hostel and the college in all its departments were housed in a very large red-brick building ramifying over a large area. We were all struck by the extension of this majestic building. Of course, Sri Mihir Sen, the channel swimmer, when he came to Krishnanagar a few months back gave me an idea of the bigness of the Ravenshaw College building and claimed that his Alma Mater was unique in this regard. On visiting 'Yarrow' I had no occasion to ask 'Is this Yarrow?' I was happy to find that Sri Sen was cent per cent correct in his estimate. Our room was situated on the eastern flank of this massive building. Myself, my wife and Dhriti, my tiny daughter, all agreed that the room was awfully nice. My wife started on her domestic business as soon as we were left alone and soon I found myself completely in an atmosphere of ease and comfort. The deputy superintendent of the Hostel, Mr. Patnaik repeatedly called on us to know whether he could be of any service to us. We received with thanks all the service that he and his staff offered us.

Life for us started there on the morning of 26th December, 1959. We were a bit early for the philosophical congress as we were scheduled to attend a conference on parapsychology and religion, organised by Seth Sohan Lal Memorial Institute of Parapsychology of Rajasthan. Dr. A. C. Das, president-elect of this conference on parapsychology and religion was already there and the conference opened with a welcome address from Dr. P. Parija, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University. Dr. A. C. Das read out his learned address and it was appreciated by

all present. Dr. Das is too well-known to need any introduction. His recent publication **A Modern Incarnation of God** has been well received here and abroad. The morning session broke up with a vote of thanks. The afternoon session was devoted to symposium papers and discussion. The evening session saw the summing up of the day's proceedings and the future programme was discussed at length. The energetic Secretary of the Sohan Lal Institute, Mr. H. N. Banerjee, was all attention to every one of us and we liked his dynamic personality very much. Parapsychology in India is in very deft hands and we could well see its big future.

Twenty-seventh of December was a sabbath day for us. With a hectic day of meetings and tiresome discussions at the rear and with four days pregnant with the germs of discussions, meetings and exchange of ideas ahead of us, we liked this day of rest. We had outings and enjoyed the time mostly in sight-seeing and doing a little shopping here and there. Orissa is famous for her art and craft. She had a hoary past in art and architecture and her present does resemble her past in matters of excellent executions on cotton, silver and leather. The centres of filigree work took away much of our time. It was a pleasure to witness the traditional skill at work. We must say in all fairness that a more active publicity machinery would have secured a wider market for these delicate wares of which Orissa has been justly proud for centuries. From the market place we moved to Barabati Stadium. It was a mammoth structure symbolising the zeal and energy of young Orissa. Within a stone's throw from the Stadium you have the ancient ruins of Barabati Fort and the Palace. The hoary past and the resurgent present embrace each other on the horse's saddle back span of space. The Mahanadi offered us splendid sights. On the shadowy river-banks the sun kissed the earth a parting kiss and the coy maiden, as the earth is, had a blush which spread over the entire sky and permeated the whole atmosphere. As we stood on the brittle banks

of the mighty river we were all red. The last rays, a deep crimson in a blazing trail, said us "good-bye." My wife chanted a few lines from Tagore :

"O thou unnamed,
Please tell us
Where is thy abode?
Is it where
The pyre of the day is lit
On the shores of restful night?"*

Next day was the 28th December. After breakfast we moved up to the pandal where the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Parija welcomed us to the thirty-fourth session of the Indian Philosophical Congress. Sri Y. N. Sukhtankar, Governor of Orissa, read out his inaugural address. The Governor bore a dignity equal to the high office he holds. He was a charming personality and we had a taste of his simple manners on two subsequent occasions. The At Home at Raj Bhavan and the Vice-Chancellor's tea party in the college botanical gardens gave us good opportunities to see a lot of this gentleman who has been enthroned in the gubernatorial office of Orissa. 'This erudite Sanskrit scholar,' as Dr. Parija described him, left an indelible impression on everybody present. We thoroughly liked this august personage. The opening session was marked by the learned presidential address from a distinguished philosopher of to-day. He is Dr. N. V. Banerjee of the Delhi University. 'The Fragments of Philosophical Investigation,' his presidential address, made a tremendous impact on the delegates both Indian and foreign. Prof. N. A. Nikam, the General Secretary of the Congress, in one of his addresses rightly characterised Prof. Banerjee's address as a 'monument of scholarship and philosophical analysis.' That is also the impression we carried home and that is something abiding.

The sectional meetings and symposia spread over all the four days. Forty papers on different aspects of Indian and Western philosophy were selected for being read at the sectional meetings. Eleven of these selected papers were from Bengal. The rest came from the rest of India. Of all the

symposia held the one on G. E. Moore proved to be the most interesting. The veteran Prof. G. C. Chatterjee, lately Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University, read out a paper of abiding interest. It bore colourful touches of a personal nature. His paper 'G. E. Moore as I knew him' certainly was a departure from the drab monotony of abstract philosophical discussion. Prof. Nikam's address on Moore, because of its personal flavour was also very interesting. Prof. K. K. Banerjee's paper was appreciated for his academic sincerity. Two public lectures were organised—one by Prof. Clarence Shuta and the other by Prof. Humayun Kabir. Prof. Shuta is not much known to the public of our country though the academic circle knew him quite well. What I could gather was that his absolutely foreign accent did not help a wider appreciation of his thought-provoking address. However the delegates liked this lanky venerable professor with a wide cultural background. Prof. Kabir was absolutely at ease and he drew repeated applause from the vast audience. He dwelt at length on the problems of education and unemployment and educated unemployment. Examples from the history of education of Russia and America were copiously cited to show the soundness of our present education policy. It was a neat speech with sparks and flares here and there. He was greatly appreciated on all hands. The interesting 'Round Table' on traditional values in Indian and American life gave rise to a lively discussion. We took it easy and the discussion rose to a pitch not quite agreeable to the conventional standards of philosophical discussion. Here again Prof. Kabir intervened to wind up the debate and discussion and he did it squarely. The assembly dispersed at the prospect of a sumptuous dinner.

This year, the sectional presidents were Prof. V. V. Akolkar for the Psychology section, Dr. A. G. Javadekar for the Logic and Metaphysics section, Prof. G. Misra for the History of Philosophy section and Mr. A. S. Ayyub for the Ethics and Social Philosophy section. All these sectional presidents are noted scholars in their fields of study. They discussed the different problems of value

* Translation by Sm. Leena Nandi.

and existence, both individual and social in their addresses. The huge mass of delegates who came from all over India and even from beyond the seas listened to these addresses with unfailing attention and interest. Mr. Ayub was in failing health. At times he had to call for assistance while reading out his address. Occasionally Prof. Swamidasan came to his help. Prof. Akolar's paper on Psychology upheld the reputation he enjoys in the academic circle. His printed address was so much in demand that we could not secure a copy as we were a bit late in coming in. Prof. Misra is a stout scholar who has given rise to much of expectation in the knowledgeable circles. The world of philosophy has pinned much faith on him and we are sure, in course of time, he would live up to the expectation of all concerned. My paper was placed in Prof. Misra's section. He did his job quite satisfactorily. We must remember that the task of a sectional president was really tough as he had to manage the reading of and discussion on quite a number of papers within a time limit of, say, five hours altogether. So many people were eager to discuss the issues involved and the president had to gently quell their zeal for participation in the deliberations. It was not an easy task to perform. The sectional presidents did their job splendidly well. The sectional meetings ran smoothly. Apart from these usual sectional meetings, a special meeting was organised to discuss 'Philosophical Developments in Orissa.' This session was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of the State, Dr. Harekrishna Mahatab and presided over by the noted Orissa scholar Pandit Nilakantha Das. The president dwelt at length on the development of religious and philosophical thoughts in Orissa. In a fifteen-page address he not only traced the growth and development of philosophical and religious thought in Orissa but also offered a well-documented comparative study. This year Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan delivered the Pratap Seth Annual Lecture while Prof. T. R. V. Murti delivered the Buddha Jayanti Lecture. These lectures are usual features of the Congress. Two endowments make provision for these two lectureships. We were happy

to know that Professor Kalidas Bhattacharya of the Visva-Bharati University has been elected to a lectureship and he is expected to deliver his lectures at the next session at Waltair.

Thanks to the local Secretaries. Man does not live by mere abstract discussions and deliberations. The local Secretaries knew this to be an axiom. That is why they arranged for the programmes of dance and music. Folk songs and folk dances displayed a very high standard. At places influence of classical music and dance was discernible. Of course, it is only natural that folk songs and folk dances will be inspired and sustained by the classical. We thoroughly enjoyed them. The organisers, wise as they were, made lavish arrangements not only for the head and the heart but also for the stomach. Right royal menu overwhelmed and in many cases upset the stomachs, accustomed to middle-class food. The Chief Minister Dr. Mahtab's dinner would long linger in our memory not so much for the richness of the food served (as we got accustomed to rich food in the mean time) as for the awful simplicity of our distinguished host. He spent hours together with a host of poor philosophers who had nothing to offer to this illustrious leader but a mouthful of dry dissertation concerning the various problems of life and existence. He moved freely amongst his guests and made them feel that he was really interested in them. His warm-heartedness drew many eminent scholars round this astute politician who held gubernatorial office and the office of a Central Cabinet Minister not long ago. He won us all by his unassuming manners and unostentatious behaviour. Modesty was writ large on his whole bearing. We felt that this modest servant of the people was destined to make history.

We saw the last sunset of the year 1959. The red ball took a dip in the sanctum of the Mahanadi. The old year rolled out. Next morning it was the new year. The old was rung out and the new was rung in. There was breakfast served, a good breakfast to start with a full new year lying bright before us. We packed up and got

ready for the trip to Konarak. The luxury buses were ready. We boarded them and they steamed off. The dark pitch coat of the streets looked bright with the morning glow. The new year sun kissed the fringe of the coat and the dusty frills quivered at the morning breeze. We moved up. Our destination was Konarak, the Sun Temple.

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

By Dr. VIJAY SEN, M.A., Ph.D (U.S.A.)

In fourteen years of negotiations both in and outside the United Nations on the subject of disarmament, the United States and the USSR have just agreed that ban on nuclear testing and reduction of armaments are necessary and "highly desirable." In spite of world-wide pressure against the introduction of further radioactivity into the atmosphere, the three nuclear powers—Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union—have fallen short of full agreement on the suspension of nuclear testing, though the three-power conference on this subject is in continuous session in Geneva since October 31, 1958. Thus discouraged and facing deadlock after deadlock at disarmament conferences, the world wonders whether anything effective can still be done to escape the vicious circle of the arms race.

As a matter of fact the problem of disarmament has a long history. The Treaty of Versailles stipulated a "general limitation of the armaments of all nations."¹ To translate this part of the Treaty into action, several attempts were made at various levels during the inter-war period in and outside the League of Nations, but the powers concerned failed to end the race for armaments. As far as these efforts towards disarmament are concerned, Salvador de Madariaga dramatically summed up the proceedings of various disarmament conferences in this way:

"The animals had met to disarm. The lion looking sideways at the bull

declared: 'Horns must be abolished.' The eagle, looking at the tiger, said: 'Paws and especially claws must be abolished'. The bear, in his turn, said: 'All arms must be abolished; all that is necessary is a universal embrace'."

We had the same situation after the Second World War. As the War ended the United States and Soviet Russia became rivals instead of partners in the successful working of the U.N. system. Their continued suspicion of one another has resulted in their efforts to put each other at a disadvantage in the race for armaments as was the case with the powers during the inter-war period; for the disarmament talks conducted under the auspices of the United Nations do not differ in the least from previous efforts in this respect. To illustrate this point, let us study here the efforts made towards banning the use of atomic weapons and their testing since the end of World War II.

Early in 1946 the United Nations Assembly resolved to establish a U.N. Commission on Atomic Energy. The United States government, the only power in possession of atomic weapons at that time, in its report on the international control of atomic energy proposed the establishment of a U.N. Atomic Development Authority under the direction of the Security Council. All major states were to be members of this Authority which was to take decisions by a majority vote. The Authority was to (1) own and operate all uranium and thorium mines, (2) conduct atomic research and (3) control inspection, licensing and leasing of atomic plants throughout the world. In short, the main

1. Part V of the Treaty of Versailles and Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

task of the Authority was to make impossible the production of atomic bombs and to make available atomic power and its by-products for peaceful uses.

Though the United States government came forward with this plan to internationalize the production facilities and mineral deposits of atomic energy (both of its allies and potential enemies), it was not prepared to give an assurance that it would stop manufacturing atomic bombs or destroy its stockpile of atomic weapons. The United States announced that it would agree to placing itself under the U.N. Atomic Development Authority not until the mechanism of the proposed plan had been exposed to view in all its aspects for a period of time and found perfect.

The Soviet Union rejected the American plan to control atomic power in the world minus the United States. In its counter-proposal, the Soviet government proposed that all states should renounce the use of atomic weapons and should destroy all stockpiles within three months. At the same time the Soviet government vehemently opposed the internationalization of production facilities and mineral deposits of atomic energy or the inspection of mining deposits by an international body.

This stalemate, recorded in June 1946 in the first session of the Atomic Energy Commission, still continues, though the Commission and its sub-committee have met several times since then and though negotiations on the suspension of nuclear-bomb tests have taken place many times at various levels.

To further illustrate the earlier statement, let us consider the reaction of the United States statesmen when it became clear that the Soviet Union had stolen a march over the United States in the production of destructive weapons. In 1957 the USSR announced the perfection of the inter-continental ballistic missile. This meant that Soviet Russia could deliver atomic warheads anywhere in the world from the Soviet land by using outer space. At that time the West was sceptical of Russian claim. When a few weeks later, on October 4, 1957, the Soviet scientists

successfully launched the first earth satellite, it became obvious that the USSR was in possession of inter-continental ballistic missiles and that the United States was much behind the Soviet Union in the race for the exploration and conquest of outer space. While congratulating the Soviet scientists on their achievements in nuclear physics, President Eisenhower proposed that all powers should agree to use outer space for peaceful purposes only. It is obvious that this proposal of the President was in no way different from the Soviet proposal in 1946, when the United States had the sole monopoly of atomic weapons, calling for renunciation of the use and destruction of atomic weapons.

Some observers point out that the very fact that the powers in possession of nuclear weapons know that nuclear war means mutual destruction provides a framework of insurance for peace in the world, or because of this nuclear weapons will not be used in any future war. In other words, to use Churchill's expression, the balance of terror is as much instrumental in maintaining peace as the balance of power was in the nineteenth century. Even so, considering the deadly weapons in possession of nuclear powers, the speed with which they are being improved and manufactured, and the strained relations of the United States and the USSR, it is essential that this stalemate should be resolved immediately. The problem is not only that of an agreement between the nuclear powers on the banning of nuclear weapons and their further testing, but that of mutual understanding and resolving the present tension that exists between the two blocs. For, as has been pointed out by Bertrand Russell,² even if the powers agree to renounce nuclear weapons, they, in the event of a serious war, would not consider themselves bound by former agreements. Thus there is no safety to be found even in banning nuclear weapons; we cannot unlearn our techniques, and a bomb once invented can be manufactured again as soon as a war

2. In his recent book: "Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare," London, George Allen and Unwin, 1959.

breaks out. After all man has been progressing in the production of more and more destructive weapons in war as well as in peace. It may be recalled that the first atomic bomb was manufactured in the course of the last World War. Thus until the relations between East and West become less strained than they are at present, the problem of saving mankind from nuclear extinction will remain.

While present policies continue, there will not only be a constant increase in propaganda of hate and terror among the big powers against one another but with every year that passes, technical advances will make war, when it breaks out, more and more disastrous. Moreover, present preparedness makes it possible for some wholly accidental misfortune. A meteor exploding a hydrogen bomb can be mistaken for enemy action. A mechanical defect in radar or a sudden nervous breakdown of some important officer entrusted with the control of nuclear weapons can be other possibilities of an accidental action. Or order from higher authorities can be misunderstood. There have been such examples in recent history. For instance, several thousand Polish army officials are said to have been shot dead during the Second World War due to the misunderstanding of a telephoned order from the Kremlin to a Soviet army official to "liquidate" the camp of Polish war prisoners at Katyn, Poland. Instead of liquidating, that is, dissolving the camp, the officer who received the order "liquidated" its inmates.³ Finally, when more countries have nuclear weapons, a country with an irresponsible, chauvinistic government can launch a nuclear attack which may lead to World War before it is discovered that none of the major powers was responsible for the action.

Under these circumstances one might say that the states should renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. But is it possible to practise non-violence in world politics? Mahatma Gandhi, while suggest-

ing this method, once remarked: "If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself In a society based on non-violence the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. The idea of superiority and inferiority will be wholly obliterated." However, the Mahatma himself thought that it would be a miracle if the great powers accepted his ideas. Though he added that the miracles had happened before and might occur again, with due deference to the Mahatma, a student of international relations cannot look for miracles to take place while the powers are engaged to destroy one another. He has to see whether any plan meets the empirical test which has to be applied: Will the nation states agree to such a proposal?

The question arises: Why do they not agree to disarm themselves? It may be helpful here to study briefly some of the important issues that have come up before disarmament conferences in the past. During the inter-war period and also ever since the end of the Second World War the subject of disarmament has been closely linked with security. The states spend huge amounts on armaments in the interest of their security and defence. Whenever the question of disarmament came up before the League of Nations, some of the powers—specially, France and Poland—declared that adequate arrangements for the security of the members should be made first. The question of security is equally important today.

The second problem before the League of Nations in respect of disarmament was that of international supervision. The French delegates viewed with distrust any proposal for disarmament without any provision for effective international supervision. Britain held that the community of nations could rely on the good faith of its members; Italy and the United States refused to accept any kind of international supervision. We have the same problem today. At the last summit conference held in 1955, President Eisenhower proposed that the powers should agree to international aerial supervision; the Soviet government has resisted all attempts to establish an

3. Samuel L. Sharp: "Poland—White Eagle on a Red Field," Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 293.

effective, foolproof and "free" system of inspection the West considers essential to assure adherence to disarmament agreements until now.

The bogey of national interests has also been raised quite often. The major signatories to the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), while renouncing war, declared that it (the Pact) did not rule out war in self-defence or any war to safeguard their "special and vital interests." Even today nations advocate the use of force to defend their vital interests. What are these rights and interests? They still remain ill-defined. They range from the defence of national territory to the satisfaction of chauvinistic claims for territorial adjustments at the cost of other sovereign states or the protection of life lines of big empires.

It follows from this that if the states are to disarm themselves, the problem of security should be solved, a machinery for international supervision of armies and weapons should be set up and there should be a system for securing definition, adjustment and protection of national rights and interests without resort to force. Differences do arise among nations as they arise among human beings. There should be a machinery to solve these differences peacefully.

This suggests that the deficiencies of international government are the chief cause of huge armaments. Various international organizations have made several inroads on the sovereignty of states. Every attempt should be made to accelerate this process of erosion of the current concept of sovereignty in order to strengthen the world or-

ganization which may define and protect national rights and interests, and also solve the problem of security and international supervision. This will also help in easing the tension that exists between the two blocs. Only then we can have a state of mind in the nations conducive to disarmament.

In any approach towards the strengthening of the world organization the opposition between Communism and Capitalism appear to be the most evident obstacle at the present time. However, the two sides seem to have realized the danger of "nuclear brinkmanship" and its economic, political and military consequences. Commenting on Chairman Khrushchev's visit to the United States, the "New York Times" (Weekly Review) stated:

Both sides feel the economic weight of the arms race and would like to devote to more constructive ends the resources now going into armaments.⁴

Secondly, both capitalism and communism have been undergoing changes ever since they began to be seriously advocated. They have been interpreted and re-interpreted to meet the changing needs and situations. In this process they have taken certain ideas from one another. These two systems have existed side by side for quite some time and can continue to co-exist in the future as well. Man is not only capable of fear, hate and terror, but also of hope and benevolence. In this spirit we should do our utmost to strengthen the world organization.

4. September 27, 1959.



LENIN IN LITERATURE

By SERGEI ASEENIN

The books, folk legends and songs inspired by V. I. Lenin, great revolutionary genius and thinker, the founder of the world's first socialist state, run into many volumes. Years in no way diminish the greatness of this modest and wise man, and time is powerless to divert the thoughts and feelings of peoples from him. Quite the contrary, with the years, and in historical perspective, his image, near and dear to the heart of the ordinary man, grows in its significance and beauty, the titanic feat of his life, completely dedicated to the freedom, happiness and bright future of humanity, looms greater than ever before in the eyes of the whole world.

Lenin's work, his far-seeing, ever active mind, the amazing personality of this greatest political leader and kind man of warm heart and unusual charm, naturally were and still are a source of inspiration to writers of various lands and peoples. To create an artistic portrait of Lenin, the leader and the man, to show his versatile and rich personality, is a tremendous and noble task confronting, in all its magnitude, the writers of our time. All the more valuable and precious are the inspired pages devoted to Lenin by many talented prose writers and poets. The first to be mentioned among them is Maxim Gorky, stormy petrel of the revolution, ardent singer of the working class, who in his reminiscences depicted the living features of Lenin's genius, and in graphic and forceful descriptions succeeded in conveying Lenin's inimitable language, manner of speaking, facial expression and gestures.

As is known, the writer was a close friend of Lenin and often had long conversations with him. Their copious correspondence, a new edition of which has recently come out in a separate volume, speaks of their deep spiritual affinity, of the great philosophical and purely human influence which Lenin exercised on Gorky.

In his article, to which the writer devoted much of his time and which has become a remarkable literary document of the epoch, Gorky, with great artistic mastery, tells of his many encounters with Lenin, and of the exceptionally strong impression Lenin produced on him in

1907 at the Party Congress in London. Unlike other political leaders, Gorky tells us, Lenin "did not try to invent beautiful phrases, but made every word stand out as clearly as can be, bringing home its precise meaning with amazing facility."

"It was the first time," says the writer, "that I heard one speak so simply of the most complicated political questions." Simplicity, modesty, naturalness, integrity and at the same time the amazing completeness, force and conviction of thought, were first and foremost noted by Gorky as the salient characteristics of Lenin.

In Gorky's reminiscences Lenin is not only a far-seeing leader and politician, and an orator captivating human minds. He is a man with a big and pure heart, extremely sociable and witty. A highly-infectious gaiety and a lively, untiring interest in all that surrounds him, particularly people, are typical of him. Amazing versatility and great humaneness make up the charming and forceful image of Vladimir Lenin as depicted by Gorky.

In his article written with great ardour, the writer describes with particular affection the episodes testifying to Lenin's broad literary knowledge and interests, the poignancy and aptness of his appraisals, Lenin's ability deeply to analyse art and his subtle feeling for music.

Gorky also speaks with admiration of such a characteristic trait of Lenin, as pride in his people, its creative talent, and the great spiritual values it has contributed to the treasure-store of humanity.

The force and impact of Gorky's portrayal is in the writer's being able to show how Lenin's tireless and purposeful thought, taking impetus from what seem to be insignificant trifles of every-day life, arrives at great generalizations, reveals life's phenomena in all the complexity of their contradictions, in development and perspective.

"Lenin is more of a man than any of my contemporaries," said Gorky in 1920. "..... I am certain," he continued, "that in rare moments of rest his militant thought carries him away to the beautiful future much farther and sees more than I can imagine. The principal aim of all of

Lenin's life is the common good of all humanity."

Soviet literature emerged and took shape as an art asserting the principles of the new world, and the new social relations; it set before the world the ideal of the citizen fighter, the builder of communism, a person of great convictions and crystal-pure heart. It was natural that the initiators of the literature of socialist realism—Maxim Gorky and Vladimir Mayakovsky—should see in Lenin the most harmonious and striking expression of the ideal man whom they so craved to embody in literature.

Many poems written by Mayakovsky in the early years of the revolution were what might be termed the "approaches" to the Lenin theme, a source of constant inspiration to the poet, revealed with such force and mastery in his most significant work—the poem "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The poet has created a deeply emotional and elating work, in which epic grandeur is combined with lyrical fervour, and we see Lenin's image as inseparably associated with the history of mankind, in deep affinity with the destinies of the people and its future. In this titanic image the features of Lenin the leader and Lenin the man are indivisibly blended. And although Mayakovsky wrote this poem soon after Lenin's death, at a time when the entire nation was stricken by grief, it is pervaded with a bright feeling of optimism and faith in the triumph of Lenin's cause and the immortality of Lenin's ideas!

Among the most interesting and significant works of Soviet literature, in which Lenin's personality is embodied, it is impossible not to mention Nikolai Pogodin's dramatic trilogy. The dramatist had worked on it for more than twenty years, making a thorough study of Lenin's life and works, of the numerous reminiscences of his contemporaries, of Lenin's characteristic traits as a polemicist and public speaker.

The first play of this trilogy "The Man with the Gun" was completed in 1937. During the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution the first performance of the role of Lenin was given on the stage of the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow by the outstanding Soviet actor Boris Shchukin.

The scene of Lenin's meeting in the corridor in Smolny with the soldier Ivan Shadrin, "the

man with the gun," who had come to the revolution right from the trenches of World War I, has become one of the most vivid episodes in the history of Soviet drama. The key scene and the tensest moment of the play, it is invested with great content. In a casual conversation that is struck up in this scene, such issues of vital interest to the broad masses as peace and land are discussed. Shadrin does not at all suspect that the friendly man he speaks to and who knows so well the life of the ordinary people is Lenin. He finds this out later, but the heart-to-heart talk he has with Lenin reveals to him the true significance of the revolution, and the wisdom of the leader steering the course of events.

"The Kremlin Chimes," the second play of the trilogy, was completed by Pogodin in 1941. In a series of striking, historically true episodes the dramatist tells the story of how Lenin's plan for the electrification of Russia came into being, how under the influence of Lenin and thanks to the tremendous constructive effort of the Communist Party he headed, the best representatives of the old Russian intelligentsia began to serve the people, giving all of their brain power to the people, and themselves deriving meaning and an aim in life.

Lenin's idea that it is necessary to dream, to live and work for the sake of the happy future of the people, and by one's efforts to bring closer that future, is the keynote of the play. Its finale is symbolic: the Kremlin chimes, which on Lenin's instructions had been repaired by an old watchmaker, resonantly and confidently strike the hour, telling us, as it were, that the time is drawing nearer when Lenin's bold dreams will be a reality.

"The Kremlin Chimes" has now been showing for many years in the Moscow Art Theatre. And the same theatre has staged the last play of the trilogy, "The Third Pathétique." In it Lenin is portrayed at the close of his life. Pogodin calls his play "a tragic presentation," and it has much that calls to mind Mayakovsky's poem about Lenin. In it the optimistic, life-affirming theme of the immortality of Lenin's truth, Lenin's faith in the creative genius of the people, in the Communist future to which Lenin had dedicated his life is reverberated with great force.

Lenin's personality, and his work of the

great strategist of the revolution, politician and philosopher, and the true leader of the people, have also captivated the imagination of many talented writers of other lands.

Particularly worthy of mention among these is the American writer John Reed and his wonderful book about the Great October Revolution—*"Ten Days That Shook the World."* This is the only work of fiction to which Lenin himself wrote a preface. Appraising John Reed's book very highly, Lenin underlined that "it gives a truthful and an unusually lively written account of events, so important for the understanding of what is a proletarian revolution, what is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The revolutionary people are the principal hero of this work in which documentary, publicist and fiction writing are closely interwoven. John Reed's fiery pen recreated the greatest historic events and has shown Lenin in the centre of them. In 1919-1920 John Reed met Lenin, and had long talks with him which gave him greater and deeper insight into Lenin's wisdom, far-sightedness and humanism.

In his book John Reed showed Lenin's unity and deep spiritual affinity with the people, told of the inflexible will of the leader of revolutionary struggle, who in the most trying times "stood indomitable as a rock." John Reed in describing Lenin as a public speaker had faithfully shown that he could speak simply and graphically to the people about the biggest and most important things. For example in his description of Lenin's address to the Second Congress of Soviets, he wrote: "Dressed in shabby clothes, with trousers much too long for him. Unimpressive to be the idol of the mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect; colourless, humourless, uncompromising and detached, without picturesque idiosyncrasies but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation. And combined with shrewdness the greatest intellectual audacity." John Reed tells us that thousands of ordinary people gazed intently at him, filled with admiration; his words breathed serenity and force deeply penetrating into human hearts, and it was perfectly clear why the people always believed what Lenin said.

Lenin's image, vivid and expressive, rises from the pages of John Reed's stirring book, illumined by the glow of the Great October Revolution.

It is well-known that Herbert Wells, who visited Soviet Russia in 1920, was first among the prominent West-European writers to meet and talk with Lenin. Herbert Wells has recorded his impressions in a book which he called *"Russia in the Shadows."* With sincere admiration Wells speaks of Lenin in this book. The Bolsheviks, in his opinion, are the sole foundation on which a reborn Russia can be built.

However, there was a good deal that Wells did not understand. He called Lenin the "Kremlin dreamer" and did not believe in the possibility of carrying into life his plan for the electrification of Russia. But Lenin's ideas and the constructive enthusiasm of the people who put them into life proved more bold and daring than the imagination of this celebrated writer of fantastic stories.

History had indeed played a trick on Wells. When fourteen years later he again visited the Soviet Union he was compelled to admit that his positions which he knew, he begins to understand. In his new autobiographical book where he sums up his career as writer Wells again speaks of Lenin.

He says that in looking back on the book he had written fourteen years ago, reconstructing in his memory the impressions of those days, and comparing Lenin with other men in key positions which he knew, he begins to understand what an outstanding and significant historical figure Lenin was. Wells writes that he by no means supports the theory of the exceptional role of "great men" in the life of mankind, but if we are to speak of the great representatives of the human race, he must admit that at any rate Lenin was indeed a great man.

Bernard Shaw, another outstanding English writer, sending his book to Lenin in June, 1921, wrote that Lenin alone among Europe's statesmen possessed the gifts, character and knowledge, essential for a man in such a responsible post.

Ten years later, during his visit to the USSR, Shaw, then seventy-five years old, again turned his thoughts to Lenin. He proclaimed Lenin to be a man superior to all others, a man

who could be placed in the same row with only a few, and in the row of those few was a head higher than the rest.

And, consonant with Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, France's great writer and humanist, wrote the following in his article in 1934 "Lenin. Art and Action.":

"I know of no more powerful personality in contemporary Europe His spiritual image, in his lifetime was entrenched in the hearts of people and it shall remain unfading in the ages."

Romain Rolland regarded Lenin's activity as a remarkable unity of dream and action, he spoke of him as of a fighter, all in motion, in struggle and battle in all the moments of his life.

Henri Barbusse, another courageous French writer and democrat, saw in Lenin the embodiment of the greatest humanism of the socialist revolution. "To Lenin the words 'politics' and

'humaneness' have become synonyms," said Barbusse in his article devoted to Lenin and written in connection with the publication of a volume of Lenin's correspondence in France.

Such talented poets of our times as Alexander Tvardovsky and Emi Hsiao, Louis Aragon and Berthold Brecht, Johannes Becher and Nikolas Gilién, Nazim Hikmet and Ludmil Stojanov have written poems devoted to Lenin.

To all these eminent men of letters and public figures Lenin's ideas, his dream of the future, represent not only the throbbing present but also the new socialist humanism on the highroad to the morrow of history. New ages in literature will produce more works about Lenin of still greater impact and expressiveness. And Lenin's immortal name will live forever in people's hearts as a symbol of the best hopes and greatest accomplishments of mankind.

THE ONE WITHOUT A SECOND*

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

The ego or intellect or what they call
Mind and the senses—none of these am I:
I am not the eyes nor nose nor tongue
nor ears,
The earth, nor winds nor fire nor even
the sky:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Hate and attachment, greed and fond
illusion,
Envy and pride's vainglory I disclaim:
I bow to no moral codes or legislation,
To wealth nor idol nor even salvation's
name:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Virtue nor sin, sorrow nor happiness,
The sacred mantras nor the holiest shrine:
The Vedas nor to rituals I belong,
No eater am I—no pabulum is mine:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

I know no fear—even of doom or death,
Father nor mother nor barriers of caste:
I am uncreate—have neither friend nor foe,
Guru and disciple I have overpassed:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Beyond all Name and Form and Time
I stay
As the Vast Formless overarching Space:
Untrammelled still by life, I overspread
All all that is—alone and fathomless:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

New York, April, 1953

* Translated from Sankaracharya's Shiva Stotra.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

EDUCATIONAL SPEECHES: By Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. A. Mukherjee & Co. (Private) Ltd., Calcutta. 1959. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 2.50.

The many-sided activities of the late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee during his eventful career which was cut short prematurely by a tragic close are now matters of history. As Dr. Radhakrishnan says neatly in his appreciative Foreword, he was "an educator, humanist and politician." The present publication of the Syamaprasad Foundation (an institution founded in 1954 for perpetuating his memory) contains a list of nineteen speeches and addresses delivered by him at various University convocations and educational conferences in our country. They cover for the most part the period between 1933 and 1938, only three being brought down to the forties of this century, and another which has been described as "the last testament on educational reforms" by Dr. Mookerjee taking us down as far as 1952, a little more than a year before his fatal journey to Kashmir. The addresses give us not only luminous review of the activities of the contemporary educational institutions, but they also contain sound and practical suggestions for solution of the problems then (and often even now) facing higher education in this country. Some of these suggestions have since been vindicated by the lapse of time. The addresses breathe throughout a spirit of lofty patriotism born of appreciation of our cultural ideals combined with a liberal and dynamic outlook characteristic of a man of vision. The paper, print and get-up are commendable, while it

seems to be completely free from printing mistakes. We wish it a wide circulation among all interested in the advancement of education in our country.

U. N. Ghoshal

THE RUNAWAY AND OTHER STORIES: By Rabindranath Tagore. Edited by Prof. Somnath Maitra and published by the Visvabharati in anticipation of the Centenary Celebrations in 1961. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 5.00.

It is a collection of the English Translation of nine short stories in Bengali written by the poet at different times covering a period of nearly fifty years. The translations are the work of some very eminent people, Indian and English. They include Andrews, Pearson and Jadunath Sarkar.

Some critics think that Tagore has been ill served by his translators. Bengali readers turn their noses up because they miss the things they are familiar with in the translations and Europeans find fault with them because the poet's Bengali cannot easily be cast into their idioms.

Tagore himself was against translating his works into another language. He likened translations to the skin of a dead calf stuffed with straw to deceive its mother and insisted that those who wanted to enjoy his writings must approach them in the original. That however is not an easy task. The world has been enriched by translations of the great writers of foreign lands. The effigy of the calf serves its purpose by luring the cow to yield her milk and generations of people have drawn their nourishment through translations. One

wonders if Tagore himself would have been known to the outside world without this aid. He himself has translated many of his works.

Tagore is not easy to translate. As a highly imaginative poet, he cannot think in the abstract. His mind is peopled with images. Even while he argues, his mind teems with figures and his thought clothes itself into vivid pictures. He draws his images from the familiar objects, scenes, fancies and legends of Bengal. When he goes farther afield in search of them, they are nearly always from the India of the Classical poets. This particular diction has an intimate setting and cannot be easily transferred to another medium. Besides his humour, subtle and illusive, with which his writings are strewn all over, proves baffling to the translator.

This apology however is not very necessary in reviewing the present volume. As stated before, the translations are the work of persons who are at home in both the languages. One or two anomalies might be pointed out where the editor might have taken some liberties with the language but probably he stayed his hand in consideration of the eminence of the translators. But these are so few that the readers' pleasure will never be impaired.

Tagore's reputation as a story-teller is so firmly established that a rehearsal of his greatness is hardly necessary. Some critics who have unfortunately not the privilege of reading his works in the original go so far as to assert that his real genius is to be found in his stories and that he is a story-teller first and a poet by grace. Such view of course is ridiculous and betrays the lamentable ignorance of the people who hold it. As a matter of fact we cannot have proper appreciation of the poet's art as a story-teller unless we know what it is in his poetry, particularly his lyrics. The same revealing flash of light, the same thrilling surprises, the same economy and concentration in expressions and thought, the same reticence and consequent loftiness of sentiment are to be met with in his story as in his poetry. We cannot forget what success he achieved by his verse romances enshrined in his *Katha O Kahini*.

Whether in poetry or in prose, one quality of his art as a story-teller makes itself felt. He takes a character at a psychological moment when it begins to open

up under the impact of events and begins to unfold itself as a flower at the touch of the morning light. We watch fascinated its changing shades and subtle nuances as we do the iridescence of the petals. He of course takes us through action and situations to the inevitable goal. But he is more interested in the study of character than in action. The latter offers an angle from where to observe the development of character. Action to him is very often the psychic action. The physical one is the unconscious expression of the inner one.

This aspect of his art is conspicuous in the stories before us. *The Runaway*, *Trepass*, *The Conclusion* and *Cloud and Sun* are, if anything, primarily studies in character. The external action stops when the veil that hides the faces of his heroes and heroines drops off and the characters stand revealed before our gaze. Our mind then asks, like a child, what's next? But the creator has ceased to take interest in them. *The Runaway* is not a homing bird. Nothing can hold him in a cage though it be golden. His truant nature makes him a perpetual fugitive and the open road lures him from love and comfort. But more interesting is the character of the girl Charu spoilt by her parents' solicitude for her. The poet unfolds her character link by link and portrays with rare subtlety how her perversity and seeming contempt for the waif Tara is only the inverse side of her admiration for him which gradually ripens into love. These were the days of child marriage and the poet shows with unerring skill the gradual but unconscious maturity of those girl brides. Like Charu of the *Runaway*, Giribala of *Cloud and Sun* and Mrinmayi of the *Conclusion* represent different facades of the same type of character, the girl unconscious of her growing attachment for the man, strange and awkward, whom he torments either with her scorn or pranks only to discover that life is impossible without him. *The Hidden Treasure* is a fairy tale in which the lure of buried treasure infatuates the hero so much that he finds himself on the brink of death during his quest, but he realizes in a sudden flash that life and the gifts of nature are far more precious than all the gold mines of Pluto. *Mahamaya* is again the study of a character, stern and awful, silhouetted against the flame of pyre burning a *suttee* with the stormy sky thundering.

above. The whole panorama of history of the bygone days spreads before our eyes in all its grimness. **Cloud and Sun**, apart from its delightful love episode, introduces us to a chapter of our history in recent times giving us an insight into the familiar picture of how the upholders of the white man's burden were conducting themselves in this country. We also see how political martyrs were made out of timid and retiring people like young Sashibhushan, a briefless pleader. **False Hopes** is a beautiful fantasy conjured up by the Darjeeling fog, the echo of a glorious day which has departed for ever. **The Judge** is the picture of a dissolute man turning into a stern moralist, whereas **Trepass** depicts with delicate humour a childless widow suffering from the untouchability mania. She will not permit her own nephew, brought up as her child, to enter her templeyard for fear of defilement but will not give up to the sweepers of the village the dirty pig which has fled into the temple bush for fear of life. The last story **The Stolen Treasure**, more modern in theme and environment, is the delightful account of the love of an elderly couple with a grown up daughter of marriageable age, renewing everyday their ritual of courtship. Their prolonged romance leaves an unforgettable impression.

Rabindranath is great and is unrivalled in his own field anywhere.

Saroj N. Ray

WHISPERS FROM ETERNITY: By Paramhansa Yogananda. Seventh Edition. With a foreword by Amelita Galli-Curci. Published by Self-Realization Fellowship, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. Pp 266 +XXII. Price not mentioned.

The book, under review, is attractively cloth-bound and tastefully got-up and has already undergone seven editions in the course of twenty-four years. Its author Yogananda Swami is an immortal monk of Bengal who proceeded to America in 1920 and remained in the West for over thirty years. In hundreds of Western cities he taught the largest Yoga classes in the world and personally initiated about a lakh of aspirants into Yogic practice. He passed away in Los Angeles in March, 1952 after concluding his impressive address at a banquet held in honour of H.E. B. R. Sen, the then ambassador of India to U.S.A. His Autobiography of a Yogi, Science of

Religion, Cosmic Chants and other excellent books have been highly appreciated and widely circulated throughout the cultural World.

The present book is divided into four sections entitled Prayers and Soul Thought, Invocations to the world's great spiritual teachers, Children's Prayers and Experiences in Super-consciousness. In all there are 236 poems in four Sections. Most of these mystical verses were composed extempore in an inspired mood during the Yoga classes in various cities. They are spontaneous outpourings of a mystic mind and at once touch the heart of a devout reader. Simplicity of thought, lucidity of language and spiritual fervour are notable features of these poetical compositions. The book is illustrated with superb portraits of Saraswati, Sri Krishna and the author. The likeness of Saraswati is drawn by Ranoda Ukil of Delhi and attached with a nice caption.

Amelita Galli-Curci in her short foreword rightly remarks, "In this sacred Book the Lord is portrayed in His immortal aspect: the Cosmic Mother—a grand conception of the Infinite and Invisible. Swami Yogananda's writings give profound answers to questions of modern scientific mind seeking God intelligently."

The book is destined to rank as a sacred classic and pass into the hands of devoted aspirants for repeated perusals. Cheap Indian edition of Swami Yogananda's works should be brought out for sake of wider circulation by the institutions started by him in India and U.S.A.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

POPULATION CONTROL (A Modern Shibboleth): By M. P. Desai. Naviten Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pages 58. Price 50 nP.

This book contains a few articles by Sri M. P. Desai, ex-editor of the "Harijan." The question of population is particularly important today in view of India's teeming and ever-increasing millions. More so because the Government of India has made birth-control a matter of State policy and is using people's money for a cause which is controversial. Thus it has become a party question.

The author has discussed the subject from different angles in eight chapters and has tried to prove that the theory of increase

of population faster than increase in the production of food is not tenable and is disproved by the facts of present-day scientific improvements in food articles and other discoveries. According to him, it is a cry of Asian nations who are responding to a false cry of the progressive West. The neo-Malthusian theory is a myth. America, Russia and even England (in spite of Malthus) never took to birth-control seriously and, in fact, they increased their population and thereby gained economic supremacy. The only European nation that took to population-control was France, and as a result she is decaying. As a matter of fact, the increase of population brings its own check not by disease, hunger and any other cause of destruction but by nature's way of lesser increase due to changes in the standard of living in civilized society. Artificial methods are derogatory and harmful and in Gandhiji's word "immoral."

The author quotes extensively from Mahatmaji and Mr. Colin Clark, an economist, in support of his thesis.

The book deserves to be widely read and the subject thoroughly discussed by the educated people who are likely to be the first victims of artificial birth-control.

A. B. Dutta

THUS SPAKE THE BUDDHA: Edited by E. Ramaswamy. Published by The Hilal Publishing House, Tirunelveli, Madras. Price Re. 1.50nP.

Selected sayings of the Buddha rendered into English. These are words of eternal value and shall always be heard with respect all over the world.

DAWN OR DARKNESS: R. K. Karanjia, Jaico Publishing House, 125 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 3/- net.

"When West Asian tensions were at their peak" Mr. Karanjia undertook a press-mission and met Nasser, Khrushchev and Kassi. The present volume is made up of his diary. His impressions of the important personalities and close study of the contemporary political trend in the East deserve attention.

A CRITICAL GUIDE TO POETRY: Prof. N. M. Kulkarni, M.A. Students' Friends, Allahabad. Price Rs. 2/-.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF FRANCIS BACON: Prof. T. K. Dutt, M.A. Students' Friends, Allahabad. Price Re. 1.25nP.

Both are help books meant for college students. As such they are likely to be popular.

POEMS ON INDIAN NATURE: By Srinivas Murthy: Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh. Price Re. 1/-.

There are signs more of toil than of success in these verses.

D. N. Mookerjee

SANSKRIT

1. **TRIKAM**, 2. **PURNAPATRAM**: By Siromani Sannidhana Suryanarayana Shastri, P.O.L., Samskritacharya Venkatarama Reddi Mahilakalasala, Hyderabad. To be had of the author, 44, Zeera Compound, Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh. Price Rs. 1.50 and Re. 1 respectively.

We have here the author's own translations in Sanskrit of some of his writings in Telugu. **Trika** is a collection of three poems, **Kira-sandesha**, **Vipravira** and **Madhu-kosha**. The first of these is based on the mythological story of Krishna and Rukmini, the second deals with the story of a quasi-historical General of Andhra. The third is a selection of about one hundred erotic verses from the author's Telugu poem **Smaragita** consisting of six hundred verses. The **Purnapatra** is a collection of verses on miscellaneous topics: religion, nature and mysticism. Under the first category we have translations of 'twenty parables of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.' The learned author writes elegant Sanskrit which will be read with interest and relish by all lovers of the language. Students of Andhra will be benefited by a comparison of the translation with the original.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

HINDI

PREMPANTH: Compiled by V. G. Desai. Translated by Someswar Purohit. Navajiban Mandir. November, 1958. Pp. 64. Price 40nP.

Observations of different kinds and on various topics connected with the ways of Love and Non-violence compiled from Gandhiji's writings have been already published. This is the second in the series, and it follows the same pattern. The topics include khadi and non-violence, tobacco and drink and their pernicious effects, fear of death, etc.

P. R. Sen

MARATHI

RAMBHAU MANDALIK YANCHE JIVANACHARITRA : By M. K. Sahasrabuddhe. Published by S. N. Agashe, 1445 Sadasiya, Poona-2. Price Rs. 3/-.

A great waker for the cause of Independence, Rambhau Mandalik (1881-1958) has had a capable biographer in Shri Sahasrabuddhe who has not delayed in completing his task at the earliest opportunity possible—with love and admiration for his subject. Born of a distinguished family, he passed the B.A. examination of his University in 1904 but then politics claimed him. Tilak's stand in politics attracted him and he took a leading part in Colaba District Congress Committee during 1923-33, being also a member of the Maharashtra P.C.C. and of the A.I.C.C., coming in direct contact with Gandhian ideology and practice. And then he came face to face with the Hindu Mahasabha. His life was an instance of the forces which worked during the stormy nineteenth-twentieth century in India, and this was a receptive soul.

Rambhau Mandalik's life will prove of interest to the reading public outside Maharashtra also.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

(1) **RUSSIA :** By Pranjivan Doshi Pp. 190. Price Rs. 1-8.

(2) **AMERICA :** By Pranjivan Doshi Pp. 239. Price Rs. 1-8.

(3) **THE STORY OF THE EARTH** By Chandrabhai K. Bhatt. Pp. 120. Price As. 12.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. Map. Illustrated. 1957. Card-board covers.

America and Russia are, at present, on the lips of every person in India, politically financially, and partly culturally. We must know ultimately, therefore, what they are in these respects. Mr. Doshi has carried out the task successfully and in a short compass has set out all that is required to be known about these two vast countries dominating in these days the politics and the fate of the world. In "The Story of the Earth," Mr. Bhatt traces in popular language, the origin and development of the Globe on which we live as well as of those who inhabit it. It is a fascinating story.

K. M. J.

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Editors : Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Introduction : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design : Acharya Nandalal Bose

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Indian Periodicals

The Liberating Function of Education

Dr. John E. Owen writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is the theme of this article that a mature education, a liberal education in the best sense, would have the function of freeing the human mind from the all-pervasive cultural pressures that perpetuate the psychologically stultifying forces of every age.

It is admittedly very difficult to acquire a mental detachment from one's own culture, since the climate of opinion and the psychological ethos are as real as the air one breathes.

In all cultures and epochs, the majority of men have been ethnocentric, so emotionally bound by the narrow loyalties of their own tribe, clan or nation-state as to be indifferent to the achievements and sometimes even the existence of other cultures. The effect of World War II, of aviation, of the UN and Unesco, has broken down the pre-war parochialism. Race prejudice is harder to eradicate, since it is an emotional reaction that cannot be solved merely by pointing out the scientific facts of race. But no liberal education is complete if it leaves an individual with the same intolerant or hostile racial attitudes that he acquired in his early childhood or community conditioning.

Similarly, a mature education would liberate its participants from the compulsive egoism of which race hatred is one expression. Significantly, the prophets of all the world religions have spoken of the necessity of transcending the self. Aldous Huxley has written of the blight of egoism from which man needs to be released, and a prominent American theologian defines sin as the collective selfishness of large groups.

This suggests a related area in which vital education would function to liberate the individual mind. It would relieve the burden of inflexible attitudes that cling to religious dogma and superstition.

A liberal education, in any country,

value inheres in other religions than its own, and that other cultures with different traditions have produced their own prophets who perceived various sides of the prism of truth. This type of education would instil the sense of participating in the religions of mankind, transcending localisms and provincial fixations of doctrine ("the one true faith" dogma) through the knowledge that the ultimate values and goals of all faiths are fundamentally identical.

A further sphere for the functioning of the educative process is that of ensuring liberation from mediocrity, from the cult of the average and from the pressure of "the herd mind."

A mature education would also create attitudes of mind free from cynicism and defeatism. It would instil the belief that problems can be solved or alleviated; it would make the world safe for intelligence and the application of intelligence to the pressing tensions of the age.

In actuality, the world-outlook is the only realistic one to take at the present time.

Corruption at High Level

Chowringhee writes editorially:

Mr. Nehru had summarily rejected Sri Chintaman Deshmukh's demand for the appointment of a permanent tribunal to investigate charges of corruption and abuse of power against people in high positions during the last plenary session of the Indian National Congress. This, in the face of definite undertaking by a personage of Sri Deshmukh's position and integrity, to place evidence relating to several such cases of which he had personal knowledge, before such a Tribunal when appointed. The matter was further ventilated later in both Houses of Parliament at the opening of the current session but Mr. Nehru remained obdurate in his refusal to accept such a proposition. It was also ventilated in a meeting of the Con-

Mr. Nehru carried the day, it was obvious that all within his own party were not quite satisfied with the attitude taken up by him.

Mr. Nehru's reason for such a stand seems to be that all sorts of wild accusations are made from time to time against officials, both high and low, but seldom any substantiable evidence is adduced in support of such charges. The ordinary laws of the land have ample authority to deal with proved cases of nepotism and corruption and the appointment of such a Tribunal, as demanded, would only have the effect of demoralising the public services. Mr. Nehru's justifications, for they are hardly anything more, do not unfortunately convince anyone except, perhaps, himself. On the contrary, the impression has gained added force that the goliath of corruption and nepotism has so enveloped the public services of the country, especially at the highest levels, that he feels himself quite impotent to deal with it. More. He is afraid of the reckoning that any close and fearless inquiry into charges would be bound to eventually lead to, and he is neither courageous nor honest enough, to agree to face such a probability. In fact it is quite probable that he may feel that in the event of his agreeing to accept such a demand, he himself would not be left quite uninvolved from what would be likely to follow and it is but natural for any man, however powerful he may be, to wish to put off such an evil day.

Mr. Nehru, it must be clearly realised, has reinforced his present power not only by the intrinsic quality of his political sagacity—if that has at all played any part in the process—but primarily by the broadcast distribution of patronage which his high position has enabled him to do. Indeed, this is what has been holding the Congress Party together so far, and anything calculated to upset the process or designed to break it up would, it is reasonable to fear, have the most devastating effect upon the structure on which this power has been built up. It is no use shutting one's eyes to this very obvious fact and the time for holding one's tongue has been long past. All this has, no doubt, been useful in maintaining Mr. Nehru and his minions in power, even strengthening it, but the cost at which it has been done would be beyond any material computation. The cost, indeed, has been

terrific in terms of breakdown of character, almost in every department of public and private life, and it is impossible to forecast to-day with any degree of sureness as to how many decades, even centuries, it might take the country as a whole to grow the courage and strength necessary to recover from its insidious, but nevertheless, disintegrating force.

But to accuse Mr. Nehru and his Party adherents alone for such a state of affairs would not be quite fair. The Parties in opposition are hardly less responsible.

Indian politics since Independence, it is necessary to clearly understand, has degenerated into a happy hunting ground for all kinds of adventurers, most of whom are out to get what they can out of it for themselves. If there are a few here and there who have been able to stand apart, theirs are like lone voices in a howling wilderness, feeble and futile. The result has been, as it was bound to be, that Mr. Nehru and his Party have been able to develop monolithic and, therefore, absolute power within an apparently democratic form, without the need to respect or even care of an effective Opposition.

What might have integrated into an Opposition, and quite an effective one at that, had from the very beginning of the establishment of India's so-called democratic sovereignty, had presented itself as a melee of self-seeking adventurers. This, if anything, had helped to deliver absolute power into the hands of Mr. Nehru and his Party and, as absolute power always must, it has corrupted what might otherwise have developed traditions of healthy and honest democratic practice into a totalitarian hegemony.

Where Mr. Nehru and his Party has gained over all their opponents in present Indian politics has been, firstly, that they profess to stand for an economic system—although in actual effects the results may have been of a contrary character—which, by name at least, has a measure of large popularity and, secondly, that they have been able to exploit the Mahatma's technique of mass contacts to their own ends.

What, therefore, is needed is a more vigorous and far broader-based political endeavour which is, at the same time, guided by principles of rigid rectitude and honesty. It will not be an easy task to

successfully float such a political machinery,—it never is. It will mean almost heart-breaking self-denial and hard work against which results, at the early stages, will be bound to be almost negative.

Nobel Prizes

The following is taken from an article in **The Social Service Quarterly** :

Alfred Bernhard Nobel, a Swedish scientist, who had made a vast fortune from the explosive factories in Sweden and several other countries, made his will in 1896 leaving a sum of one crore dollars for these five prizes which are known as the Nobel Prizes. According to this will, he left the whole of his realizable estate to be invested in a capital fund of securities, the interest of which was to be given away every year in five prizes to five different persons. These are to be given for work to those persons, who do work of an outstanding nature during the last preceding year. The work for which the prizes are to be given away should be such as is calculated to confer the utmost good upon mankind. The interest of the invested securities should be divided into five equal parts which shall be as follows: One part shall be given to a person, who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the field of Physics. One part to the person, who shall have made the most important chemical discovery or invention. One part shall be given to the person, who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the field of Physiology or Medicine. The fourth part shall be given to the person, who shall have done the most outstanding work of an idealistic character and the fifth part shall be given to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity among nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for holding and promoting of peace conferences.

Different committees were appointed for determining the award of these prizes.

According to the will of Mr. Nobel, the Swedish Academy for Science is to decide the award of the prizes in Physics and Chemistry. The Caroline Medico Chiurgical Institute shall select the winner of the prize for Physiology or Medicine. The prizes for literature shall be decided by the Swedish Academy and the choice of the prizeman for the Nobel Peace Prize is left to the decision of the Committee of five persons elected by the Norwegian Parliament. Mr. Nobel's keen desire was to make the selection of prize winners on the principle of merit alone. He, therefore, specially mentioned in his will that outstanding achievements alone should be the criterion for selecting prizemen and the considerations of nationality or race should have no scope in these decisions. The will was not made in consultation with legal opinion and hence many difficulties arose in the execution of the document. A number of loopholes were left out. No provision was made about the agency who was to carry out the behests of Mr. Nobel. Similarly the work of deciding the choice of prize winners was left to the bodies, which were not consulted as to whether they were willing to undertake the responsibility. The relatives of the testator Mr. Nobel questioned the validity of the will. For some time after his death it seemed that the liberal ideal of the great benefactor was likely to be frustrated, but ultimately good opinion prevailed and in 1899 all difficulties were removed and there was general agreement among the relatives of Mr. Nobel, the government and the Academies and they adopted the wise policy of administering the fund according to the conditions of the will. The creation of an organization called the Nobel Foundation was decided and a Royal Proclamation was made in 1900. Since then these prizes have been awarded to persons who have worked hard for good to mankind. The different committees appointed to do the difficult work of selecting prize winners have been doing their work in a spirit of impartiality.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Avanindranath Tagore's Concept of Aesthetic Universality

Dr. S. K. Nandi writes in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, December, 1959, printed in U.S.A.:

Art is a matter of desubjectification of the artist's subjective feelings and it raises the most controversial issue of its acceptance by one and all objectively. If it is demanded of art that it must conform to the various tastes of a living generation or to the varying tastes in different periods of time, we are expecting the absurd. Art never caters to the needs of a generation of men at any one time, and it is idle to expect that it should live through the ages as a living force. Paradoxically enough, sometimes we find good specimens of art surviving the onslaught of time. How does it happen? What is the true meaning of universality in art? If there be any such universality in art, how is it effected? All these are baffling questions indeed. It is quite difficult to explain and account for the universality that good specimens of art enjoy. This universality has a limited application and as such it stimulated the formulation of *Adhikarvada* in the field of aesthetics by the Indian *Alamkarikas*. Art, according to them, cannot be looked upon as a rendezvous for all. It is meant for those who are gifted with that rare capacity for appreciating art proper. Education and training are aids to such art-appreciation. However, universality in art does not mean its democratization. If art is to be democratized, it can be effected through mass education and regimentation. This type of regimentation is harmful, for, in course of time it would encourage one particular form of art and art would lose its varied forms and colors. The art movement of a country would reveal one pattern, and it would ultimately spell disaster for art.

Avanindranath Tagore is the father of a modern renaissance in the field of Indian art. It is interesting to note how this

master mind understood the problem and solved it. Art, as a matter of fact, is expected to bear the impress of the individual mind, for it is the response of an individual. It is not a creation of the social mind but an individual creation stamped with the hallmark of an individual's peculiar way of seeing things. Rabindranath Tagore considered art to be the response of man's creative soul to the call of the real. Avanindranath also considered this subjective element in art to be of paramount importance. The stream of objects is there outside me and independent of me. A relation between this objective world and the world of art is undeniable. But the objective stream is viewed by the artist through his own glasses, and his way of permutation and combination of factual events and phenomena of nature produces a world of make-believe for him and for other people as well. This is the world of art. This claims universality. It bears an impress of eternity. It is temporal, and at the same time its bid for transcending the time-category cannot be lightly brushed aside. The panel paintings at Ellora and Ajanta and the murals of the Tunhuang caves defied time in the sense that they lived through time and weathered all its travails. All such works of art are the creation of an individual mind and at the same time they become universal in a sense. How this happens is beyond human comprehension. This mysterious character of art has led some people to dub it *Maya*. Our Tantras liken his process of artistic creation to the flight of a bird from one tree to another, leaving no trace whatsoever of its trail of flight across the blue. This mystery has enlivened aesthetics, and we think of academic art, foreign art, and adapted art in order to explain and understand the diversified art traditions of the world. An artist worth the name must liquidate his individualistic preoccupations by the constant hammering of a universalistic bias. The deindividuating is necessary for making the work of art acceptable

to other minds. If it is to be made palatable to others, it must not absolutely conform to the taste of its creator. In order to explain this phenomenon Tagore cites the example of a community dinner. When we invite a few of our friends of similar likings and taste, we may insist upon a specialized menu exclusively suited to our tastes. But when those invited are large in number and come from far and near, the menu must be broad-based. Our peculiar individual bias and likes and dislikes must be disregarded in order to accommodate the varying tastes of a vast number of men and women. The individual taste must be so curbed as to accommodate the tastes of the wider public. As it is in a symphony, so it is in a work of art. In a symphony all the notes must harmonize, and the process of harmonization may only take place when the different notes agree in accommodating one another. None of the notes could be so struck as to destroy the total effect. The instruments employed in Toy Symphony, for example, are a cuckoo, a trumpet, a drum, a whistle, a triangle, and a quail. They respect each other's right to exist in the whole, and the resultant effect is the symphony.

Thus Tagore contends that in the case of all good art the artist must not allow his individualistic bias to influence his creations too much. If it is so allowed, art appreciation on a wide scale becomes an impossibility. That is why Tagore prescribes the liquidation of individualistic tendencies in the field of art by the sledgehammering of a universalistic outlook. We must remember, Tagore points out, that the work of art is the meeting ground for the artist and art lovers. In *Gharo* Tagore tells us that art is a three-storeyed building, and craft has been accommodated in the ground floor. The first floor is the rendezvous of the artist and the lovers of art. That is where the communion is accomplished. There they meet and the art work is reviewed. Herein we find art—an expression of the artist's inner art work is reviewed. Herein we find true images brought forth and wrought in an external medium. The top floor is exclusive to the artist; there he is in his sequestered vale. There he is busy with his creation. It is a land forbidden to the lovers of art. The psychologists may have

a peep in that LHASA of the artist's mind, or the artist himself may be conscious of this inner working of his creativity. Where art is a finished product and awaits appreciation, the artist must admit the appreciator. Absolute subjectivity on the part of the artist will make him obscure and unintelligible. That is why the artist comes down from his ivory tower of pure subjectivity; from the top floor, to the first floor where other people can share the artist's joys and sorrows through his successful desubjectification. The top floor is a mystic's home. There he is unintelligible to the common man. If from there he looks for his self-realization, either he becomes a full-fledged Christian mystic or, if he cares to take recourse to exoression instead, he becomes an artist. This expression is meant to be acceptable to others.

The artist must remember this basic fact, and it will help him lend tone and color to his paintings which will live through time. This process of desubjectification of the artistic image from the pure subjectivity of the artist was believed to be the corner stone of all good art by the Japanese painters. Tagore agreed with them in understanding the meaning of universality by a process of desubjectification of the artist's feelings. Tagore elsewhere tells us of the assumption of the form and shape of the object by the appreciating mind. This phenomenon also presupposes the fact of desubjectification by the artist of his absolutely subjective feelings. Without this, art appreciation or communion in art becomes a myth. This universalization, conscious or otherwise, is the prerequisite of all good art. But this process varies in its extent and depth, and that is why some arts are greeted with acclamation by contemporaneous people and some by posterity; and why some art works belong to the age of the artist and some to all ages.

Indians of British Columbia

The following are some of the excerpts of an article by Mildred Valley Thornton published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, London, February, 1960:

On considering the Indians of British Columbia, it must be noted that tribes in

different parts of this huge province vary greatly in language, customs and traditions. Since it is impossible to deal with all of them in the limited space available I shall concentrate mainly on the Northern Pacific Coast, where there existed not so long ago an exotic native culture for which there is no counterpart in all the world.

No one knows how long the Indians have been there, but excavations in the great Fraser Midden near Vancouver testify that there was a flourishing community on that site 2,000 years ago—at the time of Christ, think of it—and no one knows how long before that. Remains of vast community houses were found, also skeletons, ornaments, weapons, tools, utensils and the like. This great camp site (for that is what a midden is) covered an area of 4½ acres, the largest yet discovered. Clam shells to a depth of 15 feet indicate a large population and a bountiful food supply. More recent explorations in the interior of the province have established Indian habitation 6,500 years ago.

Anthropologists, archaeologists and students from many parts of the world have come to study the ancient customs and traditions of our Coast Tribes, and to carry away with them priceless examples of their skilled craftsmanship. Nearly all anthropologists believe that Indians of British Columbia are Mongolian in origin; that in ages long past spasmodic migrations of primitive people came across the Bering Strait from Siberia, and found their way by degrees down through Alaska and into the more congenial climate of British Columbia.

Nature was kind to the Coast Tribes. For Indians on the Plains, life was an unending struggle for existence under the rigours of a harsh climate, with great extremes of heat and cold, and very little natural vegetation. Winter and summer they had to follow the buffalo and win by their own exertions the necessities of life.

In contrast, how different was the lot of their brothers on the Pacific Coast. With a moderate climate, in the midst of the greatest spawning grounds in the world, these Indians had access to an inexhaustible food supply, obtainable with ease. Many materials were readily acces-

sible for their use. The all-important cedar tree, spruce, mountain-goat wool, shells, stone, jade, horn and argillite were utilized with marvellous skill and ingenuity. With prudent foresight they laid by vast stores of food for the winter months, which was a season for feasting and social enjoyment. Using stone axes and wedges, they cut down the mighty cedar tree to build their enormous houses sheltering many families under one roof. Also from the cedar tree they made their stout dugout canoes, which gave them great mobility of action. Cedar trees of tremendous height and girth were used for their gigantic war canoes. Some of these, handsomely carved and painted, were capable of holding up to sixty warriors. In war canoes, the proud fierce Haidas from the Queen Charlotte Islands roamed the entire coastline for hundreds of miles, the envy and terror of all other tribes.

From the cedar tree Coast Indians made their totem poles, grave boxes, masks, food boxes, utensils and innumerable other things. The inner bark of the cedar, pounded and shredded, was woven into fine material for clothing, hats, mats, and for ceremonial purposes. Beautiful baskets, decorated with native designs in wild cherry bark, were made from the roots of the cedar tree.

There were no nails, of course, in their great houses. They were fastened securely together with cedar rope but could easily be dismantled and transported to other places for the seasonal run of fish or gathering of berries. Later, they would be taken back again to their permanent location for the winter ceremonies.

Theirs was a highly competitive society, where rank, wealth and prestige were of primary importance. Family crests as portrayed by natural symbols were carved on the massive totem poles to proclaim the greatness of the owners.

Among the Kwakiutl were three rigidly defined classes: the nobles, the commoners and the slaves. In early days there were frequent intertribal raids to obtain booty and to carry away captives into slavery. A 'high person', as the aristocrats were called, was expected to maintain a dignified, aloof manner, to keep

his own counsel and deport himself in a manner befitting his exalted station.

The Indians had powerful secret societies to which only the nobles belonged. Only the nobles took part in the elaborate dance ceremonies and secret rituals, and only they could wear the richly carved masks and traditional blankets.

Names, songs and dances were personal property of great value, and were not transferable without the owner's permission. Family crests depicting the raven, blackfish, grizzly bear, thunderbird, eagle and other creatures were jealously guarded and passed from generation to generation with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto. In some tribes this was through matrilineal descent, in others through the male side of the family. Additional crests could only be obtained through marriage, and no one was permitted to marry beneath his or her rank.

Women had great power 'behind the Throne.' Some of them were chieftainesses in their own right.

A man could not carve his own totem pole, even if he had the talent to do so. Someone from a different clan must do it for him. This interdict was to guard against the wrongful use of crests.

Though the Indians of British Columbia undoubtedly did some carving long ago with their crude native implements, their work received tremendous impetus when they came into possession of white men's tools. It is thought that the most prolific period of their carving does not extend over a period of more than 150 years. The art is almost non-existent today, but impressive remains of fabulous images may still be found in remote villages long since abandoned for more profitable locations.

Artists were highly regarded in the old days. Only they were capable of preserving in visible form the symbols on which the native society was established. The artist worked in constant collaboration with the song-maker, the dancer and the story-teller.

The potlatch was the focal point of social activity among all coast tribes. It was a 'giving away ceremony.' The more a man gave away the higher he rose in his own estimation and in that of his fellows.

Sometimes called 'the gift feast', the potlatch was usually held to celebrate an important event. A man might work for years to accumulate enough money and goods to hold a potlatch, then 'call' the people of neighbouring tribes to witness his wealth and generosity. The ceremonies lasted for days, perhaps weeks, the giver of the potlatch providing food for all the people. Often his relatives would help him, if need be.

Treasured above all else was a chief's copper. In the early days raw copper was obtained from natives of Alaska through barter. This was then hammered out into a flat shield-like form on which was etched the chief's most important crest and other insignia. The most valuable coppers had names of their own and legends about them. The incontestable proof of a chief's opulence and superiority was confirmed in the breaking of a copper.

Long ago the potlatch was forbidden by law, the Government contending that it impoverished the Indians. It undoubtedly did so, but at the same time it was a powerful stimulus to industry and it was the fertile soil out of which their astonishing native art emerged. Moreover, it was a guarantee of future welfare. Each recipient of a gift was in honour bound to return at least double the value received to the donor or his heirs, at some future day when he also could give a potlatch. No written records were kept, but everyone knew who owed whom and how much.

Read

PRABASI

**Oldest, Illustrated &
Cultural Bengali Monthly**

There were things in the old Indian way of life that were most admirable. They had many sterling qualities that we would do well to remember. To our shame it must be admitted that too often we have taken to them our vice and our weaknesses instead of our strength and our probity. Far too often they have been the victims of cunning and exploitation by unscrupulous white men, until it is no wonder that they learned to copy our devices.

We face many a challenge today in endeavouring to preserve an ancient culture, while at the same time we are working to break down the very things out of which that culture grew. The Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa is doing much to aid the Indian in the process of assimilation. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that this is the future which awaits him. He cannot remain for ever on the reservation, an oasis of stagnation in the midst of a rapidly advancing civilization.

All this comes about not only through improved medical services, but also because of greater co-operation from the Indians themselves. In the beginning, Medicine men and Medicine women were highly resentful of Government interference in what they regarded as their rightful domain. Indians were suspicious and afraid to let their loved ones be taken many miles away to hospital under the care of white people. Slowly the old prejudice was broken down, giving way to confidence and co-operation, as the Indians began to see for themselves the results of sustained professional treatment.

Now Indian girls take up nursing and home care. Indian boys come back from the schools with new ideas. Gradually the process of transition is being wrought.

More Indian young people go to university every year, many more attend high school. We have to-day Indian lawyers, doctors, ministers and successful business men.

Eventually more responsibility must be placed on the Indians themselves.

Paternalism has serious weaknesses and this is a very grave problem that the Indians themselves must consider and solve in due course. Until recently it was unlaw-

ful for Indians to buy or be given spirituous liquor. They were denied this doubtful privilege in early times to protect them from avaricious white men who sought to debauch and exploit them by depriving them of their senses. Times have changed and Indians have changed too. Where restrictions on the sale of liquor have been removed, the results have been disastrous in some cases. Other Indians have stood up splendidly under this new test of character. Some of the wise old chiefs will not allow strong drink of any kind on their reservations. Probably they handle the situation quite as well as white people would do under the same circumstances.

In British Columbia, Indians may vote in provincial elections. All Indians in the provincial elections. All Indians in the armed services (and many of them fought bravely in two world wars) automatically have the franchise. An increasing number of ambitious younger men have voluntarily foresworn their aboriginal rights in order to vote in full equality with their white brothers.

Financially, Indians of British Columbia are better off than they have ever been. In the interior of the province, some make a fair living at trapping, which is a diminishing occupation. Others do very well raising cattle, logging, working in lumber

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mills and canneries. In the Chilcotin, Indians periodically harvest Christmas trees in quantity that are shipped all over the Continent. Along the coast monetary conditions changed radically during the last war. When Japanese fishermen were removed from the coast as a security measure, Indians resumed an ancestral occupation from which they had long been excluded by Japanese monopoly. Working hard for long hours, they gradually paid for their own boats. Today many coast Indians are very well to do indeed, with fine homes, good cars and many of the comforts of life.

One must not discount the influence of the powerful 'Native Brotherhood' representing Indians from all parts of the pro-

vince and the 'Native Sisterhood' to a lesser degree.

Intermarriage with whites is becoming a commonplace, to the mutual benefit of both races.

Able and educated Indian men and women are working hand in hand with interested white people for the betterment of their race. In British Columbia an Indian university graduate, Mr. Frank Calder, gave a good account of himself as an elected member of the legislature. Dr. Peter Kelly, a full-blooded Haida Indian, was the distinguished president of the United Church Conference in British Columbia. An Indian man from Alberta, Mr. James Gladstone, is the first native to be appointed to the Senate at Ottawa.

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NOTES

The World

World forces are under a curious and unstable State of equilibrium. Perhaps there are contrary forces in action, the resultant or resultants of which are indeterminate, both with regards to direction as well as to metempsychosis.

In Europe the Stalinist policy of unqualified expansionism, through a policy of slow infiltration followed by disruption and open aggression, has been called to a halt, and it has been replaced by an apparently open and dynamic programme of Peace and Disarmament. This programme is being publicized by no less a person than Nikita Khrushchev, the puissant arbiter of the policies dominant in the U.S.S.R.

Khrushchev's programme is being accepted with reservations in Britain and France, and with open distrust by West Germany. Further West, the U.S.A. is viewing these peace moves with thinly veiled suspicion, because of the dual role played by the U.S.S.R. in the Latin Americas and the Caribbean, and in the newly-formed Union of Arab Republics.

In the Americas, Fidel Castro's Cuba is in the powerful grip of a dictator who is veering towards Communism, in the search of aid for his campaign of hate against the United States. Elsewhere there is stability, with a distinct lean towards the Right. The reasons for the distrust, with which the Total Disarmament Programme of Khrushchev is being viewed by the West, has to be sought in the actions of the Far-Eastern partner of the U.S.S.R., the China of Mao Tse-tung and of Chou En-lai.

But if the actions of the Totalitarian forces of World Communism are holding back the

advent of the Peaceful Millenium, no less disturbing are the frenzies and antics of the democratic allies and dependencies of the U.S.A. The entire civilized world has been shocked by the bestial orgy of blood into which the policy of apartheid has led the South African Government. In the Far-East too there has been bloodshed—this time of the children of the State—because of a revolt against the unscrupulous and authoritarian actions of an aged autocrat, Syngman Rhee.

Rhee has long outlived his usefulness, and as he was totally dependent on U.S.A. aid, his undemocratic actions did not add to the lustre of the Democratic West.

In Asia too we have an autocracy, as blatantly authoritarian as any Communist State, that is flourishing because of aid on a lavish scale by the U.S.A., we mean that of Turkey. The latest news speak of student demonstrations in Istanbul and Ankara followed by the imposition of Martial Law on those two cities. The demonstrations followed the expulsion of Mr. Ismet Inonu, the old Turkish patriot and associate of Kamal Ataturk, and twelve of his party from the Turkish National Assembly because of a speech in which he openly condemned the suppression of the liberty of the Turkish press.

Algeria is another smouldering brand lying loose in the democratic barnyard. And the nuclear explosions in the Sahara have by no means alleviated the incendiary possibilities in North Africa, nor have they added to the prestige of France in the democratic world.

Despotism dies hard in a world filled with the frailties and vanities of the human mind. Look at the antics of our own tinsel gods when they bask in the rosy lime-light of adulation

directed on them by their crafty sycophants, and look at the consequences, in internal plans and External Affairs!

Why Mr. Chou?

It is a matter for speculation to discover the true reasons for Mr. Chou En Lai's visit to India. China has taken upon herself the unenviable, unpleasant and dangerous task of an arrogant, aggressive and unprincipled empire builder, no matter what she may say about liberating, civilising or improving the fortunes of other nations. The Europeans had, similarly, invaded other countries for spreading and establishing civilisation, Christianity and modern institutions in those unenlightened zones of the earth. China can say what she likes; but the non-Communist peoples of the world will call her invasions and aggressions attempts at military conquest of other countries for the purpose of expansion of Chinese-controlled territories.

Knowing that public opinion throughout the "free" world is anti-Chinese, why, has Mr. Chou En Lai come to discuss Chinese incursions with the Indian Prime Minister? Does he really expect to convince any one that China is not an aggressor but an aggrieved country? Firstly, no one really and truly believes that Tibet is China and that China has any justification for her invasion and conquest of Tibet. Pandit Nehru may have agreed to call this blatant act of aggression a purely internal affair of China; but that has not carried conviction to any but the profoundly ignorant. Secondly, China resented the Indian action of granting asylum to the Dalai Lama and his followers. She, therefore, pressed forward in search of Tibetan "rebel" centres and entered Indian territory at many points. She also kept quite a lot of Indian territory in the possession of the Chinese army, for reasons of strategy or defence and began to spin tall stories about political geography and what the Huns, Tans, Sung, Mings or Manchus might have done or undone. China forgot that her Communist faith automatically cancelled all her imperial past and that she could no more claim anything by reference to her self-destroyed institutions than she could by citing the

American Constitution. Justice, fair play, truth and the freedom of the people are the alleged guiding principles of Communism and China cannot justify her invasion and conquest of Tibet by any sophistry that will convince impartial onlookers.

Why has then Mr. Chou En Lai come to Delhi? Is it to study the situation? Is or is not India going to strike back? If India will fight to regain her lost territories will she also try to put the Dalai Lama back on his godly throne? How far is India prepared to fight? These and other questions will be studied and Mr. Chou En Lai will smile broadly and go back to China to report to his party about the wisdom or unwisdom of continuing with their aggression. If Mr. Chou En Lai finds India unprepared and unwilling to fight the result may be more aggression by China. She may try to occupy more Himalayan territories; for, she is in the mood for defying the world and throwing her weight about. Rights and wrongs will not tone down very much her power-intoxication and she will go on in search of loot and expansion until she is pulled up by force.

Mr. Chou En Lai's visit, therefore, is exploratory and he will go back to China without, in any manner, committing China to any particular policy or line of action. His report may urge caution or the adoption of a do-what-you-like attitude, according to what he finds in India. Generally speaking, we believe, India will not agree to yield any territory to China. But will India display any strong determination to take back by force what she has lost. If this is done, and if Mr. Chou En Lai's informers tell him at what speed India is preparing for war and if he thinks the position is not very good for China, then China may withdraw. If, on the other hand, he thinks China should call India's "bluff", there may be further trouble. India, therefore, should show the fullest dimensions of her anger to Mr. Chou En Lai.

The news about the inconclusive end of the talks, which was given out after this note was written, are given elsewhere in these notes.

A. C.

A New Concept Of Privilege

Not so very long ago we had third class compartments in Indian Railway Trains which were "For Europeans only." We also had in certain other Provinces restaurants which were for Brahmins only and Temples in which untouchables could not enter. Under the British Imperial Government of India, white criminals could not be tried by Indians and many places were not open to Indians. Jobs were given to persons belonging to "loyal" families and contracts, commissions, agencies and various other gainful assignments were reserved for the collaborators of the British. Those were the days when privilege was spelt shamelessly in capital letters only and the purpose behind it was the maintenance of the white man's overlordship in India and in other lands too with the help and assistance of Indian soldiers and Indian money.

We have abolished all privilege, at least on paper, and all Indians today are supposed to live, thrive and prosper under conditions which are entirely just, fair, lawful, constitutional and so forth. But if one saunters along the roads of a big city or goes into the offices of a large factory or a Government department, one finds many instances of a new kind of privilege which is not so spectacular, nor so orderly and well established as the privilege of other days. The persons who grant these privileges and the persons who benefit by the same, are not so clearly of a class, caste or race, and the whole business has at its apex clear-cut privileges and only corrupt preferences at its expansive base. The privileges attach to party leaders, their business friends, their relations and henchmen and to a fairly wide-spread network of connections, contacts, persons for whom a V.I.P. has put in a word and to those who are in charge of selections, elections and what not. It is felt and known everywhere in India that qualifying and being selected for advantageous appointments, assignments and commissions, etc., can be arranged and are managed through influence and approach. The granting of licences, permits, quotas and, all the rest of them are also "planned and

managed". The nation's planned and managed economy is organised with this shadow of corruption looming strongly in the background, and much of the failure and waste attending upon National ventures are directly linked up with the conduct of privileged persons.

Looking at the daily papers one comes across various news items many of which tell a story of privilege or corrupt preferences. Not all of these have their basis in political party or official conduct. Some are distinctly traceable to the fears, lack of principles and opportunism of private capitalists and their Indian and foreign "planners and managers." When, in the Calcutta Corporation, the Councillors assembled for a Mayoral Election and proceeded about it in the manner of rowdy school boys, ignoring all laws and rules of procedure; the shameful affair could be traced to the incompetence, unscrupulousness and general want of character and a sense of discipline and social ethics in the different partymen who staged the riotous scenes. There are many political party leaders today in India, who never had any proper background of discipline and orderly behaviour. They had courage and energy which brought them to the fore front of a political struggle. But those qualities cannot serve them or their motherland after independence has been achieved, unless they changed their mental and physical manners to suit the changed circumstances. The top leaders should now begin to screen their active followers and supporters and replace the row-makers by those who agree to behave like civilised persons working solely for the good of the country.

Coming down to factories, offices and the streets and bye-lanes of big cities, we find these privileged persons everywhere who are benefiting by the corrupt preferences that surround them like an evil aura of social decadence. In the industrial setting the demand for engaging "relations" is expressed through strikes, rowdism and even murders. In Government service appointment of relations is more or less barred. Why it should be otherwise in industry is not known to us. The same

foreign officers who often make agreements with Trade Unions to engage the "relations" of workers, know very well that in modern industry there is no room for such corrupt preferences. And they also know that most of those "relations" are false and are mere paper declarations for which the candidates pay cash to the important members of the Trade Unions. This business of engaging "relations" is destroying the moral foundations of Trade Unions in India. It is also reducing efficiency and productivity. The managers of industrial establishments agree to create this atmosphere of corruption because they themselves make appointments, grant increments and effect promotions on a similar basis of favouritism or corrupt references. If all the Managers' Trusted Assistants were examined throughout Industrial India, it would become very clear how the Managers made their choice. In a city like Calcutta, the footpaths are occupied by loiterers and idlers or vendors of infected food, and the pedestrians march along the roadways meant for vehicular traffic. They cross the roads at all points and the car drivers find it very difficult to avoid pedestrians everywhere. In the areas, where cars do not go in large numbers, the pedestrians expect cars to pull up so that they can finish their conversations with fellow pedestrians in the middle of the road. If any altercations arise the car drivers, as well as the passengers, are assaulted by the pedestrians and the loiterers. The police allow all this benignly and also allow rickshaws and hand carts to violate traffic rules everywhere. Only, private car owners receive police warnings and are occasionally prosecuted to justify the payments that are made to the thousands of policemen in the city. The pedestrians, the rickshaw pullers, the hand cart pushers, the loiterers, the idlers and the vendors are the privileged parties and the tax-paying vehicle owners are made to suffer iniquity, because the police choose the line of least resistance and greatest gain. On the Chowringhee, Park Street and Dalhousie Square traffic signs abound and sergeants move around officiously. But on Netaji

Subhas Road where the car owners are the businessmen of Calcutta who never hesitate to placate the police, cars remain parked in the middle of the road without let or hindrance.

We do not expect Pandit Nehru to stop his discussions with Mr. Chou En Lai to consider such low-level matters, nor do we wish to disturb Dr. B. C. Roy to look into traffic control in Calcutta. But the public, who are the real rulers of India, should wake up and make fuller use of their political rights. It is only the people of India who can make India a great, prosperous and powerful country. Not political parties and their indifferent leaders.

A.C.

Education in Top Personnel

A maker of articles before modern industry came into existence was an individual craftsman who procured his own raw materials, melted, cast or hammered into shape the various components, filed, cut, drilled, finished and assembled with his own hands, using the tools and instruments which his grandfather had used and eventually carried the finished articles to market or bartered them for other goods which he required. At a later stage the individual master craftsman probably employed some learners and workers who worked under his direction and, in this manner, he organised and ran what might be called a small shop for a productive purpose. In the earlier days of the industrial revolution, these places of work sometimes installed machines for a limited purpose and hand-craft combined with machine work for production.

When the factories came to be organised in which machinery progressively replaced manual work division of labour and a certain degree of specialisation began to creep into the planning of production. But no great brain power nor intensive training and education were required in those days to organise and run industry. Fairly illiterate and half-educated men could easily control the processes of manufacture and education and training were rudimentary and slow to impart. This sort of arrangement continued to pay a dividend and sufficed to fulfil its purpose for many decades and only yielded place to a new order when big.

factories began to be set up for mass production and required the backing of ancillaries and departments which aided and helped by controlling procurement, transport and storage of materials and finished goods. Financing also became a bigger problem than it had ever been before and Industry slowly attained a size which had many branches, and was interlinked with other kinds of organisation for smooth and efficient operation. The illiterate and half-educated workmen and managers began to be replaced by others who were better placed in point of education and training. But industry still had a trade purpose and a limited objective, and though great minds studied the economics of industry, and tried to sort out the fundamentals from the incidentals, no great analytical or synthesising mental powers were as yet mobilised by industries for actual management. The occasion which demanded the services of persons with vision, outlook, general education and intensive specialised knowledge for better management of industries, arose when ideas of planned economy replaced the older principles guiding production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. In modern national economies, planning inter-relating, balancing and fulfilling overall purposes take precedence over trade purposes and, men of outstanding ability and education are required in top places in all organisations for the proper co-ordination of all factors which have to be considered in doing anything whatsoever in any sphere of work.

Mr. J. R. D. Tata addressing the General Assembly of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, on the 26th March 1960, laid great stress on the urgent need for fuller co-operation among scientists, technologists and people responsible for the defence of the country. Among technologists he included all highly trained personnel who assisted in increasing the defence potential of the country. We presume he was thinking of personnel engaged in accountancy, planning, designing, maintaining industrial and human relations, general administration and all other work which conditioned the creation of a proper climate for a Total Effort for the defence of the country. In this connection Mr. Tata described how West Germany and Japan surmounted their economic difficulties after the

destruction of their economic structure in the Second World War. Japan particularly had always been outstanding for her great enterprise, spirit of self reliance, sense of realities, unity, co-operation, scientific outlook, industriousness, skill and technical ability. Japan borrowed from the West, but had no slavish or helpless angle in her outlook.

In India we need scientists, technologists and other highly trained personnel, including industrial administrators of great ability. In India, the Private Capitalists as well as the Government lack those qualities of justice, fair dealing and attachment to true values which are essential for building up the talent and ability of the people of the country. The Government believe in borrowing from foreigners and the foreigners, naturally, impose their own terms, personnel and institutional evils on the Indian nation. Indian genius and talent can never flourish in an atmosphere in which very common and, may be, average foreign workers take up positions which they have never dreamt of at home. High pay, affluent set-up and *Salams* soon demoralise these men, who thereafter only look for slaves and sycophants among Indians to maintain themselves in their inflated position. Such technical and administrative leadership, aided and abetted by a corrupt Governmental and political set-up soon reduces all chances of self-sufficiency to nothing. Among private employers, some employ people for gaining indirect advantages and others for finding employment for persons belonging to their own community. Such conditions also make things difficult for ability and talent to come to the top. The foreigners who agree to work with our Private Capitalists are seldom men of real ability and knowledge. They are mostly of the "yes man" type and they retain their power and position by flattery and by assisting their employers in achieving unworthy objectives. That scientific knowledge and technological excellence which Mr. J. R. D. Tata is looking for will not be found among the foreign types who choose to travel east-ward for fortune-hunting. Nor will he find these qualities among the "nephews" of party leaders, Ministers or Directors of Companies. If the Government wish to help Indian genius and talent to find their own place, steps must be taken to remove

the various obstacles that stand in the way of realising this dream.

A. C.

Forces of Disorder

A great Greek dramatist of the 5th or 6th Century B.C., wrote, "In times of trouble bad men rise to fame." Things must have been pretty bad in the land of the Hellens two thousand five hundred years ago, to produce such thoughts in the mind of a great thinker. We have no time to go into the details of Greek history of the period to find out why and how bad men rose to fame and disturbed the atmosphere of culture that prevailed in those days. Did any new political parties gain victory over the established order or were there any foreign powers which sought to conquer Greece by fifth column activities? It is true that whenever and wherever the established order yields to a new order, values and weightages vanish for the time being and everybody makes a bid for prominence, power and prosperity. And bad men drive out good men by reason of their greater unscrupulousness and ability to collect the forces of evil round them, so, until *dharma* is re-established by an incarnated god or a military distatorship, bad men run the show. Fifth columns, that is the organised agents of foreign enemies, also try to create disorder by preaching false moral principles and by coaxing, cajoling and tempting such people as can be won over to be disloyal, traitorous and adventurous. We do not know if the Greeks of those days had any clever enough foreign enemies to organise fifth columns in Greece; but the idea would not be impossible, for *Kautilya* in his *Arthashastra* described at length the ways and means of conquest of other lands, which included the methods adopted by fifth column workers.

The forces of disorder that are now dominating Indian public life are comparable to whatever forces activated the mind of the Greek thinkers of the fifth Century B.C. For there are too many bad men in circulation at high level in India today. They belong to the party in power and are among their henchmen, dealers, agents, contractors, (foreign and local), advisers and general hangers-on who pick up whatever comes. The foreign enemy agents are also organised and camouflaged cleverly and care-

fully. Who the actual agents are cannot be precisely pointed out, for they have collected large numbers of sincere followers of their false faith in order to hide their own identity. But, those who act in a disorderly fashion, break up meetings, throw about furniture and make smooth running impossible in any field of social life; are connected with that fifth column somehow or other. How do we make such an assertion? Because they are the people who stand to gain by such disorder. Whenever there are any crimes committed anywhere look for the beneficiaries of the crimes. For they are the people most likely to have committed, aided or abetted the commission of the crimes. Where there are too many crimes; far too many to have just happened by chance; the finger of detection points to the secret enemies of the nation. The Indian Nation must be awake and watchful now; for bad men are at large and must be put down for Public Safety.

A. C.

Executive vs. Judiciary

There are many upright men among those who administer justice in India. Not all of them are however courageous enough to challenge the Government of India's self-willed, self-important and corrupt *Emirs* and *Umraos* who constantly try to grant protection from the law to their favourites and, perhaps, to others who can influence them. Administration of law and order and the actual trial and punishment of criminals have become a farce in India. To begin with, most crimes go undetected. This is largely due to the inefficiency of the men who are paid for prevention and detection of crimes and partly to bribery and corruption. It is well-known and generally believed in by everyone that one can escape the lawful consequences of crime in India by placating some person or persons in Government service. This has been going on from the Muslim period, through the British imperial regime and after independence. But such low-level bribery and corruption has now been supported by interference with justice by men highly placed in Government. The recent pronouncements by top-ranking lawyers and members of the judiciary are clear cut and unequivocal. Pandit Nehru cannot say that he has not been able to interpret their true meaning. He has many men in responsible posi-

tions who are interfering with the smooth and free administration of justice in India. What is he going to do to put a stop to this?

A. C.

Dandakaranya A "National" Scheme

Mr. Khanna and his supporters from Orissa had expressed certain thoughts which they harboured deep down in the secret corners of their hearts, during the debate in the Lok Sabha on April 12, 1960. Mr. Khanna began his defence by saying, that the problem of refugee rehabilitation could not be allowed to go on indefinitely. The problem should be resolved within a definite period for which a physical target must be fixed. Mr. Khanna likes to treat the refugees as a body of persons with whom the Government of India has certain understandings of a contractual nature. The fact of the case is that the refugees have been created by the Congress Government's acceptance of the Muslim League-sponsored Two-nation theory and the partition of India. The Congress did this unilaterally and without consulting the people of India. It is, therefore, their obligation to do everything in reason to settle and rehabilitate the refugees. Orissan politicians who thought they could get the undeveloped areas of their State developed at the cost of the Centre for their own advantage, should remember that they have **handed over** those territories for the benefit of the refugees. If these territories are being developed for a **national** project, (a) Orissa should not have any control over it and (b) the **Nation** should say so and not use refugee rehabilitation funds for it and (c) the nation should clearly state how the refugees are going to be rehabilitated. The Orissan reference to the "parochial approach" of West Bengal people to a **national** project can also be resented by the West Bengal people. They must remember that the people of West Bengal are not the refugees, nor the Congress nor members of any political parties which mishandle public funds and misuse the powers that they acquire from the public by making false promises. There are several hundred thousand Orissans in West Bengal too who earn

money in this State and, if they went back to Orissa, they would become refugees who will then demand rehabilitation from the Congress or the **Ganatantra Parishad**, as the case may be. Mr. Khanna and his friends should learn to stick to their own jobs and not digress and delve into national problems or into the problems of **the people** as against the advantages that political parties gain by depriving the people. The Dandakaranya project has been started with a set purpose and, now that money is flowing in that direction, there are definite movements towards Dandakaranya from various sides. Indian politicians have earned a reputation for dishonesty and corruption in many fields. Let them not add another example to their list of misdeeds.

A. C.

Racial Implications of Dandakaranya

"All Indians are members of one nation. By this is meant that all Indians have certain common features in this physical, mental, moral, aesthetic, economic and political make up and outlook which enable them to live and work together and to have some strongly defined common aspirations which give rise to similar emotions in all Indian hearts in response to environmental forces affecting their lives in common. These facts of a common nationality do not however do away with the physical, intellectual, cultural, economic and political differentials which exist and separate various groups of Indians from one another. These differentials are of language, dress, manners and customs, diet, moral outlook, economic habits, cultural ways and the general frame of mind in point of progressiveness, love of freedom, willingness to appreciate and learn what is worthwhile and in the overall intellectual sense of values. Some of these differences are so very clear-cut, that, but for the powerful common national attributes, the Indians can quite easily divide up into mutually exclusive racial groups. Some of these groups are rigidly bound by manners and customs of the middle ages while others are free-thinking and adhere not too

closely to rules of caste, child marriage, untouchability, vegetarianism, segregation of women and so forth. Some of these groups have their ways too of remaining ignorant and inhibited in anti-social activities; and, these groups can never really co-exist with their more progressive brethren without clashing. In some groups the women have a very subordinate place and are kept even more ignorant than the men. People avoid intercaste contacts and it is quite common in such settings to see utterly ignorant and obnoxious types assuming superior airs on account of the achievements of their alleged ancestors in the second or third millennium B.C. Rituals and festivals are at times quite overpowering in some groups, and, where the majority of the people have a deep attachment to disquieting customs considered religious, enjoyable and good for everybody; any minorities who think and feel differently will have a very thin time.

In the Dandakaranya area where the Government of India desire to settle large numbers of Bengali refugees a clash of cultures has already developed for reasons not very clearly understood. Some of these reasons fall in the orbit of nepotism and corruption and have little to do with the Socio-anthropological considerations that we are dealing with. Bengalis, as a rule, are casual in their dress and personal appearance which facts often misguide rule of thumb thinkers about their intellectual attainments and cultural excellence. Alexander the Great discovered to his utter discomfiture that in India *gymnosophs* could be mentally and spiritually far above their fellow men and, yet, they would present a poor personality in point of clothing. The "personality" cult that the Government of India is now propagating in order to recruit their pre-selected "nephews" according to procedure; has no basis in science or truth. In the Dandakaranya project—too, we believe, men with a ready-made personality are trying to dominate those who have preferred not to put on an act and to stick to more fundamental values. This is a clash

of outlook and is based on the aforementioned differences of a racial nature.

The Bengalis have been a well-knit racial group for long centuries. They have their own outlook and strength of culture. This has been proved in East Pakistan where the Bengali members of the Muslim Nation of the Indian sub-continent fought for their separateness as Bengalis, against the Muslims from the Pathan, Baluch, Panjabi, Sindhi, Delhi-Agra-Patna and other areas. The Bengalis have lost more than half of their motherland to Pakistan in order to enable the Congress to succeed to the Gaddi in the present attenuated India. They have lost some more territory to Bihar, Orissa and Assam. It would have been honest and moral for the Congress if they had kept their promises, regarding return of lost territories, to Bengal. The Dandakaranya area might have been allotted to others and the districts detached from Bengal by the British punitively and maliciously, should have been re-attached to West Bengal. That would have prevented any major clashes which might now occur over fundamental issues.

A. C.

Foreign Tourists

India wants foreign tourists to visit this ancient and historically important country. The tombs, temples, palaces, forts, art, architecture and crafts of India have been wonder-inspiring to foreigners since the days of the Great Romans or even before that. Foreign tourists, therefore, would visit India in very large numbers if they could do so without incurring prohibitive expenses and encountering discomfort and unknown hazards. The Indian Government have a department for encouraging tourism in India but this organisation only carries out such propaganda and publishes such informative literature as can be managed by anybody with authority and funds at his disposal. We cannot say that the work of this department is visible to tourists anywhere, or that they have done much to help tourism. Indian Railways are quite good, but their inability to provide reservations from intermediate stations is a fault. Rest rooms should

be more numerous and managed by men experienced in hotel management. These rest rooms should be open to motorists too. The food and drinks should be as foreigners are used to and no sanctimonious regulations should be permitted to interfere with the comforts of tourists. The department of the Government handling tourism should be reorganised and staffed by men and women who have travelled and do travel by rail, air and road. Itineraries should be provided during season which should be all found and reasonably priced. The present system of writing letters to the Sub-Deputy Collector or Sub-Assistant Surgeon or Jt. District Engineer should be abolished and reservations in circuit houses, guest houses, Dak Bungalows, etc., made easy and convenient.

A. C.

Mica Workers of Bihar

For quite a long time the Mica Trade of Bihar has been at a standstill due to stoppage of work caused by the Sales Tax policy of the Government of Bihar. This has reduced India's foreign exchange earning by several crores. We have no information as to how this could happen, but we presume that a number of sales and purchases are effected in the Mica trade because the goods are stock-piled for actual export. And, we presume, that Government of Bihar have been trying to realise sales tax at each step of these transactions. This sort of multiple taxation happens in other fields too. A *Darzi* buying material pays sales tax on his purchases. If he has a shop, he pays sales tax again on the sale of his finished goods. In the field of trade, there are often a number of steps before any final sale to consumers takes place. The sales tax is a tax on consumption and, as such, it should be levied only when a sale is effected directly for consumption. If traders in the back woods collect quantities of Mica from smaller dealers and then sell the same to bigger merchants who, in their turn, sell their mica to exporters; then it would be a question of paying sales tax at least three times before the mica is shipped. Surely Government officers receiving salaries from public funds should have seen through the iniquity of this sort of thing. Or did, they see it and allowed things to slide in the best tradition of bureau-

cratic management of problems of trade and industry?

A. C.

The Problem

Mr. D. P. Karmakar, the Union Health Minister, recently told the Central Family Planning Board that they would receive high priority in the Third Five-Year Plan. He further gave the encouraging assurance that their work would on no account suffer from any shortage of funds. Mr. Nehru, in defining the aims and the main content of the Government policy in a communication to the Committee, not only stressed on the lowering in the rate of population increase but on a fuller life to the family, mothers and children particularly. What shape it may take in the concrete does not admit of a blue-print. Almost everything depends on the spirit in which those who would operate the scheme are inspired to take to their job. They will have to tread delicate and sensitive grounds; and all they need is to enter into its soul. What, above everything else, they need is to spiritualise their endeavours. Prejudice dies hard; a socio-religious prejudice in this vital aspect of life, hardened by habits and customs from time immemorial, is much worse to tackle.

What alarming proportion the problem of population has assumed in our country is clearly borne out by the fact that U.S.A., which is three times our area, has less than half our people on the present estimate of India's 360 million—and by 1960 we are bound to be 400 million. Its terrible impact on the living space, and on the yield of the soil is clear, as we consider that in India there are 280 people to the square mile, but in U.S.A. it is less than fifty. The net result is that whatever we might be seeking to achieve by 5-Year Plans, with all the hardship and austerity they entail, runs the risk of being set at naught, unless something substantial is effected to control the rising tide. Steadily and devoutly we have to live on what, by now, is an accepted rule that gradually as the living standard of a nation is stepped up, the population bids fair automatically to stabilise itself.

J. B.

Need for Vigilance

Mr. Nehru, in one of his earliest pronouncements regarding Chinese aggression, offered, as of instinct, to stand by Nepal in case she was ever attacked by China. The reaction of the Nepalese Prime Minister Mr. Koirala was far from complimentary. It was truly tantamount to saying—'We are a sovereign independent State; and we have disyoked ourselves from the ties by which we were bound to British India'. It was so unseemly that Mr. Nehru hastened to say that he never intended to attribute to Nepal any status of protectorate or vassalage. Mr. Koirala has now concluded a Pact with China and assumed the role of a buffer state between India and China. It is significant that he does not look much worried by the claims Mr. Chou En-lai has set upon Everest and other parts of Nepal. Mr. Bharat Shamsher, the leader of Gurkha Parishad, sought in vain on the floor of Nepal's House of Representatives to bring out from their Prime Minister what these parts are. At first he welcomed the clause, by which both Nepal and China were to refrain from sending armed personnel within 20 kilometres of the border line each way. On a second thought he made no secret that this demilitarization to the depth of 20 kilometres was no advantage to Nepal militarily. He took pretty good care to remind the House that he was not at any time thinking seriously of a frontal attack by China, but most deeply and anxiously of her acts of subversion and infiltration. It has a meaning all its own in view of what Dalai Lama has pathetically described how they were stampeded into shattering extremes. 'China,' he summed up, 'first tried subversion without open violence.' In fact, it is by now common knowledge that China has within a surprisingly short time become an adept in subterranean methods to soften up the poor, the ignorant and the unwary for the final kill. Does Mr. Shamsher, by the way, suspect Mr. Koirala confusing duplicity with diplomacy so far as India is concerned? Almost categorically he is charged of omitting with an ungracious persistence to

underline Chinese aggression of India. We have to beware. It is observable in retrospect that Mr. Koirala does hardly conceal his chuckle that China has agreed to respect the 'traditional border line' between Nepal and China, whereas in the case of India she has broken open the traditional border line. It is history that she has done this with a ruthless precipitancy as to constitute a coup of treachery. The sense of Brutus' stab abides.

As things stand, it is time for the people of India of all stations of life to have a precise understanding as to what points were yielded by independent India to Nepal. And in return for what? And whether the promises made are being strictly fulfilled? The best security for a nation is to be religiously on guard and know where exactly she stands. Besides, we claim to be ruled by Democracy. The touchstone of relation between the ruling party and the rest of people in a democratic set-up is the consciousness on either side that what touches all is being shouldered by all.

J. B.

Test of Capacity

Round about the close of the last century, when our civic and national consciousness was yet in the embryo, twentyeight brave sons of the Calcutta Corporation stood up against what is known as the Mackenzie Bill. By this the Government of the day sought to control to an irreducible minimum the elective system, lest all sorts of people came in and corrupted the administration. Surendranath Banerjea led the opposition to the Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council. In his old age he recalled with proud satisfaction that he used to sit up till the early hours of the morning in order to prepare to fight the Bill next day. It was passed with the help of the official majority. We have it on the authority of Lord Ronaldshay that Mr.—later on Sir Edward-Baker, who was in charge of the Bill, urged Surendranath not to commit himself to an absolute refusal to take part in the reconstituted body. 'Impossible' said Surendranath: and he and twentyseven other members of the Calcutta Corporation resigned in protest.

against the underlying assumption of the Act that the integrity of the Calcutta Corporation was not safe in the hands of the elected members. The invisible Hand so decreed that it was left to Surendranath to scotch this official measure in toto and nationalise the Calcutta Corporation lock, stock and barrel. This paved the way for the Congress to come into the picture. Round about 1924, when the Congress was in full possession of the Corporation, Surendranath Banerja was constrained to issue, editorially in *The Bengalee*, notes of solemn warning against the "Tammany Hall" methods of the Congress Swaraj Party in the Corporation. We forbear treading on sensitive corns. This much, however, will suffice to say that the Corporation under Congress influence came to such a loathsome mess that one of the early acts of the Congress rule after Independence was to take over the Calcutta Corporation in order to satisfy the elementary needs of administration.

This year's Mayoral election on 11th April ended with the so-called election of two Mayors with a Deputy for each and such ugly scenes that we have to hang down our head in shame. The episode looks very much like a repeat performance of 1934, when a Congressite of the Swarajist brand late Nalini Ranjan Sarker and an Independent, Moulvi Fazlul Huq both tried to capture the Mayoral chair and there was an exhibition of physical force. But there is one major difference. This time Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Bose, each claiming to be elected Mayor, are Congress members; the Congress is the decisive majority in the Corporation. The whole of the blame, therefore, is to be laid at the door of the West Bengal Congress potentates—their mean selfishness and hunger for power and profits and administrative incapacity. The trouble this year started with an uncalled-for reflection on the Mayor by the West Bengal Congress Vice-President, not in any party meeting but in an open public meeting at the Calcutta maidan. Since then, however, a unanimous vote of confidence was officially registered in a meeting of the Corporation, but vulgarisation continued unabated. Such newspaper reports of calculated slight to the Mayor, while Mr. Krushchev was being received at the Dum Dum Air-port, all but betoken a break-

down of Congress morale. Even then, how-so exasperating the occasion we are not in favour of superseding the Corporation. Is, however, the leadership of the West Bengal Congress, we cannot but ask, in such a low plight that it can no longer make its members conduct themselves with any sense of propriety? Would it yet wake up to the rude realisation that by their bungling and mismanagement of the Calcutta Corporation they supply one other proof of the failure of the Congress in the responsible conduct of administration? It is of utmost necessity for those at the top to so behave that the rank and file may feel ashamed to do an unworthy act. The opposition members as much need to realise that they too have as tremendous responsibility to the tax-payers, to whom they owe the priority consideration. They will better serve the cause of Opposition by a sense of discipline and a determination not to break loose from restraint by acts and utterance.

J. B.

Rack and Ruin

Mr. H. N. Chaudhury, Education Minister, West Bengal, is reported to have said on the 12th April in the Assembly that the Calcutta University is going to rack and ruin. Such a stinging condemnation of the premier University of India in the context of the Minister's plea in justification of Kalyani University, in the offing, calls for an urgent probe. In any case, it is up to the Vice-Chancellor and the Senate to see to it as to what particularly were the factors, that the accredited spokesman of the Government had in his view when he delivered such a condemnation on them. What little light we are vouchsafed indicates the Minister's charge that among members of the Senate there were men who had little sincerity of purpose. Where trouble lies is further indicated, as he says, that they make impossible demands on the Government and carry on propaganda against it. We sincerely wish that at least the Education Minister were sufficiently considerate and balanced as not to let out, possibly, accumulated steam in childish outburst. Nobody will claim for the Calcutta University an immunity from criti-

cism for one hundred and one lapses. But would Mr. Chaudhury subject himself to a remorseless searching, why he, the Education Minister, did not at any time in the course of this long post-independence period bestir himself to bring home to the University authorities what ills they were afflicted with and help to solve them? The real fact, however, is that one corrupt body cannot muster courage to point their finger of scorn on the ulcerations of the other corrupt body. If the Education Minister is to be credited with a 'sincerity of purpose,' whose dearth he laments in the members of the Senate, we wish him come forward and institute an enquiry into the workings of the Calcutta University for the last fifty years on major heads—such as the integrity of examination, appointments, selection of text books, general administration and allied subjects. Fifty years back, the Calcutta University was esteemed as verily a sanctum sanctorum. Today its cleanliness is in question.

J. B.

A Fake That Deceives No Fool

It is with sheer despondence that we contemplate the unconcern with which the prime Minister of India has chosen to draw the curtain over what has come to be known as the 'jeep scandal'. Whoever is at fault, the net result is that we have had to write off Rs. 31,36,474 and besides to pay a large amount as litigation cost. This settlement out of court has become inevitable, because our Government has realised after about ten years that even if we had won the case there was no chance of getting any damages from the party concerned; and, therefore, by withdrawing the case further legal expenses were saved. Nothing seems so distressing as for Mr. Nehru to argue in Parliament that the fact that the other party's capital was small had no relevance since they acted as middlemen. Middlemen, agents or principals whatever they were whenever money was advanced to them—possibly it was the paltry amount of 40 lakhs of rupees—did they or did they not offer security to back up the promise

to make good any default? It now transpires that their assets at no time covered what redemption we might have obtained from court. What man of ordinary prudence would ever venture into such an affair?

J. B.

The Chou-Nehru Parleys

We append below the reports, from the *Statesman* of April 26, about the end of the talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En lai.

New Delhi, April 25.—A joint communique issued late this evening states that the border talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai "did not result in resolving the differences" between the two countries.

Apparently it was not considered desirable to disclose the details at this stage because the efforts to reach a settlement have not come to an end.

The Prime Ministers have decided that officials of the two Governments should meet to examine "factual material" relating to the boundary issue. They will meet from June to September this year alternately in Peking and Delhi and submit their report by the end of September.

There is also a hint that the Minister-level talks may be resumed at a later date. The communique, says the officials' report, "should prove helpful towards further consideration of these problems by the two Governments."

A heartening feature of the outcome of the Premiers' talks is the agreement that while the factual material is being examined, the parties should make every effort "to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas." What measures are proposed to be taken to avoid conflict is, however, not explained.

Even though the border problem was complicated and of a pressing nature, the Premiers found time to discuss other issues. The communique welcomes the forthcoming summit conference and hopes that "it would help in lessening international tension,

banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and promoting disarmament."

The joint statement was released half an hour before Mr. Chou En-lai met the Press at a hurriedly convened conference. On present indications, Mr. Nehru will make a statement in Parliament tomorrow on his talks with the Chinese leader.

P.T.I. adds: The following is the text of the joint communique issued on talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai:

"At the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Delhi on April 19 to discuss certain differences relating to the border areas which have arisen between the Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China. His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai was accompanied by His Excellency Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Chang Han-fu, Vice-Foreign Minister of China, and other officials of the Chinese Government. His Excellency the Premier and his party concluded their visit to India on the morning of April 26.

"The two Prime Ministers had several long, frank and friendly talks between themselves. Their Excellencies the Premier of the Chinese People's Republic and the Vice-Premier also had long talks with the President, the Vice-President and several senior Ministers of the Government of India.

"The two Prime Ministers explained fully their respective stands on the problems affecting the border areas. This led to greater understanding of the views of the two Governments but the talks did not result in resolving the differences that had arisen. The two Prime Ministers were of opinion that further examination should take place by officials of the two sides of the factual material in the possession of both the Governments.

"The two Prime Ministers, therefore, agreed that officials of the two Governments should meet and examine, check and study all historical documents, records, ac-

counts, maps and other material relevant to the boundary question, on which each side relied in support of its stand, and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments. This report would list the points on which there was agreement and the points on which there was disagreement or which should be examined more fully and clarified. This report should prove helpful towards further consideration of these problems by the two Governments.

"It was further agreed that the officials should meet from June to September, 1960, alternately in the capitals of the two countries. The first meeting should take place in Peking and the officials would report to the two Governments by the end of September, 1960. During the period of further examination of the factual material, every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas.

"Advantage was taken of the meeting by the two Prime Ministers to discuss certain other important problems in world affairs. The two Prime Ministers welcome the forthcoming conference in Paris of the Heads of Governments and expressed the hope that this conference would help in lessening international tension, banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and promoting disarmament."

The Press Conference

New Delhi, April 25.—Mr. Chou En-lai revealed here today that he had invited Mr. Nehru to visit China at a time convenient to him.

He told a Press conference late tonight that Mr. Nehru had said he would take a decision on this after seeing the results of the work done by the officials of the two sides (as envisaged in today's joint communique of the two Prime Ministers).

Mr. Chou En-lai reiterated that the McMahon Line was absolutely unacceptable to China. Nevertheless "we are willing to maintain the present state of that sector of the boundary. We will not cross that line and in our negotiation with the Indian Government we have never put

forward any territorial claims. Since we have adopted such an attitude of understanding and conciliation, the dispute regarding the eastern sector has become a smaller one in the talks between the two Prime Ministers in the last few days."

As regards the western sector, Mr. Chou En-lai maintained that the alignment which appeared on China's maps had historical foundations and said: "We requested the Indian Government to take an attitude towards this sector of the boundary similar to the attitude the Chinese Government has taken towards the eastern sector of the boundary. We have said that the Indian Government can keep its stand and enter into negotiations with us. We have also asked India not to cross the line up to which China has exercised jurisdiction. This line is the line which appears in China's map. To all this the Indian Government has not entirely agreed. Therefore it is relatively a bigger dispute with regard to the western sector."

Asked if it was true that China had claimed Mount Everest as belonging to China, Mr. Chou En-lai said: "The situation with regard to this question is not like what you have learnt from the papers. This is a topic between the Prime Ministers of China and Nepal. I have no intention to disclose the discussions between the two on this (held at Peking). I will wait till I get to Kathmandu to disclose anything on this question."

Earlier, he remarked: "I am going to Nepal tomorrow. Surely we will be able to settle this question with Nepal in a friendly way."

Asked to explain China's attitude toward Bhutan and Sikkim, the Chinese Premier said that China did not make any claim on them. In his letters to Mr. Nehru he had mentioned twice that "China has no boundary dispute with Sikkim and Bhutan. China respects the relations between India and Sikkim and Bhutan."

After explaining China's position with regard to the eastern and western sectors, Mr. Chou En-lai said: "We hope that after the officials of the two sides have examined and studied documents and maps as

provided in the joint communique the Indian Government will take an attitude similar to that which the Chinese Government has taken towards the eastern sector, an attitude of mutual accommodation. In this way we believe a reasonable settlement of this question can be found."

He said that with regard to the middle sector too there were disputes but "they are disputes about individual areas."

Mr. Chou En-lai in a statement read out at the Press conference also said that through the six days of talks in Delhi "we have not been able to arrive at an agreement settling the boundary question." But he hoped for the best. Both sides had agreed that their officials should study all the material.

He believed that the boundary question could be reasonably solved through peaceful consultations.

Mr. Chou En-lai said there was common desire in both India and China to maintain friendship, but there were also some differences. The points on which there were no common viewpoints were listed by him as follows:

1. There exists a dispute on the boundary between the two parties;

2. There exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction.

3. While determining the boundary between the two countries certain geographical principles such as watershed, river valley, mountain bases, etc., could be applicable equally to all sectors of the boundary;

4. A settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples for the Himalayas and the Karakorum mountains.

5. Pending settlement of the boundary question between the two countries through discussions, both sides should keep to the line of actual control and should not put forward territorial claims as preconditions but individual adjustments may be made; and

6. In order to ensure tranquillity on the border so as to facilitate the discussions, both sides should continue to refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary.

Mr. Chou said that although there were differences with regard to the above six points, "I am of the opinion that as long as both sides continue consultations it will not be difficult to narrow down and eliminate them."

The Chinese Prime Minister claimed China had not committed any aggression on India and was hopeful that the boundary question between the two countries would be solved in a friendly manner.

Mr. Chou En-lai also claimed that in his talks with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders, the latter did not raise "that kind of question" (about Chinese aggression on India).

A correspondent referred to Mr. Chou En-lai's suggestion about both sides keeping to the line of "actual control" and asked why China should not go back to the positions as obtained a year or two ago.

Mr. Chou En-lai said: "As far as China is concerned, we have taken no action in the last one or two years to change the status quo on the border."

Explaining the position Mr. Chou En-lai said there were disputes with regard to both eastern and western sectors but as regards the middle sector, the dispute was rather small.

He said that the boundary line which appeared on China's map was to the south of the line which appeared on India's map. The area in between these two lines had been under the jurisdiction of China, but since India's independence the Indian administration gradually extended to this area and has now reached the line which appeared on the Indian map. The Indian Government had asked the Chinese Government to give recognition to this line which appeared on the Indian map. Sometimes the Indian Government called this the McMahon Line. The McMahon Line was absolutely unacceptable to China because it was a line fixed through the exchange of secret notes between the British impe-

rialists and the local Government of Tibet. Nevertheless "we are willing to maintain the present state of that sector of the boundary. We will not cross that line and in our negotiations with the Indian Government we have never put forward any territorial claims. Since we have adopted such an attitude of understanding and conciliation the dispute regarding the eastern sector has become a smaller one in the talks between the two Prime Ministers in the last few days."

With regard to the western sector, he said that the Indian maps and Chinese maps differed from each other. In the past the alignment of the sector of the boundary on the Indian maps changed several times whereas China had always followed the line which appeared on Chinese maps in exercising Chinese jurisdiction. This sector of the boundary followed the watershed of the Karakorum up to the Kongka Pass and then southwards it was the starting point of the middle sector of the boundary. The area to the north and east of this boundary line had been under China's jurisdiction throughout history. The greater part of this area was under the jurisdiction of Sinkiang of China. The smaller part was under the jurisdiction of Tibet of China. China had historical material to prove her administrative jurisdiction in this area. Ever since the founding of new China this area had also been under Chinese jurisdiction. As a matter of fact the area called Aksai-Chin had become an important thoroughfare between Sinkiang and the Ali region of Tibet.

Question: When the Government of India drew the attention of the Chinese Government to the Chinese maps, they were told that the maps were prepared by the Chiang Kai-shek Government, they were not systematically prepared and no survey had been made, and that when a proper survey was made they would be corrected. You did not raise the question of maps in your first or second visits to this country.

Mr. Chou En-lai: The Chinese map prepared according to the situation which had prevailed throughout history. We have frankly said a number of times that there might be some minor divergences between our maps and the actual situation of administration. There are differences not only between Chinese maps and Indian maps but between Chinese maps and maps of other countries too. We have told Mr. Nehru several times that after a survey is made and after the boundary is delimited through negotiations between the two sides the maps of our two countries will have to be revised according to whatever agreement is reached between the two countries.

"Before a survey is made, before a boundary is delimited through negotiations, neither side should impose its maps on the other side. Neither side should ask the other side to follow its wishes and revise its maps. If such a demand is made it is unfriendly and inequitable."

Lakshmiswar Vilas Palace

The Maharaja of Darbhanga's Lakshmiswar Vilas Palace has been given away by the Maharaja to house a Sanskrit University of Bihar. This is a very generous move on the part of the Maharaja and we hope Bihar will try to make the fullest use of this gift. Bihar is one of the less educated States of India and requires educational facilities for its uneducated masses very urgently. Whether there is good enough scope in Darbhanga to run a Sanskrit University is a question which we cannot answer with any degree of certainty. But a Sanskrit University anywhere in India may attract students from all over India and the outside world, provided it is run and managed properly to fulfil its declared purpose. Bihar may with advantage arrange to propagate the study of Maithili too in this University, as well as the other languages of Bihar. For, the eager-

ness to become Hindi speaking has so deeply agitated the mind of Bihar leaders that it has completely over-ruled all sense of realities. The Bihar people do not speak Hindi and yet, they have to be the greatest sponsors of Hindi in India. This is neither good for the people of Bihar nor for the Hindi language. The new University can be used profitably to stimulate the study of local languages, viz., Bhojpuri, Maghdi, Ardhamaghdi, Maithili, Bengali, etc., with reference to their points of contact with Sanskrit. This may increase the importance of the new University.

A. C.

Rajshekhar Bose

We deeply regret to have to announce the demise of one of our oldest associates in the literary world, Sri Rajshekhar Bose, who passed away in his sleep on Wednesday April 27th, which happened to be his 81st birthday. He was having a nap after the mid-day meal, as had become customary latterly with him, when his health began to fail.

Rajshekhar Bose was a man of unassuming but distinguished personality. He had a brilliant intellect which enabled him to throw lustre on all the fields that came within its scope. The Bengali literary world he enriched equally by his stories of peerless humour, and by the elegant prose of his abbreviated translations of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata from the Sanskrit texts.

In the business world of Calcutta he was known as the man whose safe hands steered the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., through many a tempest to its present state.

He was one of the last of the elder generation Bengali litterateurs, punctiliously correct, courteous and friendly to all. By his passing there would be a grievous void in Bengal's literary sphere.

SOCIAL CO-OPERATION, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

BY PROF. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.Sc. (Cantab), F.N.I.,

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I

BEFORE saying anything on the topic noted, it is essential to define progress. Broadly speaking, it may be described as an advance in the plane of material culture and mental outlook. The two planes—of material objects and of mental processes—cannot be kept apart in a definition of progress. There is a story in our ancient sacred literature, of some seers who thought that the body, *i.e.*, the material side of life was unimportant. An experiment conducted by them, of not adequately nourishing the body, speedily convinced them, through enfeeblement of mental powers, of their error. At this stage, the question may be raised as to what is meant by advance. This question can be answered on the basis of facts only by referring to what we believe to be the highest product of that series of changes in living beings through ages which we term evolution. We believe Man to be that product. It may be held to be human vanity, biassed by our own viewpoint resulting from our power over other living beings and over many forces of nature. But it is a fact that the particular quality that characterises animal life—awareness of existence and of the environment—is developed in the most complex form in man. The unicellular organisms like *Amoeba* that constitute a very lowly step in the upward rise of living forms, is capable of only simple movements either towards that which is pleasant or away from that which is unpleasant. It is a total massive reaction, not discriminating in details, so far as we can judge from observation. Awareness in a more developed form is found in multicellular creatures; this again is to be judged from observation. Vegetative continuation of life through gemination or budding (or through fission) which is in a sense physical immortality is here replaced by sex division and by clear

demarcation of the individual from his progeny that carries on the stream of life. In the mammals, the organs of movement and perception are far more highly developed; nevertheless the richness of life that comes to us through our senses and our organs of higher correlation is not available to our nearest relations among mammals, the Primates. Progress in the biological sense, is therefore accompanied by very great integration of a vast number of cells of which certain groups perform different specialised functions and thus divide the work of the entire organism among themselves.

Social structure differs from a biological organism, in that the units composing the structure of society remain separate entities capable within limits of independent and similar existence. It is true that in certain well-knit societies of lower forms of life, for example among insects, the division of social function is accompanied by specific changes of bodily structure. Thus the worker bees differ in bodily structure from the Queen Bee and also from the male drones. Similar differences are found also in the highly organised societies of Ants and Termites. Such a differentiation, and it must be said such close-knit organisation, is lacking among ordinary mammals, although some co-operation in food quest and in other matters can be observed. As there are monographs dealing with mutual aid in animal society more details on this aspect is unnecessary.

In the society of human beings, we have various kinds of organisation. Since the prime necessity of man is to get food to keep alive and in health, the social structures are to some extent influenced by modes of obtaining this essential of life. Some tribes who follow different methods for supply of food will be studied in this connection. It should be stated here that the

various practices mentioned really refer to conditions prevailing in the previous century or at most in the earlier part of the present century. Modern technology and the spread of European people has obliterated many of these customs and sometimes also the folk who practised them.

II

The Australian aboriginals (using the term for earlier folk of this continent) live at a very low level of material culture. The details noted are of one particular tribe but the pattern is similar for others. The men hunt game; the women collect roots, tubers and fruits and also the grub of insects. They do not wear any kind of clothing. Habitations are rudimentary. Usually break winds are set up in a place where they stay for some days, until they move off elsewhere. Tribal territory is open to all members for their foodgathering, although the local group, which is the smaller spatial unit, normally keeps within certain limits defined as its area. The food that the women of a family collect, apart from fishing with traps, constitutes a fairly steady though small supply. This food is never shared but consumed by the family. The quantity collected, it may be added does not leave a surplus for sharing. The flesh of game hunted by men of a family, by itself is irregular in supply. But the custom in a local group is that when a large animal like the Kangaroo is hunted and killed, there is practically sharing of the meat in the entire local group. A man lives with his wife and children; but his wife is usually his mother's brother's daughter. The father, his brothers, and the brothers of the mother all stay in the same local group. Of the big game killed, the hunter who has taken the main part gets the largest share of meat. The helpers usually get one foreleg each. But each man on return gives the major part of this food to his father and to his wife's father, who in their turn share it with their brothers. In this way all the families share in the flesh of the large animal killed, and no part of it is wasted. A good deal of controversy has centered round these customs which are held to be examples of primitive communism by some and criticised as not as by others. Although the Australians are really in a very primitive stage of culture, this fact has also been ques-

tioned in the heat of a controversy coloured by modern political considerations. The practice appears however to be nothing more than socio-economic co-operation at a very humble stage of human culture. To judge from examples of various primates, it is not unlikely that in a very early stage of human culture, the loose family group or band consisting of a male head, his women and children did not actually share vegetable food or the flesh of game with other such units who may have remained on friendly terms and lived in a loose larger unit. But the need of helpers to hunt big game would inevitably have led to co-operation of at least two such units in this respect. This would be more likely if one had no grown up sons and the other had such men. Such closer contact would lead to the development of mating behaviour between youngmen of the one group and grown up girls of the other. Certain Australian tribal customs suggest that at one time the men of what is now an exogamous group, used to have sex relations inside their group. In the interest of food supply, on which life depended, sex jealousy between men of the two groups would have to be avoided. This would require abjuring of sexual rights inside the extended family group, discouraged even earlier by needs of co-operation inside the family. At a lower level of life, among carnivorous animals like the wolf or tiger which hunt game, two individuals are drawn together by the mating impulse in the breeding season. But the association thus formed continues even later when this biological factor—of sex desire—has died down and ceased. Another biological factor hunger and the urge to live, leads the two creatures to work together. Among primates and human beings, the sex impulse operates throughout the year and helps to bind the male and female together. Jealousy at first separates the mating unit of the male and female of the carnivore from others. In the food quest even when the seasonal sex impulse is dead the separate unit persists under the drive of hunger, due to the organised hunting habits established during the mating period. In human beings, the need of food overrides the jealousy bred of sex and leads to extinction of mating rights inside the family groups. Here we have the beginnings of surrender of individual rights in the interest of welfare of the group.

It is not suggested that all the early human family groups in this area deliberately sought such co-operation after discussion among themselves. It is known that Australia formerly had greater rainfall and more plentiful fauna and flora than in recent times. If at first food was very easy to get, socio-economic co-operation may not be firmly established. It may not even develop. But as the climate changed for the worse the need for such co-operation would be emphasised. A social or economic necessity may be present but it is not every one who can recognise it and suggest a solution. There are in all societies individuals with a more sensitive brain. If such individuals are also not socially conditioned to think and behave within rigidly determined channels, the reappraisal of facts on original lines will be carried out by them for the necessary innovation. It is likely that such a person, drawing upon experience of work together in some other sphere in the loose hand, hit upon the idea to extend or introduce such co-operation to food quest. There might be other groups who did not accept such an innovation. But those family units which thus took up co-operation in the food quest would have a far more regular supply of flesh food than others. Their health would be better, more children would survive and the habit of working together in chase and sharing of products would help them much better to withstand attacks by enemy groups. These units would thus have a biological advantage in the rate of survival over other groups and inexorably replace those loose units which did not adopt co-operation. It is probable that these traits of culture were borrowed by others when their advantage became very obvious and the disadvantage of their absence was realised. It cannot be proved that the co-operation developed in situ in Australia itself; it may have come about in the course of migration through Indonesia earlier. In any case this seems to have been the likely manner of development of socio-economic co-operation.

Among another people, the maritime hunters, the Eskimos of polar regions, such co-operation is found to an even greater degree, in winter when the conditions of life are extremely difficult. In summer, the climate is mild compared to the dark winter months. The creeks and inlets become icefree and allow fishing to be

carried out. During this period, each Eskimo family lives in a separate tent, pitched by some inlet and the principal source of food is fish, supplemented by such scanty roots and berries that may be available. During this period stores of flesh of game hunted and marine animals killed are laid by for use in winter. Part of these are buried in pits in the winter hunting ground or other places and the caches indicated by suitable marks. The summer fishing waters are not the private property of any family but if any such unit has pitched its tent by any inlet, no other family goes to fish there. There is no competition; food is to be had in plenty, and there is also no community sharing. But there is scarcity in the matter of fishing tackle and of materials for making traps and harpoons. If any one has a spare trap or harpoon, a neighbour of the winter settlement which is fixed, can have it for the asking. Also if a whale is killed the entire settlement shares in flesh and blubber. But the hunters keep the precious whale bone needed for tools and weapons. In winter, a man killing fresh game shares it with neighbours who have not had fresh meat for a few days. A hunter lost in a snow storm can use, without need of return, the caches of meat stored earlier by any man of the settlement in the hunting territory. In the bitterly cold climate of the Polar regions, lack of food will kill a man in a few days due to lack of warmth. Again going without fresh meat in winter, when no fresh vegetable food is available, leads to sickness and death. It should be apparent that the Eskimo has been able to survive and to build up his really advanced culture, as compared to his surroundings and the limited material resources available, only because of the very great degree of socio-economic co-operation practised in their society. Here also, it need hardly be pointed out that all Eskimo units probably did not discover this great secret of progress. But that particular group of them which did so must have flourished and spread, and also diffused this feature of their culture to some of the other units who by adopting these traits also ensured survival and progress.

III

In our country there are tribal people who lived until recently by shifting cultivation. The

Khasis of Assam are one such people. They are democratic in their societal pattern, and the so-called political chiefs or Siems have no greater rights to the land of the Khasi states than other Khasi members. For the duties the chiefs perform for the State, however, they are allowed to draw the income from tolls on fairs and markets in their area. Uncultivated land belongs to the village and also to sib groups which are like our gotras. Cultivated land belongs to the family of which the members brought it under tillage after clearing the forest. The right is however of usufruct and does not continue (at least until recently it did not) if abandoned for a number of years. Similar practices in the matter of rights in land are known to have been operative among other shifting cultivators prior to contact with more advanced cultures. To clear land of virgin forest, and keep it free of in-road of wild vegetation is not a one man job in primitive conditions. Here again co-operation made tillage possible. (Here again the description applies to conditions of fifty years ago or more).

Among tribes like the Munda, who have settled agriculture with irrigation of terraced rice lands, we meet with traditions of community rights in village lands in former times. Barely a century ago, villagers still remembered when land allotted to a family for tillage reverted to the village if the members of it left it fallow for several years due to inability to cultivate it. Such land used to be made over to other families who needed more land. It was this practice of community co-operation that enabled the Mundas to work together to guide the water of upland springs to their terraced fields through channels, over great distance. The organisation of a large number of villages into bigger political units with a larger corporate life went hand in hand with such co-operation in the realm of material culture.

In this connection two important facts should be noted. One is that community co-operation continued so long as adequate hunting and fishing territory for food gathering and land to clear for cultivation for food growers was available for all members of the group. Where due to conquest or inroad of people of advanced culture, such land became scarce, and each

family had to struggle for its own existence, community co-operation tended to break down. Among the Veddahs of Ceylon, the inroad of the advanced folk from India from before the Christian era, gradually limited their hunting territory. In the beginning of this century, anthropologists observed that each Veddah jealously guarded his hunting territory. Nevertheless some part of the earlier community co-operation persisted in residence in a common shelter and cooking food together. Honey was also collected and shared communally by men of the local group. In the United States, the Amerindians have lost their land to the European settlers. In California, we find that in the plains areas the Amerindian tribes have sharply defined family lands for hunting and fishing. But in the hill area where contact and encroachment has been less, communal rights in these respects, being survivals of community co-operation still persist. In our country, in the Khasi hills, the changes brought about by modern conditions have led to a scarcity of good cultivable land near villages, and also of building sites in villages. The present writer in the course of two visits to the central Mawphlang village in Khasi hills observed changes from community rights previously described to persistence of individual rights in land even when the owner no longer utilises it himself. In all these cases, scarcity of the source from which food supply came, along with observations of absence of community rights in this respect among the advanced people with whom they came in contact, has led to breakdown of the earlier community co-operation. Among the Mundas, formerly villages used to be of a single sib, and each family cleared and cultivated such land as it could with its own man-power. But later as good cultivable land became less available in some areas, families from villages in those parts went to settle in places where more of such land was to be had, although not for the asking in one's own village. Here in the new area they were asked to bear a larger share of the burden of the total rent paid to the Raja of Chotanagpore. They were also not entitled to the rights of the original brotherhood of settlers to reversionary right of families that became extinct. Here was the beginning of class-division at a very simple level of culture, and it created a certain amount of

difference in interest which weakened community co-operation.

IV

This factor of class-division, with difference of interests, hampers progress as the welfare of the community as a whole is not perceived by that section of it which may be dominant for the time being. Examples illustrating how such conditions block the forward march of knowledge and culture are available from higher civilizations.

The ancient Egyptians and Greeks and the ancient Hindus had made some progress in mathematics and natural science. They produced also beautiful sculptures and magnificent architecture, as well as systems of philosophy. But progress in science was poor and came to an end at little beyond the elementary stage. Among all three people, the dominant class in society who had leisure to think, did not practise the common arts and crafts. Adequate food supply and other wherewithals came to them from the labour of others. In Egypt and in Greece, manual work with various materials was left to slaves. In India, the twice-born abstained from such material productive work. For these aristocrats in all three lands, what mattered to them was different. Administrative needs felt by the heads of state in ancient Babylon seem to have led to study of shapes of cultivated fields and methods of computation of their areas. A Greek in Alexandria had systematised such knowledge, with no doubt additions of his own and of Post-Babylonian discoveries in Egypt and Asia minor. The Indians had gone as far as to discover the rotation of the earth, and a theory of fluxions which was the beginning of differential calculus. Probably, the early culture-bringers of India among whom were seafarers had thus been impelled to take up studies of the position of stars and this brought about such discoveries. Agricultural seasons could also be determined in this way and this had assumed importance in Egypt owing to the need of predicting when the Nile would be in flood. The dominant group in their own interest had to devote their mind to such studies. But careful observation of properties of different materials and how heat and light affected them, the

making of apparatus to judge such effects, did not concern them. The Muslim Arabs who in the beginning had a democratic tradition derived from the teaching of the Prophet of Islam, carried forward scientific studies in certain fields. But the powerful socio-religious conditioning that Islam imposed, and also the delegation of manual arts to a lower rank of society soon after the Arab Empire arose, set a limit to such progress. The formal practice of a craft like sewing a cap by some of the Muslim rulers in imitation of what their Prophet had done, at one period in his life time, does not go against the above facts, inasmuch as such actions were mere gestures. In Italy, the need of the merchants and merchant rulers of the Renaissance, led to some important discoveries in science, for example by Galileo. But here also the crushing weight of socio-religious conditioning stopped original thinking in science. The burning of Bruno at the stake and the imprisonment of Galileo in his old age were not the proper incentives to independent scientific thinking. There was no social co-operation between the artisans and the ruling class who patronised the Universities. The men who contributed to the intellectual output of the ancient lands did not consider the problems of the people who worked with their hands on various materials. Their interest was about the eternal problem of death and what remains after it and how life arose. Hence the flowering of systems of philosophies. Sculpture of the human face and figure in Egypt developed from the desire to live, after the body had died. The innate drive to feel the ego, and the drive of love that impels such leisured aristocrats, led to the creation of the magnificent as well as the beautiful in the fields of architecture and art.

It was only in Western Europe, especially in Holland and England, after the Reformation that this co-operation between the thinkers who worked mainly with their brain, the dealers in goods and the craftsmen who worked with the hands occurred. The sons of the classes that had need of study of properties of materials went to universities and built up institutions for such researches. The Royal Society of England was founded by these men. The much greater freedom of thought enjoyed in the western parts of

Europe at the time also enabled the sensitive minds to carry forward their investigations without fear of social disapproval involving deterrent punishment.

V

It is well-known that the Renaissance began with the impact of Hellenic and other ancient contributions to knowledge on European thought reaching through the University of Cordova in Spain and also through the men of learning who came away when the Muslims conquered Constantinople. It was in a sense co-operation in the world of thought on an international scale. Normally, the words "culture contact" are used for this type of non-deliberate co-operation. It is to be noted that the systematisation of the discoveries of properties of triangles, squares, circles and other geometrical forms occurred in a land where more than one culture had then commingled. Still earlier, in Asia Minor, where there were Mesolithic cultures of folk who certainly cut and gathered graniferous grass that grew wild in this region, there is clear evidence of inter-communication between different folk early in the next stage of culture, that of grain growing. It seems likely that the observation needed to grow grain from the seeds of grasses already collected and utilised as food, arose out of the intellectual stirring up that occurs when different cultures meet. It is a well-known psychological fact that when social conditioning or habituation leads a person or group of persons to respond to perception of certain facts always in a particular way, this kind of response tends to attain a degree of unawareness almost like that of reflex action. At any rate, there remains little likelihood of the stimuli being turned over in mind for alternative conative action and the response being made through other channels. This is why crisis in a culture, when the set patterns of behaviour explicit as well as implicit prove inadequate, starts new creative activity in it, to realign the structure in harmony with the new conditions. Culture contact or impact is usually one of the principal reasons for changed conditions in mental outlook as well as in material life. This form of non-deliberate co-operation, as I have

termed it, is one of the fruitful sources of original discoveries and inventions.

From the facts and reasons noted so far it will be apparent that the factors essential for progress are (a) social co-operation inside the group; (b) co-operation in the realm of mental and material culture with other groups, deliberate or non-deliberate, and (c) freedom from undue social conditioning.

In the hoary antiquity of human culture, the conditions of life were extremely hard. Food supply from gathering was limited and precarious. Man's control over nature existed mainly in magical beliefs with little reality behind them. In these circumstances, any particular set of rules of social behaviour binding a group together and enabling them to survive tended to be clung to with extreme tenacity by the grown up members of such folk through fear of extinction. It is this rigidity in outer behaviour and inner thought that made new discoveries and inventions to come about at such a slow rate in early times. This is also the reason why tribal folk living in isolation originated very few new traits of value to mankind in general. It is the desire to live, and the fear of death that drove these early human societies to rigidity in behaviour. But as one of our *darsanas* state, *Prakriti* displays the same pattern of dance but once. A social group that clings to the same way of life in a changing world will eventually find the minor variants of that pattern exhausted, and face that extinction the fear of which drove them along this path. Progress came, as noted, when the rigidity broke down through culture contact.

VI

In all modern States it is recognised that a substantial portion of the national income that comes into the State Exchequer should be spent for welfare of the citizens. This is one form of social co-operation. The emphasis on such spending for welfare may be of greater or less degree but the principle is accepted whether the State is Capitalist or Communist. As examples I shall mention some of the welfare arrangements in the United Kingdom, in Sweden and in U.S.S.R. In England primary

education and a good deal of post-primary education of the type termed secondary, is free. There are also secondary schools which charge fees, but the sons and daughters of poor and lower middle-class families who do not want to go to such expensive institutions, can receive quite good instruction in free secondary schools. Stipends to cover fees and maintenance are awarded to a very large proportion of the University students, if they happen to come from needy families. There is also an excellent National Health Service. Some of these measures were taken up early in this century; expansion of amenities came later. But although the party in power has changed from Liberals in the earlier part of this century to Conservatives, with a limited period of Labour Government, such amenities have not ceased to expand, except to a limited extent after the recent World War. Although the dominant section of this State is not of the working class, a large portion of the national income controlled by the ruling group goes to meet the welfare needs of those who do not hold power. In Sweden, again, which is a capitalist country, education is free as in England. There are sanatoria for sickly children of the free schools and free lunch is supplied in winter at School if the parent of the child notifies the School authorities that he cannot arrange it. No means test is applied; on enquiry I learnt that this is considered unnecessary as the privilege is rarely abused or not at all. I have mentioned this particular arrangement as an example of co-operation between the State and the Citizens in proper distribution of amenities. In the U.S.S.R., education is free up to the secondary level everywhere. University education of students is also largely financed by the State. The State also looks after the health of its citizens. Workers in Schools as well as factories get free holiday at health resorts. Obviously the dominant sections of the people in all three States see to it that a large portion of the national income goes to promote welfare of the entire community. The proportion of the total so spent is much larger in U.S.S.R., than in the United Kingdom and the Soviet Government believe that the arrangements they have for election to legislature and for control and management of farms and factories best promote

deliberate co-operation of their citizens in the control and distribution of the national wealth for common welfare. The Government of the United Kingdom consider their system of Parliamentary Government to be superior and hold that it is democratic. They criticise the Soviet system as being based in their view on dictatorship. It is to be noted that in both countries there is nationalisation of industries—very limited in the U.K., and almost complete in the U.S.S.R. In our own country the party in power, the Congress, has expressed its objective to be to build up a Socialist Pattern of Society. A few industries and organisations have been nationalised and the State has taken over Zemindaries from the landlords. Two Five-Year Plans have been operated and a third is in preparation. It is an important question for our citizens as to what is the best way of ensuring progress through co-operation between all sections of our people and those who run the machinery of Government.

It is well-known that in the U.K., at the beginning of the last century, Parliament was controlled by the landed aristocracy and big businessmen. The lower middle class and working class who constituted the majority of the citizens had practically no franchise. The organised agitation of these two sections of the British populace secured limited reforms in 1832. The needs of colonial administration, and the rising power of organised labour slowly secured concessions in the way of amenities. At present, although there has been once a fairly long-lived Labour Ministry (ignoring brief interludes earlier), a limited number of rich families control the greater part of the vast wealth in the private sector of industry and commerce. There is little likelihood of voluntary relinquishment of such wealth and power on the part of their owners.

In England the power of the landed aristocracy and the king had been broken much earlier at first through civil war between Yorkists and Lancastrians, and later through the Revolution of 1648. The common people, who had joined the party against the king in the war, had tried to abolish all titles, privileges and class distinctions. But in the absence of large-scale concentration of labour which occurred when Britain was industrialised, these Levellers

as they were called failed in their objective and were ruthlessly suppressed. Later when Britain had a large empire, the revolt of the subject people as in Jamaica or India were mercilessly crushed. The motive force of these steps was not fear of insecurity such as impelled early primitive folk but the securing of and maintaining wealth and power in a limited group. The type of concerted action by which a particular class in society secures its rights, or enlarges its wealth and power leaves its impress, like social conditioning, on their behavioural attitude to other people. This accounts for the kind of cruelty mentioned in the preceding portion of this article. The ruthlessness which marks elimination of politically opposed coteries in the U.S.S.R. is a similar heritage of the bitter and savage fighting during the Revolution of 1917, the long war of Intervention that followed it, the terrible visitation of German Nazi armies in 1940-45 and the cold war that has since then been operative. Here also fear of losing the gains in socialist economy and in some cases fear of loss of personal or group power has been the driving force.

VII

Political independence has come to our country without much violence, although this has not been entirely absent. The winning over of Indian army men in the Azad Hind foud of Netaji Subhaschandra, and their participation in the fight in Burma and Assam, the naval rising in Bombay and the restiveness of the mass of our population with the threat of breaking out into violence were factors in securing the liberation of India as much as the organised peaceful non-violent non-cooperation and political awareness of the masses built up under the leadership of Gandhiji. Success came when the British rulers realised that all sections of the community, were working together for a common goal. There was one important dissentience. The Muslim leadership were not prepared to work together with the other political fighters. They had secured concessions for their upper class through co-operation with the foreign rulers. But their conscious rank and file men also wanted independence. The foreign rulers

encouraged the demand for a separate Muslim state. The result was the partition of India which weakened our country. If it had been possible by sufficient foresight and long-term work to secure co-operation with the dissident section of the Muslims, this tragedy could have been averted. Details on this point have been discussed in another paper, on national integration. I have brought up this case in this paper also, as there are forces still operative which stand seriously in the way of co-operation of our people at all levels leading to national integration. In dealing with the various problems that face us, the different States take measures which make the people who form minority language and culture groups in them feel that they are aliens. If a young man finds that in securing employment the language culture area from which he comes or to put it bluntly, the fact whether he is a Bihari or a U.P. man or a Tamil counts for more than other qualifications; if in securing admission to Professional Colleges, the same considerations apply, he will be driven to conclude that there is little co-operation between different regions of India in these vital matters which concern training for life and employment thereafter. This discrimination operates not merely in the sphere of employment of educated youth but of unskilled labour, as a matter of deliberate policy on the part of employers. Actions of this type inevitably bring their reaction. There is also a trend in political electioneering to emphasise caste disparateness. The consciousness of caste has been present in our country from old times. The older caste panchayets were however weakening under modern conditions. But a wider caste feeling is growing up under deliberate encouragement of political organisations. Social and economic co-operation of all sections of our people which is essential for progress is bound to be seriously hampered by these trends against integration.

Another danger against which we have to guard in our own country in the interest of progress is that of blind and indiscriminate acceptance of propaganda and directives. Our country has a tradition of bold, clear and logical thinking, unfettered by fear. It was possible for one of our *darsanas* to proclaim that the existence of Isvara was not proved due

to absence of evidence in support. Nevertheless, this freedom has been limited to advanced thinkers. For the common people blind obedience to the Guru and acceptance of his utterances, as also faith in the overlord as their mā-bap (mother and father) has been preached over centuries. Such a mental and behavioural outlook circumscribes that freedom of thought and action that alone can promote discoveries, inventions and innovations. Reverence for the Guru who is the teacher, not necessarily in the academic field does not imply lack of discrimination. In fact the teacher who fails to instil this virtue in the student or disciple has proved his inability to discharge his duty. Here also our traditional view is that a preceptor does not desire victory over a disciple. The disciple should therefore be able to examine the teacher's pronouncements critically.

In modern conditions, the persistence of this type of limited mental outlook in our country will lead to the development of Personality cult and will retard the growth of awareness of democratic rights and responsibilities on the part of the common folk which alone can promote democratic co-operation. Indoctrination of any kind, whether ancient or modern, has such an effect. The older tradition of looking up to the Czar of all Russia as "little father", has under influence of somewhat rigid indoctrination in a particular system of socio-economic theory developed Personality cult in the U.S.S.R. As Marxism and its revised version Leninism is iconoclastic in its outlook, so feudal and bourgeois society and its ideals, mediaeval practices have no room for revival in the Soviet land. Widespread higher education and teaching of Science and encouragement of young students in top forms of schools as also entrants to Universities to go in for exploration and experiments on their own, along with leisure to think tend to correct this mental imitation.

We are vulnerable to a much greater degree in this respect in our country, as mediaeval views and practices here live side by side with our loftiest ancient truths and advanced modern attitudes. Also our facilities for secondary education and learning of science have not reached more than a small proportion

of our masses. The credulity with which people flock to utter frauds who claim to work miracles, and the ease with which separate political groups form round various individuals with little difference in ideology are signs of the danger already mentioned. The economic insecurity of large section of our people—extending in most cases to inadequate means for purchase of enough food and for other essential amenities of life—leaves little room in the mind of these persons, to observe facts, to weigh up evidence and judge whether a panacea suggested is workable or useful. The position has been aggravated by the attitude of the Governmental organisation. Under British Rule, the Executive were mainly persons trained to a narrow view of problems—of maintaining the empire, and ensuring high pay for administrators and large profits for British businessmen. Arrogance, and avoidance of contact with the common folk were hall marks of the top bureaucrats of those days. At present, unfortunately, the old indifference to the general public remains. Co-operation is limited to influential sections of the electors. Also that class of our people—the rich businessmen—who kept in the good graces of the foreign Government prior to independence, while contributing also to Congress funds to be on the safe side, have at present a far greater control over the machinery of Government than the common people, in spite of adult franchise. This particular section of a nation has in all ages shown greater care to ensure its own profit than for national welfare. In ancient Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, the rich traders welcomed Persian victories in the interest of their business. In modern America, President Roosevelt's administration discovered that research work on production of artificial rubber essential for national security in war time had been held up under an agreement with a big industrial firm of chemical goods in another country, in the interest of mutual profit. In our country picketing and boycott of British goods in Bengal in 1931-32 was hampered by business interest by contributing money to a Congress organisation on condition that the limited fighting forces were diverted to some other objective.

The difficulties are aggravated by some of the conditions under which work has to be

carried out for successful economic development of our nation. The first requisite is to solve the problem of rapidly banishing scarcity of food and other essentials of life and of arranging for supply of more amenities. Planning for the whole country in all sectors is essential for success. And planning means curtailment of the freedom of the Producer, the Distributor and the Consumer and the placing of enormous power in the hands of the State Executive. In a backward country, the combination of forces enumerated may lay the foundations of dictatorships. If however, such limitation of freedom in favour of the Executive is voluntarily accepted by those concerned, with the awareness that it is essential for the welfare of our nation as a whole, the danger of mental subservience to leadership and eventual setting up of totalitarian rule can be avoided. If such awareness leads to scrutiny of progress of the implementation of the plans, it will minimise slackness and dishonesty at the top as well as at the bottom and in the middle, which is at present rendering many of the planned projects in our country less effective. In a land with an ancient tradition of acceptance of the word of the Guru and of looking up to the Ruler as a beneficent parent, initiative in respect of these changes can come only if the men at top in all avenues of life including political organisations, set an example of honest, selfless work, surrendering personal profit, prestige and prerogative for common welfare of all. It is also essential that dishonesty and corruption be put

down with exemplary and deterrent punishment. Slackness in this respect, enabling offenders to get a way with illgotten gains, will have a demoralising effect. It is a matter of regret that such anti-social acts are increasing in frequency and are being openly defended. Certificates of honesty and freedom from nepotism are granted where facts palpably contradict the labels so fixed. The association of representatives of local workers and of people of known integrity with officials to promote co-operation at all levels is essential in these circumstances. Apart from making democracy and professions of aiming at a socialist pattern of society somewhat more real, such steps will help in reducing dishonesty among officials and their superiors and also be a curb on their autocratic actions. If all these corrective steps are taken and co-operation is promoted between those who hold power and those who have voted them to power, the men in humbler walks of life will be inspired to keep alive the idealistic urge that they must have felt in their younger days, and will devote themselves to work, not merely of personal gain but also in the wider interest of the nation as a whole. Since officials and ministers are drawn from such higher as well as lower sections of the people, they will also come under the influence of these community welfare promoting forces.*

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE*

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Rabindranath Tagore is a philosophical poet in the true sense of the word. The two great philosophical poets of Europe are Lucretius and Dante; Lucretius followed the philosophy of Epicurus and Dante that of St. Thomas Aquinas. Their poetry in a way is the product of their learning transfigured by imagination and we cannot fully understand them today without some study of their thought and knowledge. In a similar manner the poetry of Tagore cannot be truly appreciated without reference to the philosophy of the Upanishads. The Upanishads were composed between 1000 B.C. to 300 B.C. Some of the later Upanishads on which the great commentator Sankaracharya has commented are post-Buddhist and belong to about 400 to 300 B.C. The Upanishads present a comprehensive philosophy of life, and thus there is a close relationship between the Vedas and the Upanishads and there has always been a tradition in Indian philosophy to study them together; the significant point is that the ten classical Upanishads are treated philosophically as coming at the end of the Vedas, and therefore the philosophy of the Upanishads is called Vedanta, meaning the philosophy which is the end and consummation of the teaching of Vedas.

The theme of Vedas concerns the domain of Karma or action; the Upanishads mainly

deal with the problem of Jnana or knowledge; and **action** and **knowledge** constitute a single harmony which is the aim of Indian philosophy to explain and expound.

I think Tagore found the philosophy of the Upanishads congenial as he belonged to the Brahmo-Samaj sect which under the influence of Vedantic as well as Christian thought had renounced idol-worship; this was one of the cardinal tenets of the Brahmo-Samaj teaching. The Upanishads aim at the religion of the spirit and they therefore try to discard the polytheistic conception of the Vedas and recognize only One Spirit, infinite, eternal, and self-existent. The Upanishads are therefore critical of the Vedic religion of ritual and sacrifice as means to salvation. The central question is asked in Mundaka Upanishad:

"What is that by which all else is known?" The reply is given by the teacher and seer in clear terms:

"Those who know Brahman, say that there are two kinds of knowledge, the higher and the lower. The lower knowledge is of the Vedas and also of ceremonies. . . . The higher knowledge is of that by which one knows the changeless reality. By this is fully revealed to the wise that which transcends the senses, which is uncaused, which is indefinable, . . . which is all-pervading, subtler than the subtlest—the everlasting, the source of all."

(Mundaka. i. 1. 45)

The Upanishads have, in fact, tried to raise the religion of Sacrifice to a symbolic significance. Spiritual self-discipline is conceived as the highest form of sacrifice and such a life of sacrifice has been called "the bath of purification." The highest form of sacrifice is therefore purification of the self. When Tagore talks of 'sacrifice,' he is not using the term in its modern sense, but in the religious sense of the Upanishads:

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Tagore has given a new significance to this concept of **sacrifice**, sacrifice for the sake of the illumination of the self, and sacrifice for the sake of humanity. This is what he says :

"The chicken within the egg has rudimentary wings, rudimentary eyesight and legs. These are of no use while the chicken is still in the shell. But some chicks, let us suppose, even while these might feel that there must be a realm beyond, where they can make full use of their potential faculties. Other chicks, again, being rationalists or logicians, argue that there is no life beyond the shell. Human beings are likewise divided into those who have faith in the life beyond the shell and those who have not; those who believe that they have faculties which are not to be accounted for by the intellect alone and those who do not.

"We cannot fully understand the outer world; we are within the shell. The loss entailed in breaking the shell, in self-sacrifice, is not an absolute loss; the gain is far greater. All religions have dwelt upon this point of gaining by sacrifice."—Tyaktena Bhunjitha.

This is the self-sacrifice which leads to the illumination of self, to the apprehension of reality. Tagore also conceived another form of sacrifice of the self which shows his concept of human society. Tagore takes an evolutionary view of the social front in relation to "power," power in the modern political sense.

"Think of evolution; first the earth, then the animals. It was dark; then it was light; then there came intellect; and physical life found its highest strength through mind. It extended its arms into weapons enlarging the domain of physical power and man became master over other animals."

What Tagore is trying to say is that the source of the extension of the power of Man over other men and over Nature is mind and not the body. He further develops his idea that the survival of the fittest in fact means the survival of the better mind. It is the intellect which is the controlling and determining factor in the process of evolution; Tagore, therefore, points out that

evolution did not end with the instinct of 'self-preservation';

"But evolution did not stop here. Here is another instinct evolving in human beings which is not to gain but to give—the spirit of sacrifice."

This larger concept of the 'spirit of sacrifice' is fundamental to the philosophy of Tagore. What does it signify for Tagore? He thinks that it is natural that life in its determination to survive always resists against those forces that are antagonistic to it. No animal encounters danger for another animal. In the evolutionary process of life this is the law of Nature. Man alone is not subject to this law. He goes quite against the laws of Nature by sacrificing his happiness and even life for the sake of an ideal, sometimes for what he conceives his duty, sometimes for posterity, sometimes for the sake of a remote and distant future, where he will never be. He, therefore, acts against the instinct of self-preservation and sometimes even rises to the height when he can say "Forgive thine enemy."

Tagore tries to explain this paradox through a philosophical concept; he maintains that the spirit of sacrifice which prompts a man to sacrifice his life is possible only because man has faith in the existence of a universal human spirit; he knows within himself that he is a part of a great connected existence and that in separation and isolation his individual entity loses its significance. Tagore, therefore, holds that true internationalism can only be achieved when we realise that nothing in the universe is separate or disconnected; and thus he projects before our mind's eye the concept of a **universal personality**, not in opposition, but as an extension of individual or group personality. In referring to the isolation of Man in a mechanized society, Tagore has made a significant observation :

"Upon the loss of this sense of a universal personality, which is religion, the reign of the machine and of method has been firmly established, and man, humanly speaking, has been made a homeless tramp. As nomads, ravenous and restless, the men from the West

have come to us. They have exploited our Eastern humanity for sheer gain of power. This modern meeting of men has not yet received the blessing of God. For it has kept us apart, though railway lines are laid far and wide, and ships are plying from shore to shore to bring us together."

Tagore then quotes a famous verse from the Upanishads: "He who sees all things in *atma*, in the infinite spirit, and the infinite spirit in all things, remains no longer unrevealed."

Tagore then points out that the arrival of *machine* in the midst of human society has led to devastating wars for it has upset the inner balance of human society.

"In the modern civilization, for which an enormous number of men are used as materials, and human relationships have in a large measure become utilitarian, man is imperfectly revealed. For man's revelation does not lie in the fact that he is a power, but that he is a spirit."

When Man has been thus 'revealed,' harmonious human relationship can be established within a given society which is a nation and between other societies which constitute an international society.

From this point of essential human relationship, Tagore develops a unique idea of what he called the World-Worker. He holds that a worldwide human relationship can only be established if we accept the idea of the World-Worker, that is, we must work for all. When Tagore asks us to work for all, he is not asking us to work for the greatest number of persons, for he holds that all "work that is morally good, however small in extent, is universal in character."

It is in this sense that work becomes selfless and assumes the character of universality. The idea is again derived from the Upanishads which teach us that we should strive to become *one* with that which is to be realized: "*Tam Vedyam purusham Vedah.*" The Upanishads further clarify the idea when they assert: "This is the divine being, the World-Worker, who is the great soul, ever dwelling inherent in the hearts of the people."

The three important elements, namely, the emergence of universal personality, the realization of the concept of selfless work as an expression of moral order, and the development of the idea of World-Worker as a form of the divine being give to the philosophy of Tagore a social dynamism which is quite unique in Indian thought. In my view Tagore's philosophy is that of affirmation and not of withdrawal from life, and what is still more significant, Tagore has declared in an unambiguous way that man's highest creative impulses have found expression in the organization of Society:

"True creation is realization of truth, through the translation of it into our own symbols.

"For man, the best opportunity for such a realization has been in men's Society. It is a collective creation of his, through which his social being tries to find itself in its truth and beauty. Had that society merely manifested its usefulness, it would be inarticulate like a dark star. But, unless it degenerates, it ever suggests in its concerted movements a living truth as its soul, which has personality.

"In this large life of Social Communion man feels the mystery of Unity, as he does in music. From the sense of that Unity, men came to the sense of their God. And therefore every religion began with its tribal God."

Tagore thus sees Society as 'Collective Creation' in Truth of Man's Will, and therefore he does not advocate our withdrawal from its activity; he moreover gives a philosophical importance to right action in his concept of the 'World-Worker.'

The central theme of the Upanishads is the eternal problem of philosophy, man's search for reality which is Truth. The main theme of the philosophy of Tagore is his concept of the *Infinite* and *Finite* to which he has given a comprehensive expression, with many-variations, in his poetry.

I will now try to show how the concept of reality in the philosophy of Tagore is derived from the Upanishads. The Upanishads conceive reality under three aspects as infinite existence (*sat*), absolute truth

(*chit*) and pure delight (*ananda*). The Upanishadic conception is that of one reality (*Ekam sat*) which realizes itself in all the variety of existence. This conclusion is strengthened by a philosophical analysis of the nature of the self which is called *Atman*. In the Chandogya Upanishad, we find the self being examined under four stages of the bodily self, the empirical self, the transcendental self, and the absolute self. We have no time to examine the intricate psychological and metaphysical patterns of self as explained in the classical Upanishads, but as according to Vedantic philosophy, the relation of the Infinite and Finite can be understood in relation to the self alone, I would very briefly describe the relation of the self to the Infinite.

The central idea is that the self of man consists in the truly subjective, which can never become an object. It is the person that sees, not the object seen. It is the I which remains beyond and behind, inspecting all qualities. It is the subject in the truest sense, and it can never become the object. This argument assumes that whatever becomes an object belongs to the not-self.

The Upanishads then postulate two important aspects of the self; the body is only an instrument used by consciousness, while consciousness is not the product of the body, and that the continuity of experience requires us to admit a permanent self underlying all contents of consciousness, thus we realize that the self is the subject of all experience. Without the self there can be no knowledge, no art or morality. We are, therefore, told (in Brihadaranyaka Upanishad) :

"Brahman can be apprehended only as Knowledge itself—Knowledge that is one with reality, inseparable from it. For he is beyond all proof, beyond all instruments of thought. The eternal Brahman is pure, unborn, subtler than the subtlest, greater than the greatest."

Having realized the reality of the flux of experience, and having affirmed the reality of knowledge, the Upanishads affirm the reality of the universe as an expression of the Supreme being, Brahma, in the

created universe is *Maya*. The Upanishads even go so far as to assert that one who denies the life outside his self destroys the self within. The infinite self is, therefore, not the opposite of finite for it includes it; the self is not an abstract formal principle but an active universal consciousness.

The true infinite self is none of the limited things, yet the basis of them all. It is universal self which is immanent as well as transcendent. And once this truth has been realized, through meditation and in knowledge, one knows the self as Brahman. Therefore the Upanishads teach us :

"It (the self) is within all, and it is without all. He who sees all beings in the self, and the self in all beings, hates none. To the illumined soul, the self is all. For him who sees everywhere oneness, how can there be delusion or grief."—(Isha Upanishad).

The question is asked in a straightforward manner and answered simply :

"Of what nature is this self? Is he the self by which we see form, hear sound, smell odor, speak words, and taste the sweet or the bitter? Is he the heart and the mind by which we perceive, command, discriminate, know, think, remember, will, feel, desire, breathe, love, and perform other like acts?"

Nay, these are but adjuncts to the self, who is pure Consciousness. And this self, who is pure Consciousness is Brahman. He is God, all gods; the five elements—earth, air, fire, water, ether; all things, great or small, born of eggs, born of the womb, born from heat, born from soil; horses, cows, men, elephants, birds; everything that breathes, the beings that walk and the beings that walk not. The reality behind all these is Brahman, who is pure Consciousness.

"All these, while they live, and after they have ceased to live, exist in him."—(Aitareya-Upanishad.)

Brahman is, therefore, all: from Brahman came appearances, sensations, desires, deeds. In order to know Brahman one must experience the identity between him and the self.

Tagore's vision of creation is saturated with the Upanishadic philosophy of the relation of the Self to Brahman as the Supreme Being and the world of creation as an expression of the divine self. But Tagore expresses the Upanishadic concepts in his unique way, which is the way of a great poet.

I had said in the beginning that in the Upanishads, Reality is viewed under the three-fold aspect as infinite existence, as absolute truth and as pure delight (ananda). It was the concept of Ananda that caught the imagination of Tagore as a poet. Tagore says:

"In the Upanishads we find the note of certainty about the spiritual meaning of existence They aver that through our joy we know the reality that is infinite, for the test by which reality is apprehended is joy. Therefore, in the Upanishads Satyam and Anandam are one. Does not this idea harmonize with our everyday experience?"

Western critics have found Tagore's poetry rather vague and lacking in tension. They have often complained that there was "no deep-seated conflict in his nature," as if tension and conflict are pre-requisites of poetry. I think the reason is that Tagore's poetry has not been studied in the context of the philosophy of Upanishads and its interpretation by Tagore in his own poems and plays.

In the philosophy of Upanishads there is no concept of The Fall, and thus there is no problem of inherent sinfulness of Man; the presence of evil is recognized in Upanishads, but the tension between sin and redemption is absent, and the lack of tension is not due to the fact that there is no complexity in the thought and poetry of Tagore, but that his poetry represents that state of mind and experience in which all inner tension and contradictions have been resolved. What I mean is that Tagore's poetry is based on his own mystical experience which revealed to him the unity between his self, the world of Nature around him and he expressed this experience in terms of the philosophy of Upanishads.

When Tagore uses such terms as 'joy', 'delight', 'Nature revealing itself', the King passing through a small village and gazing, as if by chance, on the face of an unknown and humble villager, he is talking in terms of symbolism the origin and significance of much we can only find in Upanishads. For instance, listen to this poem from *Gitanjali*.

"Thus it is that thy joy in me is so full.
Thus it is that thou hast come down to me.

O thou Lord of all heavens, where
would be thy love if I were not?
In my heart is the endless play of thy delight.

In my life thy will is ever taking shape.
And for this, thou who art the King of
Kings hast decked thy self in
beauty to captivate my heart.
And for this thy love loses itself in the
love of thy love,
And there art thou seen in the perfect
union of two."

This is one of the simpler poems of Tagore; but here delight or joy is not what we understand by these words, today, but an aspect of reality (Ananda) as taught in Upanishads.

The 'play of thy delight' signifies the mystical concept of life as the dance of Shiva, the creator delighting in rhythm of life, of his own creation. The basis of the beauty of the world is the self of man (Atman); the poet asks, "if I were not," if the self was not-existent, who would know the richness of thy love?

And the poet affirms that 'union' in the mystical sense can only be achieved through love the intensity of which is revealed in 'joy'. What I am trying to say is that like Traherne or Richard Crashaw, Tagore can only be understood in terms of his own poetic idiom which he has created out of the philosophy of Upanishads.

If Tagore discovered that the religion of Man consists not in the formalism of ritual and ceremonies but in perceiving in one's own soul the union of spirit that is everywhere, he was rediscovering in his own personal mystical experience the ancient truth of Upanishads: *Aham eva idam Sarvo'smi*: "I indeed am this whole Universe." This mystical form of religion is

the basis of the philosophy of Tagore whether expressed in his poetry, prose or dramas.

The philosophy of Upanishads found its most eloquent and complex expression in Tagore's poetry but was in the process re-interpreted in terms of the poet's vision. I will only refer to one aspect, Tagore's idea of Renunciation which is an important theme of Indian philosophy.

In one of his famous poems, Tagore made a significant statement or rather affirmation which I think is the central idea in his mystical poetry:

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation.

I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.

Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine

Of various colours and fragrance, filling this earthen vessel to the brim.

My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flame,

And place them before the altar of thy temple.

No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of

Sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.

Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumination of joy

And all my desires ripen into fruits of love."

Tagore affirmed in clear terms that for him Salvation could not be achieved through renunciation as he saw the Supreme Being revealed in the multiplicity of form and colour; and thus in *ananda* Tagore discovered Reality:

Tagore in a letter to a friend explained what he meant when he said: "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation."

"Nature with its form, colour, and fragrance, man with his intellect and mind, his love and attachment, have enchanted me. I do not despise these bonds, they are not tying me; they are helping me to free my mind and spreading me out from the bondage of my own self. . . . Like the love that surpasses the object of love, the light that shows

not only the things we are in search of, but illumines the whole universe, so through the beauties of the world. . . . it is God who is attracting us. No one else has power to attract."

It is not only Nature with its variation of form and colour but also the self of man that is leading us to God. Whenever Tagore talked of love, humanity was always in his mind. His religion was not the flight of the alone to the alone, for he said:

"Religion inevitably concentrates itself on humanity, which illumines our reason, inspires our wisdom, stimulates our love, and claims our intelligent service."

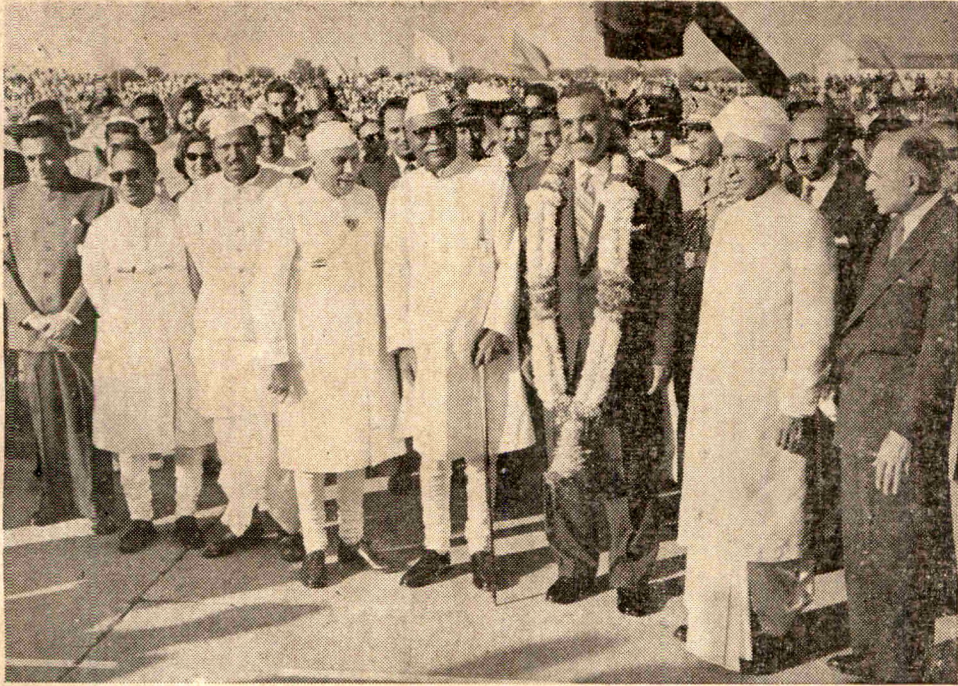
Tagore therefore came to the conclusion that it is in joy and love which are conditions of bliss (*ananda*) in the philosophical sense that man discovers himself and in such a discovery he not only finds his own self but discovers unity between himself and the divine creation. He himself said:

"When our self is illuminated with the light of love, then the negative aspect of its separateness with others loses its finality."

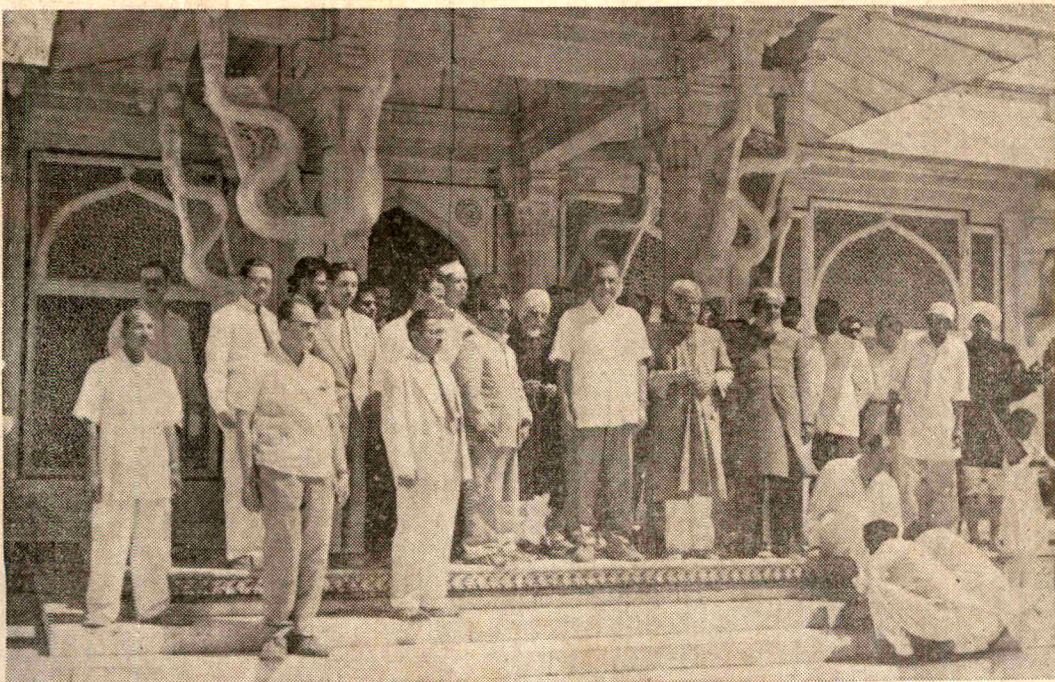
When this finality of separation has been overcome, Man can see things in their true aspect which to Tagore was their universality.

Out of his philosophy of beholding the infinite in finite, developed the *humanistic* element in the philosophy of Tagore. He gave to his humanism a cultural and intensely practical shape. The great contemporary even in contemporary India was the intrusion of Western European thought. Let me briefly quote Tagore on this theme:

"Let me say clearly that I have no distrust of any culture because of its foreign character. On the contrary I believe, that the shock of such extraneous forces is necessary for the vitality of our intellectual nature. It is admitted that much of the spirit of Christianity runs counter to the classical culture of Europe. . . . And yet this alien movement of ideas, constantly running against the natural mental current of Europe, has been a most important factor in strengthening and enriching her



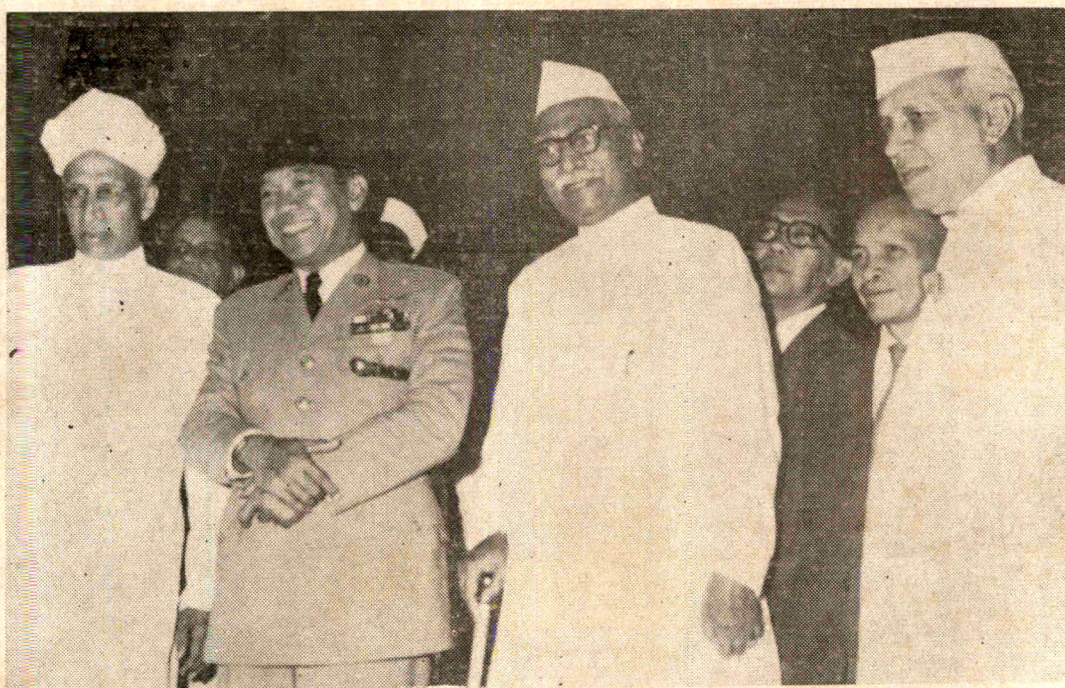
The President of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser, was received at the Palam Airport by President Dr. Raiendra Prasad; Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan; Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Cabinet Ministers



The President Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser and party visited Fatehpur Sikri, built by Akbar, 25 miles from Agra



Troops patrolling the snow-bound Indian border somewhere in the Himalayas



The Indonesian President, Dr. Soekarno, with President Dr. Rajendra Prasad; Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at Palam Airport in New Delhi

civilization, on account of the sharp antagonism of its intellectual direction. The same thing is happening in India. The European culture has come to us, not only with its knowledge, but with its velocity."

In order to realize his concept of humanistic culture in the true tradition Tagore founded the famous University in the enchanting rural surroundings of Santiniketan. Like all humanists Tagore had great faith in the transforming power of Education. He realized the importance of intellectual training but he thought a University should go beyond it. He said:

"The Western universities have not yet truly recognized that fulness of expression is fulness of life. And a large part of man can never find its experience in the mere language of words. It must therefore seek for its other languages—lines and colours, sounds and movements. Through our mastery of these we not only make our whole nature articulate, but also understand man in all his attempts to reveal his innermost being in every age and clime.

The great use of Education is not merely to collect facts, but to know man and make oneself known to man. It is the duty of every human being to master, at least to some extent, not only the language of intellect, but also that personality which is the language of Art. It is a great world of reality for man—vast and profound—this growing world of his creative nature. This is the world of Art."

And so at his University Tagore tried to create a world of universal understanding, he invited scholars from both the East and the West to live and teach there, he revived the village crafts, the ancient folk music and classical dancing. He tried to translate with reality his humanistic dictum that "The spirit of beauty is the vision of the Infinite." Tagore's humanistic philosophy is a bridge between Asia and Europe, and he believed that separation and aliena-

tion between nations was wholly untenable in our century:

"Each nation has arrived at its goal by a different path which has given a special significance to its civilization, but the fruits of it are offered to all. When nations come together as they have done now, our education must enable every child to grasp this purpose of the age, not to defeat it by acquiring the habit of division, of cherishing national prejudices. There are, of course, natural differences in human races which should be respected and preserved, but our education should be such as to make us realize our unity in spite of them and discover truth through the wilderness of contradictions."

Tagore was a true humanist and the variations and contradictions which today exist between the cultures of the world did not baffle him. He believed that through a religious humanism these could be resolved into a harmony of thought and action. Tagore gave this process a significant expression; he called it "redeeming the Contraries." Even his sense of intense patriotism did not cloud his vision and I will end by reciting a poem he wrote about India which he loved and interpreted so well:

"Where the mind is without fear,
And the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken
Up into fragments by narrow domestic
walls;
Where words come out from the depth
of truth;
Where the clear stream of reason
Has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward
By thee into the ever-widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom,
My father,
Let my Country awake."

FORESTS AND FOREST RESOURCES OF INDIA

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

II

Before any other sense of wealth had dawned on man he came to realise the significance of (i) Reserved, (ii) Protected, and (iii) Un-forest in his life as part of his own existence. classed.

Up to this day, with a multitude of different sources of wealth, forests are vitally important to human society not only as a source of timber, firewood, naval stores and other products, but also as a factor protecting land against erosion and ensuring a regular turnover of water. They possess their own grandeur and are a source of delight. They provide home for the rich and varied wild life. In all civilized countries having sizeable stretches of forests, the flora and fauna of these tracts contribute a goodly share in the creation of national wealth.

These facts are not disputed and that is why it is necessary for retaining an adequate proportion of the land surface under permanent forests which are properly distributed and assured of freedom from encroachment, abuse and over-use. It was the aim of the Second Five-Year Plan to keep a close watch over the matter. According to various estimates the forests of India account for an area between 17.4 to 22.3 per cent of the total land surface. It is certainly much below what is aimed at. But the problem is accentuated by the reason that the timber value of the areas classed as forests falls far short of their potential which is itself substantially below the yield per acre of forests in Western countries. "A considerable proportion of Indian forests are such only in name and are subject to various forms of mal-treatment."

All forest areas in India irrespective of their capacity of yielding economic products are divided into various sections according to their contents or the purpose they serve. The most common, and accepted throughout the better part of the world, is their division on the basis of the major vegetation or trees growing in a particular area. By this method forests are divided into (i) Coniferous (soft wood) and (ii) Broad-leaved (hard or soft wood). From the point of view of out-turn they are known as (i) Mer-

But, for easy comprehension and the services rendered by or expected of forests, the National Forest Policy differentiates one from the other class in the following manner :

"(A) Protection forests, i.e., those forests which must be preserved or created for physical and climatic considerations;

(B) National forests, i.e., those which have to be maintained and managed to meet the needs of defence, communications, industry and other general purposes of public importance;

(C) Village forests, i.e., those which have to be maintained to provide firewood to release cowdung for manure, and to yield small timber for agricultural implements and other forest produce for local requirements and to provide grazing for cattle;

(D) Tree-lands, i.e., those areas which though outside the scope of the ordinary forest management are essential for the amelioration of the physical conditions of the country."

Even a casual glance over the foregoing classification would reveal that there has been considerable over-lapping of functions of a particular type of forest. From the very nature of things it would be evident that one class meets the needs of different nature and the aim should be both for the private and Government forests to derive the highest benefit with the minimum loss or damage to them whether temporary or permanent.

The Indian forests are predominantly broad-leaved, 96.6 per cent, while the coniferous forests constitute only 3.4 per cent. By area the former is 271,373 sq. miles out of a total 280,896 (1954-55) and coniferous cover 9,523 sq. miles. The non-coniferous or broad-leaved forests have 41,018 sq. miles given to sal and 22,391 to teak and the rest 207,964 sq. miles have miscellaneous trees. The volume of standing timber (in 1954-

55) has been assessed at 5,663,666,000 coniferous and 70,635,951,999 cubic feet broad-leaved (hard and soft wood).

From the out-turn point of view the merchantable forest represent 81.9 per cent (229,949 sq. miles in 1954-55) and inaccessible, 18.1 per cent (50,947 sq. miles) in a total of 280,896 sq. miles. A little over half of the total area, i.e., 167,049 sq. miles is primarily given to the production of timber.

The outturn of different kinds of wood and timber was of the following order (1954-55) :

| | Quantity (’000-cft.) | Value (’000-Rs.) |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Timber and Firewood : | | |
| Coniferous | 15,554 | 1,27,88 |
| Broadleaved | 91,500 | 14,54,92 |
| Total | 1,07,054 | 15,82,80 |
| Roundwood : | | |
| Coniferous | 2,357 | 11,23 |
| Broadleaved | 21,793 | 1,30,84 |
| Total | 24,150 | 1,42,07 |
| Pulp and Matchwood : | | |
| Coniferous | .... | .... |
| Broadleaved | 1,238 | 13,87 |
| Total | 1,238 | 13,87 |
| Firewood : | | |
| Coniferous | 7,391 | 15,00 |
| Broadleaved | 3,00,955 | 3,41,91 |
| Total | 3,08,346 | 3,56,91 |
| Charcoal-wood : | | |
| Coniferous | .... | .... |
| Broadleaved | 67,213 | 72,91 |
| Total | 67,213 | 72,91 |
| Total Coniferous | 25,302 | 1,54,11 |
| Total Broadleaved | 4,82,699 | 20,13,73 |
| Grand Total | 5,08,011 | 21,67,84 |

The supply of coniferous (soft) wood is just below five per cent of the total of the wood and timber exploited annually from the forests of India. Particularly in respect of Pulp and Matchwood as also of Charcoal-wood, coniferous (soft wood) is absolutely unsuitable for the purpose and is therefore not used at all.

Amongst a very large number of trees that come into the use of a civilized man, and growing abundantly in the Indian forest, mention may be made of a few that supply the various needs of timber and wood :

Teak and Sal are the most important of the Indian timbers. Teak (*Sagun : Tectona grandis*) is widely distributed and is found to grow in Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bengal, etc. Sal (*Shorea robusta*) is plentiful at the foothills of the Himalayas, Sonthal Parganas (Chota-Nagpur), Madhya Pradesh and the North-Bengal hills. Chikrassy (*Chukrasia tabularis*) largely occurs in Assam, West Bengal, Madras, Mysore; Toon (*Cedrela toona*) in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, West Bengal, Bombay, Madras, etc.; Haldy (*Adina cordifolia*) in Uttar Pradesh, principally in Gonda and Bahraich, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, etc.; Gamari (*Gumhar : Gmelina arborea*) in West Bengal, Assam and several other parts of India; Siris (*Khurich : Albizzia lebbek*) in West Bengal, Assam, Bombay, Madras, Uttar Pradesh, etc.; Jaman (*Eugenia jambolana*) is found in almost in every State; Indian Rosewood (*Sissoo : Dalbergia latifolia* or *Dalbergia sissoo*) occurs at the foothills of Nepal, Bombay, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, U.P., West Bengal, Assam, etc.; Gurjan (*Dipterocarpus turbinatus*) in Assam, Bengal and the Andamans; Kapok (*Semul : Bombax malabricum*) in almost all parts of India; Salai (*Boswellia serrata*) mostly in Bihar, Vindhya Pradesh, Madras, Bombay, etc.; Chir (*Pinus longifolia*) in U.P., Punjab, (Nepal); Mango (*Magnifera indica*) distributed over almost all the States; Chaplash (*Artocarpus chaplasha*) in West Bengal, Assam, the Andamans; Champ (*Michelia champaca*) in Assam, Bengal (Nepal eastwards), Deodara (*Cedrus deodara*) in the outer Himalayas, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, U.P., etc.; Kanju (*Holoptelia integrifolia*) in U.P., West coastal regions, Bihar, Orissa, etc.; Neem (*Melia indica*, *Margosa*) in almost all the drier parts of India; Tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*) is found in almost every part of India, particularly in West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, etc.

There are a host of others used for various purposes and it is wellnigh impossible to exhaust the list. Moreover wood is "one of the world's versatile raw material." It is the chief

building material and is necessary for boat and ship building, and finds its way into manufacture of agricultural implements, cart parts, railway carriage bodies, sleepers and crossties, packing cases, plywood, tea boxes, furniture, pit props, poles, tent pegs and tool handles. It is still the most widespread and easily available fuel and is the source of wood charcoal that has a multiple of uses. Nearly 90 per cent of paper is derived from wood and bamboo. It also forms an essential ingredient in the production of rayon fibre. New uses of wood are appearing in the horizon in the shape of plastics and fabricated building materials. Alcohol obtained from wood and saw dust is now a common industrial product. In the language of the Second Five-Year Plan it may be said that "it is well to remember that every advance in industrialisation will be reflected in an increased demand on the produce of the forest" and that "it is not an accident that the most advanced countries in the world are precisely those with the highest per capita consumption of wood."

Wood barks serve mankind in a modest way. In caulking boats and as protection of ends of planks on wooden bridges, cordage and as a source of tanning material from some of them, barks have proved their worth.

But there are a number of minor products without which it is difficult to think of modern civilization. Because of their importance some of these are now finding place in plantations; but it would be wrong to forget all about their original home.

The minor forest produce though so named occupies a very important position in Indian economy and it finds its way into different industries of more or less significance. The total estimated value of such products was to the tune of nearly Rs. 8 crores and comprised the following (1954-55):

| Produce | '000-Rs. |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| Bamboos and canes | 1,28,77 |
| Fibres and flosses | 55 |
| Gums and resins | 90,99 |
| Other sorts of produce | 5,53,56 |
| Total | 7,73,87 |

(Source: Indian Forest Statistics:
1954-55 Vol. 1)

The articles coming under this head in some detail are bamboos, canes, drugs, spices, fibres and flosses, fodder and grazing grasses, grass other than fodder, gums and resins, rubber and latex, incense and perfume woods, dyeing and tanning materials, vegetable oil and oilseeds, essential oils (excluding sandalwood oil), sandalwood, sandalwood oil, bihi leaves, charcoal and others. Some of the animal products such as lac, ivory, honey and beeswax come under the category of 'minor forest products'.

From the report Forestry in India, 1953-54, it is learnt that the value of charcoal alone was estimated at Rs. 3.10 crores. Fodder and grazing grasses yielded Rs. 1.34 crores and bamboos, Rs. 1.09 crores; gums and resins Rs. 72.13 lakhs and bidi leaves: Rs. 68.07 lakhs. Others fetched lesser amount.

Bamboos may be called an all-purpose wood and something more. One can think of man living without timber but not without bamboo. Town is the one place where one may think that bamboo is out of court, but without scaffoldings of bamboo no Indian town could grow. It is found throughout India. Moreover it is extensively used in the manufacture of paper. Cane and rattan (*Calamus*) grows plentifully in Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, the Western Ghats, etc., and has use in the manufacture of household furniture of various types and designs. The other shapes in which it appears are handles and sticks, towing ropes and binding strings, sporting goods, etc. Bidi leaves are obtained from a genus of arbore-scent or scandent plants, *Bauhinia*, diffused throughout the tropics. The two particular species of *Bauhinia* that are suitable for yielding bidi leaves are *B. racemosa*, a small crooked tree met with in the Sub-Himalayan tract from the Ravi eastwards, in Oudh, (undivided) Bengal, Central and South India and *B. variegata*, growing throughout the forests of India particularly in the Sub-Himalayan tract from the Indus eastward.

Dyeing and tanning stuff is derived from a number of forest trees and plants the most important of which are *Myrobalans* (*Terminalia chebula*), *Babul* (*Acacia arabica*), *Wattle*, black and silver (*Acacia mollissima* and *A. dealbata*),

Mangrove (*Ceriops Roxburghiana* and *Rhizophora mucronata*), Cutch (*Acacia catechu*), Dammar (*Canarium resiniferum* and *C. strictum*), Madder and Munjeet (*Rubia cordifolia*), Safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), Gab (*Diospyros embryopteris* or *D. peregrina*), Gambier, etc., etc.

Gums and resins of economic value are secured from Karaya (*Sterculia urens*), pine (*Pinus longifolia*), Gum arabic (*Arabic Senegal*), Asafoetida (*Ferula foedita*), etc.

The chief sources of drugs are Nux vomica (*Strychnos nux vomica*), Senna (*Cassia augustifolia*), Vasaka (*Aldhotoda vasica*) and a multitude of other plants such as Arjuna (*Terminalia arjuna*), Ananta-mool (*Hemidesmus indicus*), Asoka (*Saraca indica*), Kalamegha (*Andrographis paniculata*), Gulancha (*Tinospora cordifolia*), etc., etc.

Sandalwood (*Santalum album* and *Petrocarpus santalinus*), Lemon grass (*Cymbopogon* spp.), Palmarosa (*Cymbopogon martini*), etc. are the sources of scented oils. It is no longer possible to go into further details regarding the forest wealth of India; it may be said that it is inexhaustible and as Woytinsky says, "In contrast to other natural resources . . . all that is needed to make them last for ever is a clear understanding of the nature of forests and the care necessary to enable them to renew and perpetuate themselves,—to treat forests as a crop, not as a mine."

With the adoption of a National Policy concerning forests attempts are being made to derive as much of useful products as is possible without injuring the interests of the 'goose that lays the golden eggs.' The First Five-Year

Plan provided Rs. 9.6 crores for forest development. The total provision for the same purpose in the Second Plan is Rs. 27 crores. "The programme followed during the operation of the Second Plan is (i) afforestation and improvement of poorer areas in the forests and extension forestry, (ii) formation of plantations of species of commercial and industrial value, (iii) promotion of methods for increased production and availability of timber and other forest produce in the immediate future, (iv) conservation of wild life, . . . (viii) central co-ordination and guidance in the implementation of forest development schemes all over the country. "

The employment potential of forest is very large inasmuch as on an average there were 90,399 and 219,757 persons engaged permanently and temporarily each day in 1954-55. With the development and expansion of forests more people would be required to look after forests and in exploiting forest products. When census is taken of men engaged in industries based on forest products, such as, to name only a few, paper, rubber, lac, rayon, alcohol, plastics, etc., the tremendous influence of forests can be gauged about the magnitude of its importance.

The amount of revenue (1954-55) is estimated at Rs. 27.12 crores and expenditure Rs. 12.59 crores leaving a surplus balance of Rs. 14.53 crores. This is the value of raw materials obtained directly from forests but the total value of the industrial products based on forest products would run into many crores of rupees. It is for the specialists to assess the annual contribution of the forests to the National Income of India. This must be a very decent amount demanding more attention to the forests than what had hitherto been paid.



MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN KERALA

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

I

The Background

Kerala is the smallest among the States of India. It represents the merger of the two ex-princely States of Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar district and part of the South Kanara district which formerly belonged to the State of Madras. During the brief period of twelve years since independence (of India) this State has had three spells of Presidential rule and four general elections the last time in February, 1960. The first popular ministry in Travancore was formed in 1948 by the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillai. When Travancore was merged with Cochin in June 1949 the Congress continued to run the Government though the leadership had in the meanwhile been changed, Mr. Thanu Pillai having resigned. The strength of the different political parties in the legislature was Congress 44, Communists and allies 32, Socialists (later on PSP) 12, other parties 9 and Independents 11. After the general elections in 1952 the Congress succeeded in forming a Government which however fell to a vote of no-confidence in September, 1953. The legislature was dissolved and the State was under the direct rule of the President of India until fresh elections were held in February, 1954. In that election no party was able to secure an absolute majority of seats and the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), though securing only 19 of the 117 seats formed a minority government under the leadership of Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillai, who in the meanwhile had joined PSP with the support of the Congress party. This government also fell to a vote of no-confidence in February, 1955, when a new government was formed by the Congress party under the leadership of Mr. Panampilli Govinda Menon. This Congress-run Government

also fell to a vote of no-confidence in March, 1956, necessitating the proclamation of a second term of Presidential rule.

In November, 1956, the States of Indian Union were reorganised on a linguistic basis and some portion of Madras State was given to Kerala in exchange of some Talukas from the Trivandrum district. Consequently there was an increase in the number of representatives to the State Legislature to 125. In the general elections held in 1957, the Communists emerged as the strongest political force in the legislature of the reorganised Kerala State, having secured 65 seats including five Independents. A Communist-led ministry took office on April 5, 1957, and remained at the head of the government until it was superseded by the Central Government on July 31, 1959. This time, however, the Presidential rule did not follow a vote of no-confidence against the ministry in the legislature but the virtual paralysis of the governmental machinery in the State by a mass movement. The third spell of rule by Presidential decree lasted for 205 days until the formation of a new Congress-Praja-Socialist coalition ministry on February 22, 1960, headed by Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillai, the PSP leader.

Triple Alliance

The President of India's proclamation of July 31, 1959, dissolving the Communist ministry and the legislature, and taking over the Government of Kerala stated that general elections for constituting a new legislative assembly for Kerala would be held "as soon as possible." No sooner had it been understood that the elections would be held in February,¹ political elements in

1. Hindu, Madras, 14 September; 15 December, 1959.

Kerala became active in making manoeuvres and counter-manoevres. As the downfall of the Communist ministry in Kerala was brought about by an anti-Communist mass movement conducted jointly by almost all the political parties except the Communist Party of India (CPI), naturally there was a move to put up a joint electoral battle against the Communists. The formation of the Congress Praja-Socialist Party-Muslim League electoral alliance (Triple Alliance) to fight the mid-term elections in Kerala was announced in Ernakulam on September 11, 1959, by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri who had been deputed by the President of the Indian National Congress (then Mrs. Indira Gandhi) to advise the Kerala Pradesh Congress on electoral arrangements. He disclosed that the Alliance would present a united front of opposition to the Communists in the elections and that the parties would conduct a joint election campaign. On the agreed basis for the allocation of seats to the different political parties the Praja-Socialist Party (P.S.P.) and the Muslim League (M.L.) were originally allotted 35 and 12 seats respectively. The distribution of the remaining 79 seats was left to be settled between the Congress and other non-Communist parties such as the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.) and the Kerala Socialist Party (K.S.P.).

Eventually, however, both the R.S.P. and the K.S.P. were left out of the Alliance. The R.S.P. wanted to contest ten seats but the Congress and the other two parties in the Alliance wanted to allocate only eight seats (six sacrificed by the Congress and two by the P.S.P.) to it. So the R.S.P. decided on November 7, 1959 to keep aloof from the non-Communist alliance and contest 20 seats as an independent political party. This decision was embodied in a resolution adopted by a convention of party-men in Quillon on November 7 which was attended by five hundred delegates, and was finally confirmed on November 23. The R.S.P. leader, Mr. Sreekantan Nair interpreted the Congress-P.S.P. offer as a Congress bluff, to which the

P.S.P. had fallen a victim. "The whole offer was pre-planned by the Congress so that it may not lose any seat and at the same time, the P.S.P. may have to lose heavily," Mr. Nair said while rejecting the offer made by Mr. U. N. Dhebar (Congress) and Mr. Asoka Mehta (P.S.P.).² Eventually the R.S.P. put up only 18 candidates.

As if to counter this charge Mr. Dhebar and Mr. Mehta issued a joint statement on the following day (November 24) announcing that "total agreement" had been reached between the Congress and P.S.P. on the strategy of organizing the ensuing Kerala elections and for establishing necessary liaison at all levels for effective co-operation. "Democracy after a period of instability has found a strong anchorage in Kerala," it said.³

On the breakdown of the talks with the R.S.P. the 600-word joint statement said: "We regret that the R.S.P. has not responded to our appeal to share in a new vision and participate in a common adventure. We have no quarrel with them. We hope the pressure of public opinion will ultimately bring them close to democratic forces." The demands of the R.S.P., it added, were "peremptory and excessive."⁴

The strength of the K.S.P. was dwindling and it was never seriously regarded as a contending political force. The Progressive Communist Party which was formed on October 20, 1959 by a group of ex-communists was also far from being in any way an influential force. The ultimate allocation of seats within the Alliance was thus: Congress 81 (two more than originally agreed upon), P.S.P. 33 (of the 35 seats originally agreed upon two were subsequently renounced in favour of the Congress) and the M.L. 12. The Congress however officially put up 80 candidates and supported one Independent candidate.

The parties in the Alliance issued separate election manifestoes though they conducted a joint election campaign. The

2. *Times of India*, Bombay, 24 November, 1959.

3. *Ibid*, November 25, 1959.

4. *Ibid*.

Indian National Congress was the first to issue a manifesto which ran to 5,000 words. The Congress promised to honour and respect the unity of the people, which had emerged out of the "ordeal of fire, blood and tears" during the twenty-eight months of Communist rule in the State, and to usher in a stable and good administration for peace and prosperity. To return the communists back to power, the manifesto said, "will be to hamper the planned development of the country through peaceful and democratic means." The defeat of the communists was important and indispensable. On the economic front the Congress promised nationalization of private forests which the communists had originally decided upon but had subsequently given up and the gradual taking over of all private road transport routes, implementation of the declared land reform policies of the Congress and the extension of co-operative farming, a "big and bold" Third Five-Year Plan for the State with a better share of Central Government Schemes and industrial truce benefiting both the industrialists and the workers. The Congress further promised a reform of the Education Act and Rules (which had been the immediate cause of the Communists' downfall) and the restoration of the civil service (which, it held, had been subverted by the Communist Government) as a "strong, independent and fearless unit" of the democratic system.⁵

The election manifesto of the Praja Socialist Party, which was issued on December 16, 1959, said that the party would "widen and deepen the democratic unity" and "translate it into honest and efficient government on the principles and practices of democracy." Communism "which in power in Kerala became a menace to freedom and to justice," it said, "becomes the more sinister in the context of Communist China's invasion of India and equivocation indulged in by the Communist party of India." Indicating the Communist rule in Kerala the manifesto pointed out that during the last sixteen months of

Communist rule the price of rice had gone up by 75 per cent and more, unemployment had gone up from 1.5 million to 1.9 million, bonus had dwindled from year to year, the State's finances had been wrecked and taxes to the tune of Rs. 40 million had been imposed on the poor and middle classes, corruption had multiplied and the rule of law had been set at naught with the Communist Party being equated with the state. The 13-point programme embodied in the manifesto agreed in many respects with that of the Congress. It registered its general support to the Agrarian Relations Bill introduced by the Communist Ministry but said that it needed to be amended in certain respects; and called for the implementation of the provisions of the Education Act which were beneficial to teachers and non-teaching staff but were not implemented by the Communist Ministry. It called for the extension of the scope of co-operatives, import of food and its subsidised sale and the gradual establishment of a Grain Bank to meet sudden food shortages, greater Central Government industrial investment in Kerala, industrial truce on the basis of justice and rising standards of life for labour and the protection of the rights of linguistic and communal minorities.⁶

The Muslim League manifesto was openly communal demanding many safeguards and amenities exclusively for the Muslims though in several other respects it more or less resembled the programmes of other parties in the Alliance.^(a) The main unifying factor was, of course, its fanatic anti-Communism. There was a strong under-current of criticism in the Congress ranks at the electoral alliance with an openly communal body like the Muslim League but eventually the latter was admitted into the Alliance.

How did the Alliance conduct its electioneering campaign? According to a press

5. Summary of the Congress election manifesto in *Hindu*, Madras, 17 December, 1959.

6. Summary of the P.S.P. election manifesto in the *Hindu*, Madras, 19 December, 1959.

6a. Summary of the M.L. manifesto in *Hindu*, 19 December, 1959. See also *ibid* 31 December, 1959. (FOC report from Calicut.)

report of January 14 from Trivandrum, though in many constituencies, individual candidates asked for votes for themselves and their parties, common posters and appeals were used to seek votes for the Alliance. "Campaign cars and other vehicles always fly Congress, P.S.P. and Muslim League flags together on their bonnets. The election offices are called united election offices and they display all the three flags everywhere. District Committees and leaders of the parties arrange common campaign meetings and demonstrations. Leaders of one party address the election meetings of a candidate belonging to another political party." It may be truly said that such united campaigning on the part of members belonging to different political parties was never witnessed in Kerala or in any other part of India during the post-independence period.

Non-aligned Parties

Though not forming a part of the anti-Communist Alliance, the R.S.P. was avowedly more anti-Communist than it was anti-Alliance. On January 3, Mr. Sreekantan Nair, the R.S.P. leader, declared at a public meeting in Quillon that his party had decided to withdraw its candidates from four constituencies to facilitate the success of non-Communist candidates in those constituencies.⁷ In its election manifesto released on January 3 the R.S.P. pledged itself to strive for the establishment of a "toiling people's democracy" in Kerala which would be based on the sanction and organised strength of the workers, peasants, impoverished middle classes and progressive intelligentsia. The members of the R.S.P. if elected would function as a non-Communist and progressive opposition in the Legislature.⁸

Ultimately four political parties remained out of the anti-Communist alliance. They were, besides the R.S.P., the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the Indian Socialist Party and the Kerala Socialist Party.

7. *Times of India*, Bombay, 15 January, 1960.

8. *Ibid*, 6 January, 1960 (PTI report from Quillon, dated January 4).

9. *Ibid*, 4 January, 1960.

Communist Party

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India passed a resolution on August 8, 1959 characterising the promulgation of the President's rule as a "partisan and deliberate act." A little later on the leadership sobered on a little and adopted a resolution on October 19, 1959 to the effect that there had been "mistakes, weaknesses and omissions" on the part of the Communist Ministry, though, the defects were attributable to "inexperience as well as negligence." There were only two paths before the people of Kerala, the resolution said, "either to support the Communist Party and thus defend the real interests of the country and the people, or endanger the true interests of the country and the people for political and governmental instability" by supporting an anti-Communist platform. The Communist Party was vehemently opposed¹⁰ to holding the elections early in February 1960.

The Communist election manifesto called upon the people of Kerala to vote the CPI back to power and thereby provide a clear condemnation of the Union Government's actions leading to the dismissal of the ministry and also of the activities of the non-Communist parties in Kerala. The Party would strive for "carrying forward the task of building a new and prosperous Kerala," and would press for the acceptance by the Central Government of a Rs. 2,500 million Third Five-Year Plan for Kerala with 75 per cent of it as Central assistance, it said.¹¹

At a six-day conference ending on November 29, 1959 at Trichur the Kerala State unit of the Communist Party of India decided to contest all the 126 seats of the Legislative Assembly. Originally it was decided to put up 40 independent candidates and 86 official party candidates. But ultimately the party put up 103 official party candidates and 23 independents nine among

10. *Ibid*, 5 November, 1959 (Resolution of the Kerala State Council—of C.P.I. on November 3); *Times of India*, 18 December, 1959.

11. Summary of the C.P.I. manifesto in *Hindu*, 19 December, 1959.

who adopted the Communist Party's election symbol. All the eleven members of the dismissed Communist Cabinet were nominated to contest the election though one or two (the former Education Minister, Mr. Joseph Mundassery, for example) were averse to stand for election.¹²

Inaugurating the party's election campaign at a meeting in Ernakulam on January 5, Mr. P. Ramamurthy, member of the C.E.C., C.P.I., said that it was a sorry spectacle to see the Congress aligning itself with communal forces. It was ironical that to fight the Communists Mr. Nehru's own party had to enter into an alliance with the Muslim League which had been described by Mr. Nehru himself as "a dead horse and a relic of the past" and had been discredited even in Pakistan, he said.¹³ The State Council of the Kerala Communist Party in a statement on January 14 charged the Triple Alliance with displaying what it described as "fascist tendencies under the leadership of the Congress." It further accused the alliance parties of having violated the spirit and letter of the understanding reached between the political parties and the Adviser to the Governor of Kerala for maintaining peaceful conditions. The Party made a special appeal to the linguistic minorities particularly the Tamils.

Party Functionaries

Both the Communists and the Triple Alliance (Congress-P.S.P.-M.L.) had about 400,000 workers each in the field. Each party set up district election offices to guide the work of the constituency offices which generally had 2,000 to 3,000 workers each at their disposal. These workers were organised into sector or panchayet committees, ward committees and polling booth committees. On both sides more stress was laid on door to door canvassing than on big public meetings and processions. Both sides spent a

lot of money which would come to about 12 million rupees on each side.

Polling Arrangements

There were about 8700 polling stations which meant that there was one polling station roughly for every 900 voters. Although the electorate increased, the number of stations was reduced through rationalisation. Each polling station was manned by five persons—the presiding officer, three polling officers and a polling assistant. On that basis about 44,000 persons would be required. Adequate police arrangements were made to protect the polling booths and the Chief Election Commissioner had secured the assistance of nearly 4,000 policemen from the neighbouring States of Madras, Mysore and Andhra to assist the local police numbering more than 17,000. At two booths one at Adoor in the Kunathur constituency, Central Travancore and another at Ulloor in Trivandrum, polling had to be suspended for a short time in the morning of February 1 as the voters crowded near the booths and refused to form queues.¹⁴

With a view to ensuring an orderly and peaceful election, the Kerala Administration had suggested that the political parties should adopt a "useful six-point convention." The convention said that (1) political parties should inform the police in advance of their processions and meetings; (2) while there would be no interference from the police the political parties would not mind receiving "advice" from the police for readjustment of their programmes where rival meetings and demonstrations were proposed to be held at places in close proximity of each other; (3) political parties would advise their followers to attend meetings without arms of any kind; (4) there should be no interference with traffic by processionists; (5) the parties should refrain from hoisting flags on public property or even on private properties should their owners object and they should not hoist flags within 50 yards of the flags of another party; and (6) proper restraint

12. *Statesman*, Calcutta, 2 December, 1959.

13. This criticism was upheld by Mr. Nehru himself although indirectly in his monthly press conference in New Delhi on February 24.

14. *Times of India*, Bombay, 2 February, 1960.

should be observed in writing slogans and pasting placards in public places and no political party should allow its supporters to tamper with the slogans written by its rivals.¹⁵

All the principal political parties assured their fullest co-operation to ensure a free and fair election. What was the practical result? There were 4 murders in the campaign months of December and January. There were 92 campaign incidents in January in which the number of accused was 371. Fifteen of these incidents¹⁶ were of a serious nature involving more than minor hurt.

In this connection it may be recalled that an earlier appeal by the Governor of Kerala suggesting that the political parties should sign a joint appeal against political violence had been turned down by all the political parties except the Communist Party of India.¹⁷

Constituencies and the Electorate

There were 114 constituencies to elect 126 members. The strength of the electorate was 8.1 million against about 7.6 million in the 1957 elections. A number of double-member constituencies, actually twelve, in which the scheduled caste voters exercised two votes each accounted for the actual polling exceeding the number of electors. The Government of India had allocated a sum of Rs. 1.5 million for organizing the elections.

The Campaign

All the political parties called upon the services of their most prominent leaders in fighting the elections. The Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and the newly elected President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, the Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. U. N. Dhebar, a former Congress President were some of the national leaders who participated in the election campaign on behalf of the Congress and the Triple Alliance. The Prime

Minister severely castigated the Indian Communists but warned Congress workers not to link the Chinese aggression on Indian territory with international Communism. The Praja-Socialist Party enlisted the support of the national chairman Mr. Asoka Mehta and Acharya J. B. Kripalani. The Communist Party's election campaign was conducted by Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair, the Acting General Secretary of the Party, Mr. E. M. S. Nanboodiripad also an all-India leader who had been Chief Minister in the Ministry. As both of them happened to come from Kerala, other nationally famous leaders such as Mr. S. A. Dange, leader of the Communist group in Parliament, Mr. Ramamurti and Prof. Hiren Mukherji, Deputy leader of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament) were also requisitioned by the Kerala unit. Replying to Mr. Nehru's charges against the Communist Party, Mr. Dange said in a mass meeting in Ernakulam on January 22 that Mr. Nehru represented the 'pathos' of Indian politics. Therefore Mr. Nehru had to go to Kerala to preach principles to the Communist Party after having given up his own principle in relation to the PSP and the Muslim League for the sake of an electoral alliance against the Communist Party.

Issues Put up Before the Electorate

The Alliance advanced anti-Communist slogans specifically mentioning some of the actions of the dissolved ministry such as the Education Bill curtailing the freedom of Catholics and the Nairs in the management of educational institutions. The Catholic Church and the Muslim Mollahs strongly urged their followers to vote against the Communists on religious grounds. The Chinese incursions into the Indian borders were also played upon by the anti-Communists. The Communists were obviously on the defensive on all these matters. Indeed, the elections were fought as one between the anti-Communists *versus* the Communists while heretofore all elections were contests between the anti-Congress elements *versus* the Congress.

15. *Ibid*, 5 January, 1960.

16. *Ibid*, 31 January, 1960.

17. *Ibid*, 4 September, 1959.

The Results

The results of the elections were a crushing defeat for the Communists so far as successes in securing seats were concerned. The Triple Alliance secured 76.6 per cent of the total seats and 43.37 per cent of the total votes polled while the Communist Party and allies though securing 43.33 per cent of the votes polled, got only a little over 23 per cent of the seats.

(To be continued)

PATNAIK, THE PORTRAIT PAINTER

By G. N. DAS

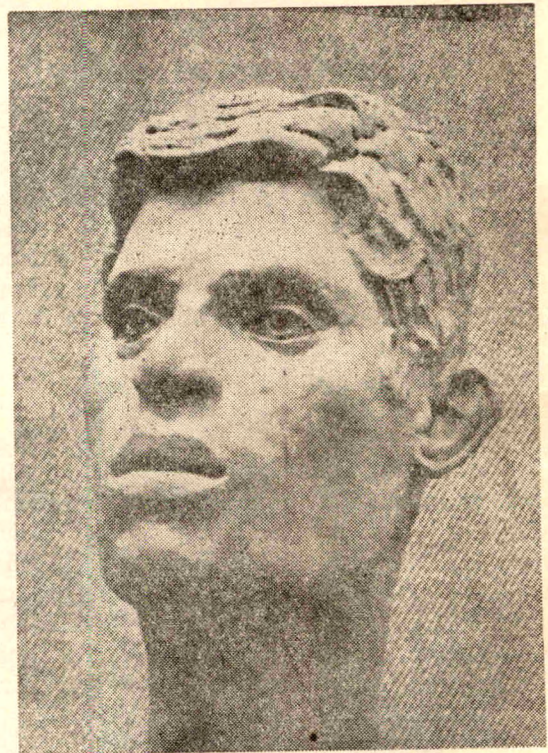
FOR the last decade or two, particularly since the attainment of freedom, there has been a vigorous activity in the realm of art. Several young artists with claims to recognition have entered the field in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, as remarked by the judges of the National Exhibition of Art for 1958, "the

But it is a good augury of the future that efforts are being made in this direction and Indian artists are trying hard to come into their own. One of the talented young artists to take up this challenge is C. S. N. Patnaik. While shaking off the dead weight of tradition and the blind copying of Western masters, he



Armed Constable

impact of the various trends of modern world art on the sensibilities of our artists has not led to a proper synthesis between the surviving ideas and techniques of our country with those foreign techniques which are significant for us and which could be assimilated without exposing our artists to the charge of imitationism."



Head Study
Sculpture: Terracotta

has developed into an individual artist with a distinct vision. He admits that he was earlier influenced by great artists like Cezanne and Van Gogh but has since found his own idiom.

Patnaik is a brilliant product of the Government School of Arts and Crafts in



Gipsy Girl

Madras. He is now an Art Teacher at the Government Post-Graduate Basic Training College, Pentapadu, Andhra Pradesh. He has already held two one-man exhibitions and his paintings have been included in many All-India shows, in the modern Indian collections exhibited in recent years in China, Japan, Australia, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Germany, etc., and in the National Art Gallery, Madras. In addition to painting, he is also proficient in the Jaipur technique of frescoes which he learnt at the Banasthali Vidyapith in Rajasthan. For some time now he has been drawn with promising results into the field of sculpture in the course of his ceaseless quest for new forms and an effective transmutation of ideas. But he is primarily a painter and excels in portraits in oils in which medium he has a definite message to impart.

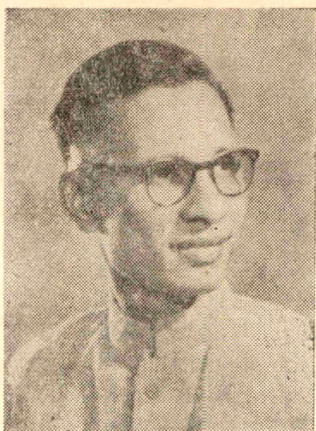
Among contemporary Indian artists of the younger generation, Patnaik has a manifest personality of his own. His works reflect considerable life and feeling and are imbued with much sincerity. He has a good knowledge of composition and is restrained in using colours. His skill in the expression of feeling and tone is of a high order. He is an expert draftsman and the figures which he introduces to fill up spaces show great ingenuity. On the whole he possesses a sense of composition as well as a knowledge of the mutual relations of colours and there is no doubt that his highly personal art is a most delightful treat to the eye.

Patnaik has painted a few landscapes and sea-scapes and he confesses that he is interested in Nature but not to the extent to which he is interested in man. His focus is on the drama of man—in oils, in water colours, in pencil, in crayon, in pen and pastel and through sculpture. Like most of the modern portrait painters, the portrait in his hands is not a mere likeness. On the other hand, it is interpretative and non-objective or subjective. His main concern is with colour and design and comparatively less with the subject which is only one of the con-



Sketch

stituents of the painting. Similarly, in his self-portraits, of which he has produced more than one, he tries a highly individualistic image of himself and not any representational portraiture. As remarked by D. P. Roy Chowdhury,



The Artist

the famous Indian sculptor and painter, "as an artist he is rather a dreamer than a realist."

About the future role of art, Patnaik thinks that with the phenomenal progress of science and technology, the problem of the artist is one of social relevance and of producing new cultural form, for beauty is a vital part of our existence and cannot flourish in isolation. But while he should shed the tendency to retire within himself and live in an ivory tower, the creative artist should also resist any attempts to reach down to the masses and rationalize "the organic sources of life". On the other hand, his responsibility at the present time is to try "to find in himself the real nature of his personal vision and then to be true to it."

CHILD WELFARE—A SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

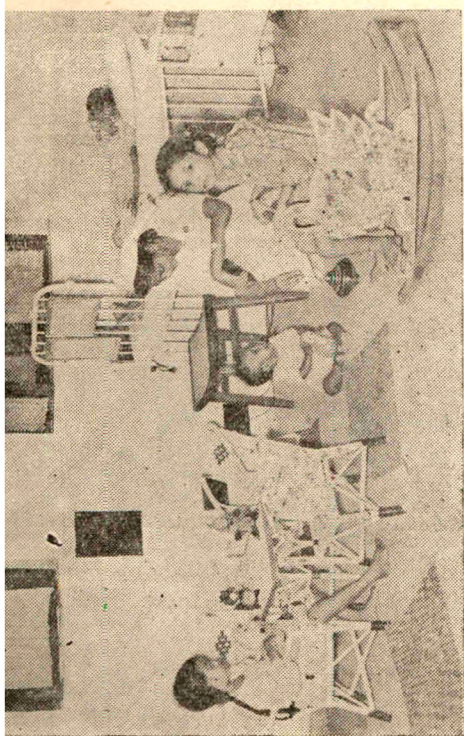
Children's Day is celebrated every year on November 14—Prime Minister Shri Nehru's birthday—to remind the nation of its obligations towards the child. These obligations are described in the Declaration of the Rights of Child, made at Geneva nearly 35 years ago. It says, among other things, that the child must be protected beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality or creed. He must be cared for with due respect for the family as an entity. He must be given the means requisite for his normal development, materially, morally and spiritually.

The ultimate aim of child welfare should be to remove or eliminate from the child's path all natural as well as man-made obstacles which impede the development of his personality and to secure his physical, mental and moral well-being. This means providing him with unfailing services in health, education, recreation and culture.

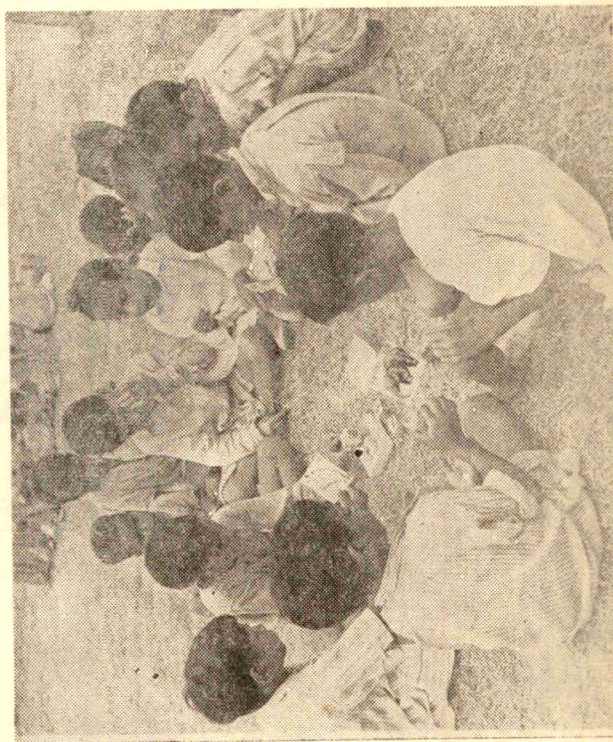
Care of the child as a special citizen is a comparatively new concept. In India, particularly, there has been lack of interest in welfare work for children beyond that of family responsibility. The last decade, however, has seen a growing awareness of the need to promote the physical, mental, moral, emotional and cultural growth of the child.



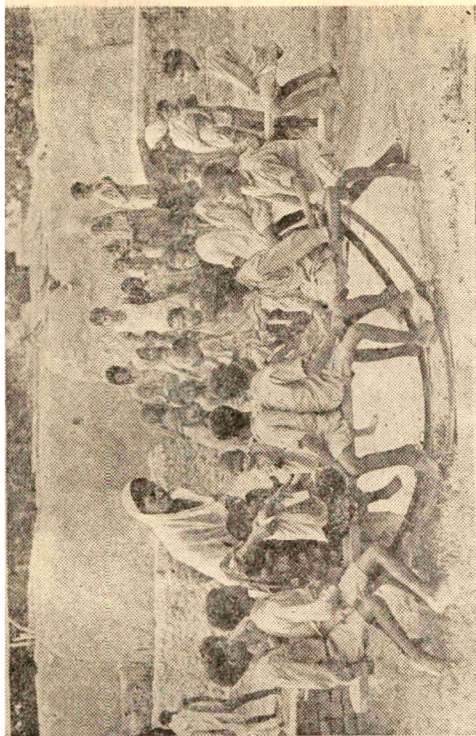
An under-training Nurse teaching habits in cleanliness to children of the rural areas



Children in a hospital ward playing with toys



School children of a village near Karnal (Punjab) playing during the recreation hour

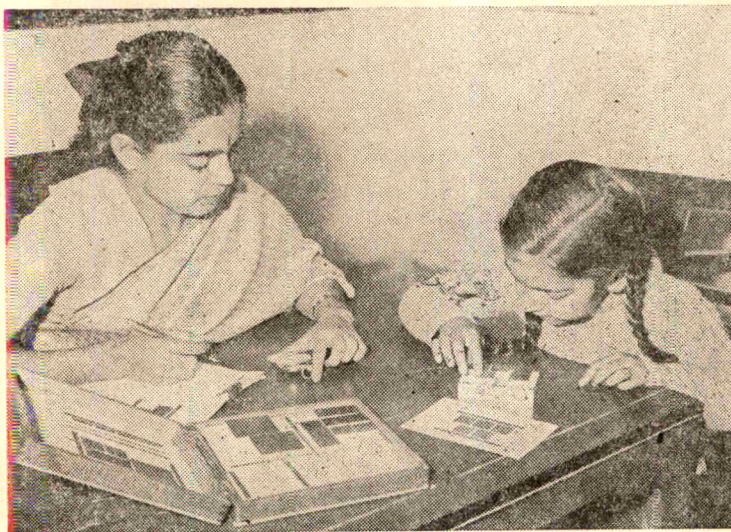


A woman social worker is helping children play on a rocking plank at a village recreation centre in the Punjab



The children in foreground of their school in the Bilara Community Development Block in Rajasthan

Child welfare programmes have been accorded their rightful place in the Five-Year Plan. This was inevitable because to be socially useful the child welfare programmes have to be Plan. Bal Bhavans are being established to serve as multi-purpose education-cum-recreation centres aiming at widening the scope of education through modern audio-visual techniques.



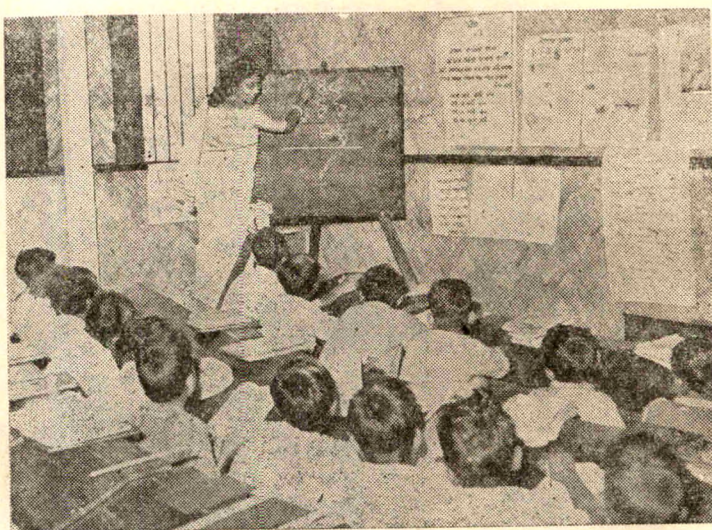
A child taking a psychological test at the child guidance clinic at the Nursing College, New Delhi

Central Social Welfare Board

Central Social Welfare Board, set up in 1953, made it possible to provide child welfare services on an organised, planned basis and on an extensive scale. The Board has set up welfare extension projects in the rural areas in which welfare work for children constitutes an important item of programme. It gives grants to voluntary welfare institutions engaged in child welfare work. It also formulates and assists other schemes in which child welfare work forms an important aspect of the programme and which are to be implemented through voluntary agencies.

regarded as an integral part of the entire social reconstruction programme. Work in this field cannot be limited to any particular class or community nor can it be concentrated in particular areas.

In all welfare States, the initial responsibility for child welfare rests entirely with Government. In India, however, much work is being done by voluntary organisations. Both, Governmental and non-Governmental efforts are directed towards the betterment of the health and education of the children—protecting them from diseases like malaria and small-pox, and providing free distribution of milk, mid-day meals and recreation facilities.



A children's class in progress at a refugee un-attached women's vocational centre at Agartala in Tripura State

The Government are trying to implement their decision to introduce universal, free and compulsory primary education for all children of the age group 6-11 by the end of the Third Among the schemes for which the Board gives grants, mention may be made of after-care homes, creches for the children of working mothers in industrial areas, nursery schools for

children, education and upbringing of orphans, construction and maintenance of parks and playgrounds, children's libraries, homes for the physically handicapped children and holiday homes in various hill stations for children.

A leading voluntary organisation in the field of child welfare is the Indian Council for Child Welfare, which was established in 1952. It has now set up State Councils in almost all the States and Union Territories. These Councils are independent units having their own constitutions, elected committees, finance and district branches.

A significant step is the setting up of a Children's Bureau by the Indian Council for Child Welfare. It serves as the national clearing house of information exchange in all aspects of the theory and practice of child welfare work in India and abroad. Statistics, information on institutions for children, services for children in different parts of the country, laws relating to children, blue-prints on how to set up recreational centres and specific studies and research projects form part of the work undertaken by the Bureau.—*PIB*.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY'S ASIAN STUDIES PROGRAM

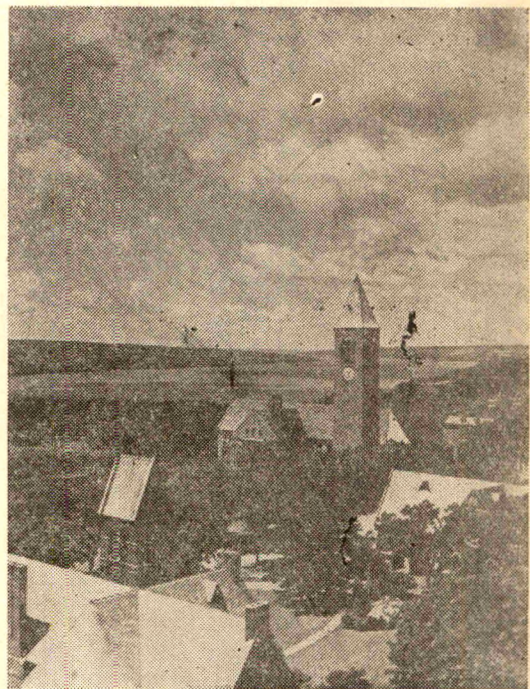
In the Department of Far Eastern Studies, undergraduate students can make that area their major study, with emphasis on the area and the language of India, China, or any one of the countries of South-east Asia.

The three graduate programs, on India, China, or South-east Asia, have one characteristic in common—they offer co-ordinated area study. A specialized knowledge of a number of academic disciplines, such as anthropology, literature or history, is focused on the peoples and cultures of the particular area. The student does his major work on the academic discipline of his choice and elects as a minor field the area study of India, China or South-east Asia.

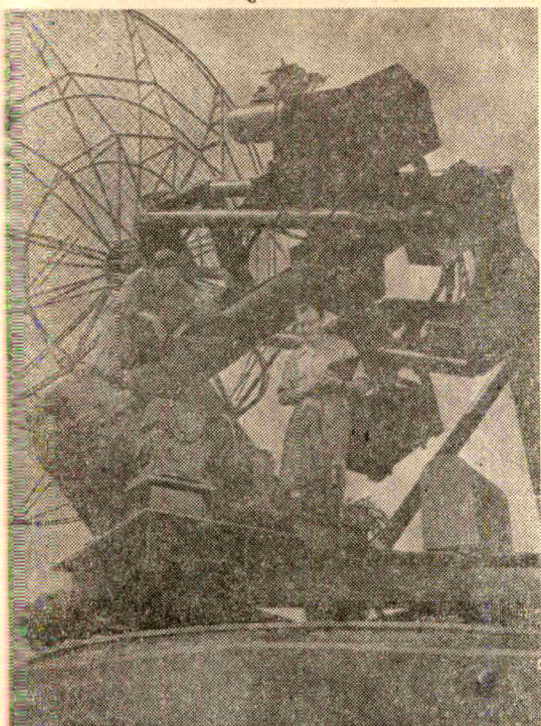
In addition to requirements on study of the Asian area in general, a candidate for the doctor of philosophy degree must be able to carry on research in the Asian language of his specialty, whether it is Chinese, an important language of India, or one of the major South-east Asia languages. Candidates in the South-east Asia Program also must gain a specialized knowledge of one country and a reading knowledge of a major Asian language.

The Asian Program offers a variety of research activities on the campus and opportu-

nities for "field research" in the country under study.



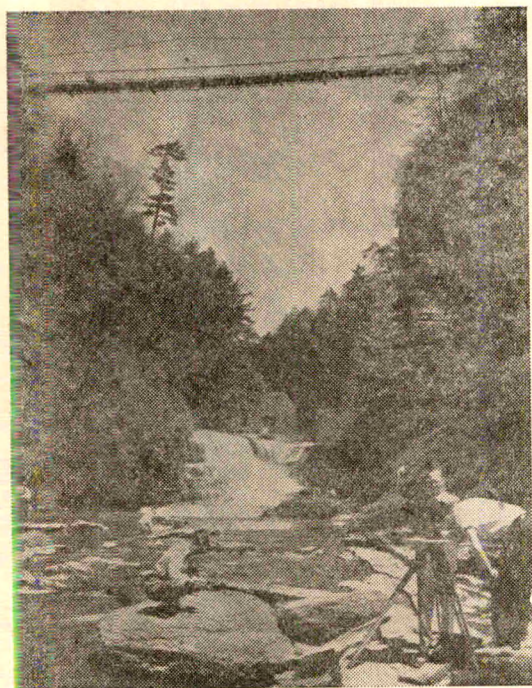
The Library Clock Tower can be seen for miles across the lake and through the surrounding valleys



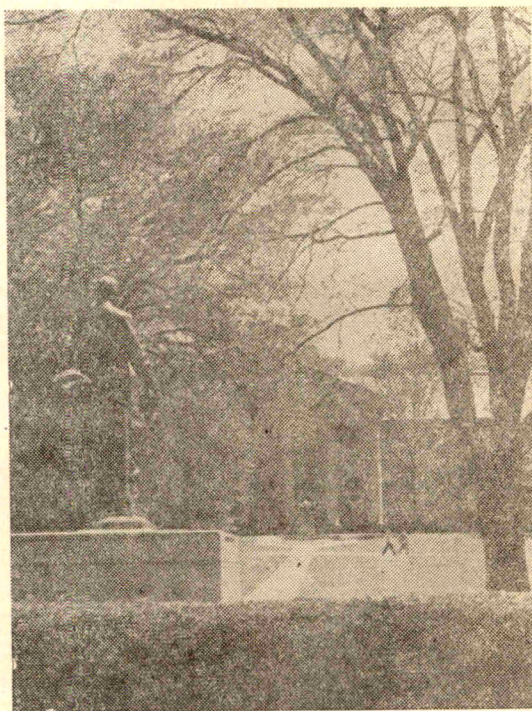
Students work on the giant radio-telescope for the study of radio signals originating in outer space



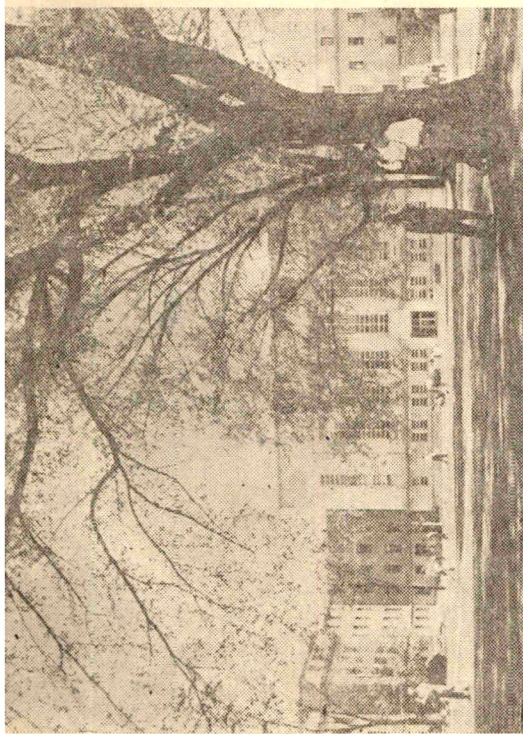
Students of different nationalities make a test on plants in the Department of Floriculture Greenhouse at Cornell University



A group of geology students and their instructor conduct an exploration in Fall Creek Gorge



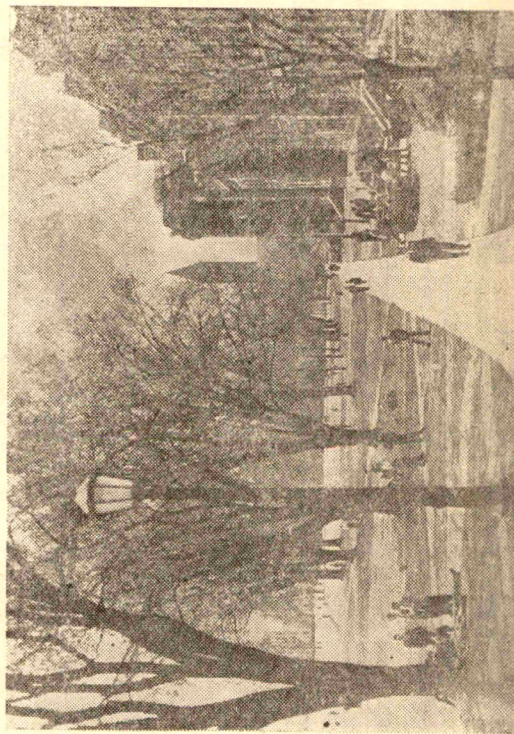
Statues of the Cornell University's founder, Ezra Cornell and the first President, Andrew Dickson White, face each other



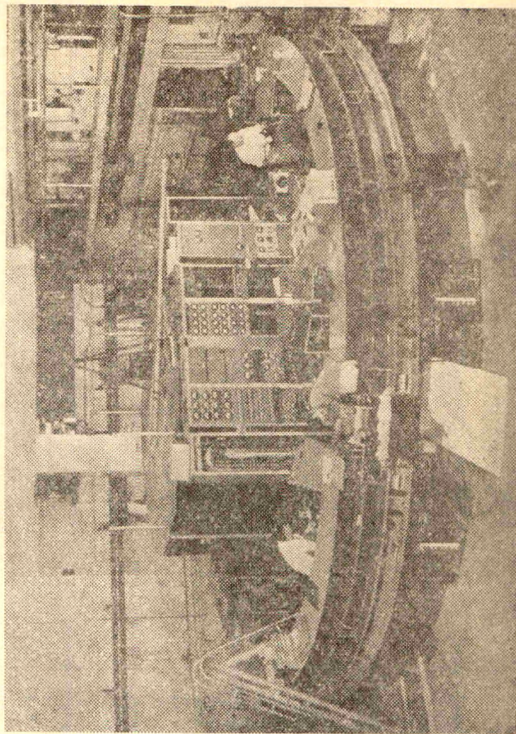
Cornell University's Mann Library for the Colleges
of Agriculture and Home Economics



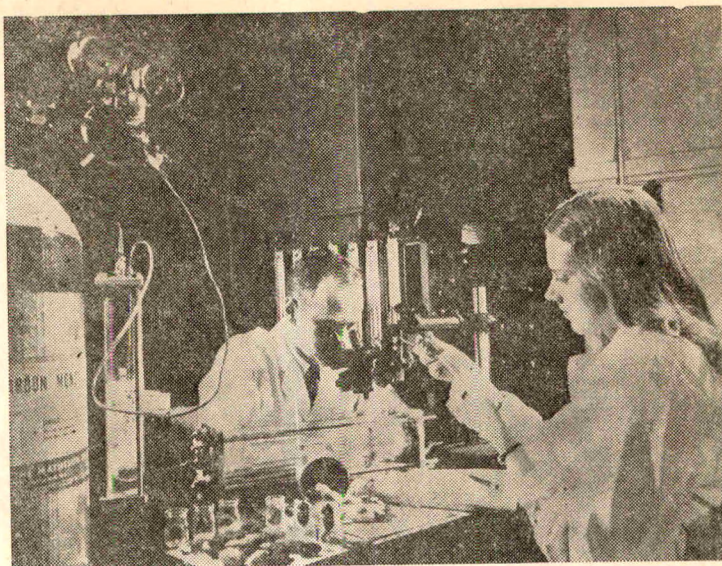
Eight post-graduate students are selected to plan a
redevelopment for the city of Gary, Indiana



A campus view of Cornell University in Ithaca,
New York



Engineering students is working on the powerful
research tools, new synchrotron



Two Cornell students study the effects of carbon monoxide on the growth of silkworms

At least one number of the Cornell staff is from Asian countries, from several faculty in India each year to guide students conducting members who were born in Asia, and from the field research there, and the staffs of Indian thirty or forty visiting faculty members from universities and research agencies aid the Cornell Asia at Cornell each year.

Cornell students working in the South-east Asian countries, whether on a particular country or on Chinese civilization, receive help from the University staff at the Cornell Research Center, established in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1951.

Students remaining on the Cornell campus have guidance from the many visiting students

Cornell's library resources on Asia are outstanding. The Wason Collection includes one of the largest existing holdings of books and periodicals on China written in English or European languages, and some 50,000 volumes in Chinese. There is an excellent collection on India, and comprehensive materials on every South-east Asian country.—USIS.



TO JAVA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.,
Gadjah Mada State University, Indonesia

September 9, 1959. I sailed for Singapore enroute to Djakarta, the capital of the Indonesian Republic. My final destination was Jogjakarta (Ayodhya) in Central Java. Jogjakarta along with Solo (Surakarta) constitutes the cultural heart of Java.

The tiny motor vessel Siao—a 2,200-ton cargo boat of the Dutch K.P.M. line—weighed anchor at day-break from the Outram Ghat, Calcutta. The Siao has accommodation for 12 first class passengers and carried four passengers on this trip. My wife, daughter, myself and a young Tamil-Malayan student were the only passengers on board.

Two officials of the Sea Customs Department took leave after wishing bon voyage. The ship moved to the south. The Ganga became wider and wider. Calcutta receded farther and farther till it went below the horizon at last. At sundown we reached the estuary of the Bhagirathi, the point at which she enters the sea. The coast-lines of the river still dimly visible went out of sight before long. A sense of loneliness and helplessness overwhelmed me. The fast-approaching night and the prospect of floating on endless waters for days ahead had a depressing effect on me. Man was created to live on land, not on water. High waves lashed the flanks of the Siao. She trembled, rolled and rocked. My wife and daughter had their first attack of sea-sickness. Our fellow-passenger Pooneah too was down.

We encountered a rough sea for the two days following. The sea calmed down on the third. Those afflicted with sea-sickness came round. The 'sickness' had, however, left its marks—sunken eyes with black patches beneath—on all its victims. At about eight in the evening we saw a light-house far away to our left. The Burma coast obviously could not be very far. The following morning the sea was as placid as

a river in the winter. The colour of the water had changed overnight from dark blue into light green. The sky was overcast with clouds. A faint glimpse of the Burmese coast came in view.

Our ship cast anchor at Rangoon shortly after mid-day. Health certificates and passports were examined by Burmese Government officials. Some police officials came aboard. Police officials everywhere seem to be rough and impolite in their dealings with others. The fault is perhaps not so much theirs as of their profession. Hunting crimes and criminals deaden their natural human qualities.

September is Burma's wettest month and it rained incessantly during the period of our stay—five days—in Rangoon. We had a mind of going ashore. But the idea had to be abandoned and we spent long hours everyday looking at the Irawaddy and the country-boats (*sampans*), sea-going vessels, small steamers and launches moving up and down the river. Everyday the Irawaddy awoke to life long before day-break when the whole world slept. Crafts—large, small and medium-sized—of all types began to move up and down and to cross and recross the river. Some were very fast, some very slow. They danced with waves. The boatmen plying the country-boats are almost all of them Mohammedans from Chittagong in East Pakistan. They take to water as naturally and with as much ease as the duckling. Each plies two oars and controls the rudder with a leg.

Man is perhaps fundamentally good and helpful to fellow-beings. Environments made him otherwise. I have, I think, quite good reasons in support of this opinion. At Rangoon I needed some local postage for letters I wanted to send home. But I had no Burmese currency (Kyat). I talked of my difficulty to Mr. Alfred Degois of the

Burmese Excise Service. He got the necessary postage for me. I offered to pay him in Indian currency. Repeated requests notwithstanding, he refused to accept any payment.

My daughter had a slight rise of temperature and the ship had no doctor. I consulted the Captain as to what to do. He at once called the Chief Officer of the ship and instructed him to send some medicine from the ship's stock which was meant exclusively for the ship's crew and officers. The Captain assured me at the same time that if the medicine did not produce the desired effect, a doctor would be called. It is certainly the Captain's duty to look to the comfort and well-being of the passengers aboard. How few, alas, do their duties without a demur!

One day during our stay at Rangoon I went after break to the Captain's Cabin on the top deck. He took me to the Map Room and showed me the route we had followed from Calcutta to Rangoon and also the route we would follow from Rangoon to Singapore. Rangoon is 810 knots (1 nautical mile or knot=6080 ft.) from Calcutta. Rangoon to Penang is 770 knots and Singapore 1150 knots from Penang. The Siao runs on diesel oil and can make a maximum of 12-13 knots per hour. Sailors in general have a bad reputation. But Captain Groenhof—the Captain of the Siao—is quite unlike average sailors. He is fond of reading, loves books and is well-informed.

The Siao weighed anchor at about 1-30 P.M. on September 17 and made for Penang. The Burmese flag that had been flying on the main mast of the vessel during her stay in Rangoon was taken down. By evening we were again in the Sea. The dinner was served at 7 and I went to bed rather early. After a good sleep I awoke at 5 in the morning and went to the ship's lounge. But for patches of light cloud here and there, the sky was clear. Light clouds were veiling the moon again and again. She was coming out again and again. The moon and the clouds seemed to be playing a game of hide and seek. Whenever the veil of cloud was lifted, moonlight

sparkled like molten silver on the placid sea. It quaked and quivered.

September 19. The Sea was in an ugly mood. The frightened sky had put on a veil of thick cloud. High waves lashed the ship. She rolled and so did the handful of human beings aboard. The sky cleared up after a fairly heavy shower. Following an alarm signal from the lower deck at about 11 in the morning, the ship's crew began to move up and down in an apparently excited mood. We had a real fight. Normalcy, was, however, restored before long and we learnt that it was a false alarm to keep the crew fit and to test its efficiency. For about two hours after the lunch the sea was very rough. A strong wind made the sea restive. It was pretty hot. The Equator, which passes through the island of Sumatra in Indonesia a little to the south of Singapore, was not very far.

September 20. The Penang coast was sighted at day-break. Penang, a tiny island of the Malayan coast, is in the Union of Malaya. With green trees fringing its coast on all sides, Penang looks like an emerald bower from the sea. The English occupied and colonised the island towards the close of the 18th Century. They built a port on the island and named it the Prince of Wales Island. The new name was, however, hardly used except in official maps and files. The old name Penang proved to be more popular. 'Penang' or 'Pinang' in Malayan means the betelnut. The island is known to the Malaysians as Pulo Penang (Pulo=Island) or the Betelnut Island as it closely resembles a betelnut in appearance. Penang is a cosmopolitan town with a population running into lacs and includes Chinese, Malaysians, Indians (mostly Tamils), English and Eurasians among its inhabitants. The Chinese, it may be noted, are more numerous than any other group.

The Siao cast anchor at Penang at about 9 A.M. Mr. Pooneah, the only fellow-passenger we had, got down at Penang. He would take train from here for his home in Perak. Our Ship weighed anchor at 3 in the afternoon and headed for Singapore. Penang on one side and Malaya proper on the other looked picturesque from the Sea.

But for mountains in the back-ground the landscape might remind one of Bengal. I was reminded again and again of the Poet's beautiful line "This land my eyes have liked" (*E desh legechche bhalo nayane*).

Thick masses of dark cloud enveloped the sky towards the evening. A strong wind began to blow. The sea, which seemed to have gone to sleep, woke up agitated, restless.

From September 21, i.e., the day before we reached Singapore, the ship's crew were busy most of the time dusting the carpets, scrubbing the decks and painting parts of the ship. We too began to pack up. Lots of boxes and bundles had to be opened to put back clothes and various other things in that had been brought out for use during the last two weeks. Truth to tell, my wife did practically everything. I was but a passive spectator like Brahman of the Vedantist conception.

September 22. The *Siaoe* was in anchor in the harbour of Singapore since early morning. Mr. P. S. Harahap of the Indonesian Consulate-General at Singapore met us on board the ship shortly after the breakfast. He took us to the Victoria Hotel on the Victoria Street where our accommodation had been booked beforehand. The Victoria Hotel is one of the largest and most respectable hotels of Singapore. All its rooms are air-conditioned. Each room has attached bath and toilet. Each has radio and telephone. The rent—18 dollars a day (1 Straits dollar=Rs. 1.62 approx.)—is quite moderate. The hotel, however has no catering arrangement. Lodgers make their own arrangements.

Singapore is a large city with more than a million people of all nations and countries. The Chinese far outnumber others. Business is mostly in Chinese hands. Singapore has been recently granted self-Government. The Chinese are in a majority in the legislature. The Prime Minister Mr. Lim Yew Hock is of Chinese origin.

Singapore has been a meeting ground of races and cultures for centuries. Many a nation has used it for 2,000 years as a foot-hold for commercial and colonial ex-

pansion. Hindu colonists from India showed the way. Towards the beginning of the Christian era, Hindu missionaries and Hindu traders would stop at Singapore on their way to Java, Cambodia and other places. The Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius sent a mission to China in the Second Century A.D. to open diplomatic relations with that country. The mission went by way of Singapore. So far as we know, no Eusopean had visited Singapore before this. Arabian and Persian sailors spread their influence farther afield in this region by way of Singapore. They were followed by adventurers and fortune-seekers from the West. An English adventurer Stamford Raffles laid the foundation of modern Singapore in 1819.

Singapore was originally known as Tumsik. According to some, Javanese colonists founded Singapore in the 13th or 14th Century when the Majapahit Hindu Emperors ruled in Java. Some says that Singapore is a compound word of Malayan origin—"Singga" (To stay)+ "Pora pora" (To pretend). Javanese colonists on their way to Malacca are said to have broken journey at Singapore before they proceeded farther to the north (See "Bharat-O-Indo-Cheen" by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchee, pp. 5-7). Singapore itself is, however, much older than the 13th or 14th Century. A fourth Century stone-inscription discovered at Singapore proves that the Hindu colonisation of Singapore had started long before the 13th Century. It was from here that the Hindu colonisation of South-East Asia began, probably in the 1st Century of the Christian era. Modern Singapore has a sizeable Indian community. Most of them are from Sind, Southern India and the Punjab. There are a handful of Bengalis too. They number about 50 and are, almost all of them, doctors or lawyers. The Ramakrishna Mission is one of the most remarkable organisations of Singapore. Founded in 1928, the Mission has been carrying on educational and humanitarian work among the local population for more than 30 years. Three schools—the Vivekananda Tamil School for boys, the Sarada Devi Tamil School for girls and a night

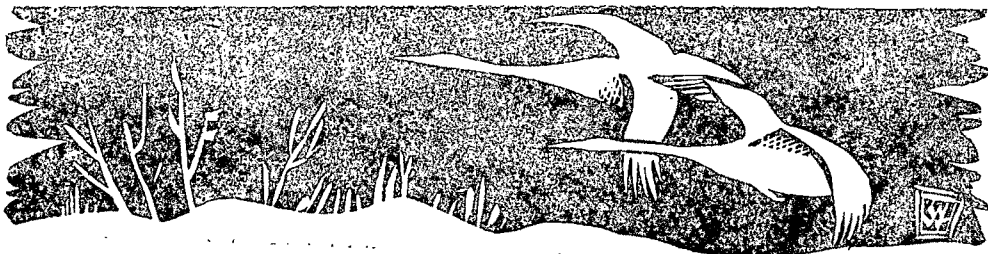
school for adults—are run by it. The Mission's library has about 5,000 Volumes in various languages. The attached Reading Room receives quite a few dailies and periodicals and is quite popular. The Boys' Home of the Mission was started during World War II in 1940 primarily to take care of war-waifs. It has 50 inmates at present. Their maintenance and educational expenses are all borne by the Mission. The Home is absolutely non-communal and non-sectarian in character and its doors are open to orphans and indigent boys of all communities and castes. We actually saw Indian Sikh and Malayan Muslim orphans being brought up and educated by the Home. They seemed to be no less happy than the other inmates. Swami Srikananda and Brahmachari Gour Chaitanya were in charge of the Ramakrishna Mission and the allied institutions in September, 1959.

Singapore is a glamorous modern city. It is a popular tourist resort and attracts thousands of tourists. Vices flourish almost inevitably. Within easy reach of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean and situated in the very heart of South-East Asia Singapore is a vital life-line of world commerce and is destined to play an important role in future global conflicts. Endless convoys of shining motor cars run up and down the streets from the small hours of the morning till late at night. The clean roads and the orderly crowds of pedestrians strike the Indian visitor as something quite extraordinary. Motor cars, taxi-cabs, buses, trolley-buses, tram cars, cycles and trishaws (a version of cycle-rickshaws so well-known in India) provide the means of transport. We saw no horse-carriage, nor any bullock or buffalo cart in Singapore. Judged by

Indian standards, the standard of living is quite high. Necessaries of life are more expensive than they are in India.

We left Singapore on September 26 by the S. S. Darvel of the Straits Steamship Company. We almost missed the bond. Thanks to the Indonesian Consulate-General at Singapore and the local agents of the Straits Steamship Company! We got on board literally at the last moment and the ship was under way before we had settled down in our cabins. The Darvel reached Tanjong Perak (Port of Djakarta) shortly after night-fall on September 28. We disembarked between 10 and 11 A.M. on the following day. A representative of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture received us and took charge of the luggage. Mr. Pritam Singh, a well-to-do business man of Djakarta took us to his house. The luggage was taken to the guest-house of the Education Ministry (Asrama Grafika P. P. and K.). Mr. Pritam Singh was our host during our stay of nearly two weeks at Djakarta. He and his family took every care of us and did not let us feel that we were in a foreign land more than 2,000 miles away from home. Mr. Singh was an important worker of the I. N. A. movement and almost worships Netajee Bose. He is the finest Indian I have so far met in Indonesia.

We left Djakarta by the Djakarta--Surabaya Express Train at 6 A.M. on October 10 and reached Jogjakarta a little before 5 P.M. the same evening. We were received at the Station by a representative of Jogjakarta Indian Association and two representatives of the Gadjah Mada State University where I am posted.



THE FRENCH EXECUTIVE UNDER THE FIFTH RÉPUBLIQUE

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The recent assumption of special powers by the French Government has made it clear that the position of the French executive is no longer pitiable. France today has a very strong executive. Gone are the days when it could be said that the President of France neither reigned nor governed. The President under the Fifth Republic is much more powerful than his predecessors under the Fourth and even the Third Republic. In fact, for a long time, there have been repeated attempts for installing a strong executive in France. That was the reason behind the election of Louis Napoleon as President in 1848, his coup d'état in 1851 and his successful establishment of the Second Empire in 1852. The Boulanger plot is another example. The same urge was behind the installation of the peculiar system of *droit administratif* under which the administrative branch of the government is freed from the jurisdiction of ordinary courts and left the sole judge of its own actions. The Constitution offered to the nation by the first National Constituent Assembly in 1946, however, tried to place the executive in a decidedly inferior position in comparison with Parliament—the Presidency had barely survived at all. But that Constitution was rejected. The Constitution drafted by the Second Constituent Assembly made for a stronger executive. The President was still weak, probably weaker than under the Third Republic. But the Prime Minister was placed in a pivotal position. And this Constitution was adopted in 1946. But the fight for a truly strong executive was not yet abandoned. After resigning the premiership in January, 1946, General de Gaulle campaigned vigorously for a constitution characterised by a strong executive. It was with this aim that he initiated the movement known as the "Rally of the French People" in 1947. This campaign was taken up recently by the Gaullist Party, Union Pour la Nouvelle République, and it stated specifically that the aim of the Party is to "unite the French nation in a republican framework round General de Gaulle." In his first radio and television broadcast as the Prime Minister on June 13, 1958, General de Gaulle outlined his Government's task as to drawing up constitutional reforms which would give the Republic "political institutions strong, stable and effective enough to enable us to realize our destiny." That he was thinking mainly in terms of a strong executive was subsequently made clear when the new Constitution was published.¹ In order to realize the true position of this executive it may be studied under the following heads: (1) The President, (2) The President and his Cabinet, (3) The Executive and Parliament.

The President

The President of France is the supreme executive head. He is entrusted with the job of ensuring respect for the Constitution, national independence, integrity of territory and regular functioning of the public powers. He makes all civil and military state appointments, accredits ambassadors and envoys to foreign countries, accepts the credential from foreign envoys, acts as the commander of the armed forces and presides over the higher councils and committees of national defence.² He negotiates and ratifies treaties.³ All these powers,

1. The new Constitution was drawn up by a Consultative Committee which submitted its report to the Government on 14th August, 1958. The text of the draft Constitution was published on September 4, 1958.

2. Articles 5, 13, 14, and 15 of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic of France, 1958.

3. Article 52.

popularly known as "executive powers" are usually enjoyed by heads of States in different countries. But when it comes to legislative powers it is often felt that the executive head should not be given much of it. If the doctrine of Separation of Powers were applied strictly it would leave him with the minimum of legislative functions. But though the new Constitution of France is said to be based on "a separation of executive and legislative powers"⁴ the President has been invested with wide legislative functions.

He promulgates the laws within fifteen days from the date the finally adopted law has been transmitted to the government. Within this time-limit he may ask, or perhaps it is more appropriate to say that he may command, Parliament for a reconsideration of the law. This request may not be refused.⁵

He may communicate with the two Assemblies of Parliament by means of messages which he shall cause to be read. The Parliament may be specially convened for this purpose.⁶ In itself this method of communication does not indicate any real power. The Queen of Great Britain sends messages to Parliament. So does the President of India. But in Britain and in India, as under any parliamentary form of government, the nominal head serves only as the mouthpiece of the cabinet, and these messages are nothing but cabinet-statements. What sets the French President apart in this matter is the fact that he himself wields the real power. The Queen of Britain or the President of India would never dream of sending a message that has not been prepared by the cabinet. But the Constitution of France specially mentions that these messages are not to be countersigned by the Prime Minister⁷ and consequently need not be approved by the

cabinet. It is not a case of the cabinet communicating with Parliament through the President but a case of the President himself communicating directly. The second significant point is that these messages cannot be debated by Parliament. In a truly democratic State, the messages of the supreme executive should be debated by Parliament, because Parliament is composed of the representatives of the people and the people can use its sovereignty through its representatives.⁸ But though the national sovereignty in France (under Article 3 of the Constitution) resides in the people, the representatives of the people can but listen in silence to the messages of the head of the executive.

The subordinate position of Parliament in relation to the President is once again emphasised by the President's power to submit bills to a national referendum. He may so submit bills dealing with the organisation of the public powers, entailing approval of a Community agreement, or providing for authorization to ratify a treaty that might affect the functioning of the institutions.⁹ It is true that Parliament itself may request the President to arrange for such a referendum. But the President may also do so merely on the proposal of the government, even without consulting Parliament. And this power also is used by the President himself and not by the cabinet.¹⁰

The President of France has also been empowered to dissolve the National Assembly.¹¹ This is a powerful weapon in the hands of the President because the

8. When the President of India addresses Parliament his address is debated. When he sends messages under Article 86(2) of the Constitution of India, the Speaker "shall read the message to the House and give necessary directions in regard to the procedure that shall be followed for the consideration of matters referred to in the message." (Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, India, 1957, Rule 23.)

9. Article 11, French Constitution, 1958.

10. Article 19.

11. Article 12.

4. Constitutional Reform Act, June 3, 1953. General de Gaulle had mentioned earlier in his investiture speech on June 1, that such a separation was one of the aims of his government.

5. Article 10, French Constitution, 1953.

6. Article 18.

7. Article 19.

National Assembly is always under the threat of dissolution if it fails to see eye to eye with the President. Generally this power belongs to the executive under the Parliamentary form of Government only and is used solely on the advice of the cabinet. But not so in France. It is true that the President has to consult the Premier and the Presidents of the Assemblies before dissolving the National Assembly. But the Constitution again states specifically that the decision in this matter is not to be countersigned by the Premier and thereby places it outside ministerial jurisdiction. In this the French President is more powerful than the Queen of Britain, the President of India and even the President of America. (The American President has absolutely no power regarding the dissolution of the Congress.)

While it is true that the executive head should not wield much of legislative functions, it is even more true as regards his judicial functions. Generally the judicial power of the executive head begins and ends with the right of granting pardon, for it is an age-long stipulation that the judiciary must be separate from and independent of the executive. Without that there can be no liberty for the individual. The Constitution of France still begins with the call of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."¹² It is also supposed to be based on the principle of independence of the judiciary.¹³ But the President of France enjoys not only the right of pardon but also the unheard of privilege of presiding over the High Council of Judiciary¹⁴ which is the supreme body of judicial authority in the state. Under the Fourth Republic also the President had enjoyed this position. But in those days the Council had consisted mainly of elected members. Now, under the Fifth Republic, it is wholly a nominated body. Besides the President, the Minister of Justice is there as the Vice-President, and there are nine members appointed by the President.

12. Article 2.

13. Constitutional Reform Act, June, 1958.

14. Article 65, French Constitution, 1958.

But all these powers, however important they may appear, pale into insignificance when we come to Article 16 which invests the President with special powers. The President is empowered to take any "measures required by the circumstances when the institution of the Republic, the independence of the nation, the integrity of its territory or the fulfilment of its international commitments are threatened and the regular functioning of the constitutional public powers is interrupted." And the President is the supreme judge of the fact whether the necessity for the assumption of these powers has arisen or not. We should bear in mind that even the Consultative Committee set up by the French Government for drawing up the Constitution had not been quite happy about such wide discretionary powers. General de Gaulle himself had to appear before the Committee to answer the objections raised. He insisted on these special powers on the ground that "the events of the past 30 years and the difficulties facing all nations today"¹⁵ made them imperative. He held that it was impossible to "imagine a modern constitution omitting this rare but essential responsibility." This power is indeed rare. Whether it is essential is, of course, a matter of discussion. In England the executive has no emergency powers except under parliamentary authority. In India the President has been given extensive emergency power.¹⁶ And this is the point on which the constitution of India has been criticised most vehemently. Such special powers naturally remind one of Article 48 of Weimar Constitution: "The Reich President may, if the public safety and order in the German Reich are considerably disturbed or endangered, take such measures as are necessary to restore public safety and order."¹⁷ This was the embodi-

15. General de Gaulle's speech before the Consultative Committee on August 8, 1958.

16. Articles 352-360, Constitution of India, 1950.

17. From the translation of the Constitution by M. Wolff appended to H. Kraus: "The Crisis of German Democracy."

ment of what has been aptly called "Constitutional dictatorship." The Reich President could resort to these emergency powers regardless of whether the Reichstag was in session or not. So can the French President. The Reich President was under the obligation to inform the Reichstag without delay of the measures taken. The French President is under no such restriction. It is enough for him to inform the nation in a message. Each and every decree of the Reich President, that means the decree of the assumption of special powers as well, had to be countersigned by the Chancellor or the competent minister. But the French President is specifically freed from this restriction in the matter of emergency powers. He has only to consult the Premier, the Presidents of the Assemblies and the Constitutional Council. But he need not necessarily accept their advice. Once the consultation is over he is free to do whatever he likes. Such a situation naturally gives rise to questionings and misgivings. It is impossible for the man in the street to enjoy liberty or equality or fraternity if the President can, at his sweet will, take whatever measures he likes. The concept of emergency powers in the hands of the executive in peace-time runs contrary to all fundamental maxims of liberty and democracy. And if the Reich Executive, in spite of certain restrictions, could use the special powers in such a way that led to dictatorship and the rise of Hitler, the unrestricted powers in the hands of the French President may very well lead to something equally terrible.

The President and his Cabinet

The possibility of the French President acting as a dictator becomes all the more obvious if the position of the cabinet is taken into account. An executive head may be invested with all the power in the world and yet he may remain a mere cipher. The Queen of Britain and the President of India are the best examples. Under the parliamentary form of government the power nominally enjoyed by the supreme executive is in fact wielded by the cabinet

which is responsible to and removable by Parliament. The supreme executive serves more or less an ornamental purpose. Under the Fourth Republic also, the President was the figurehead and it was the cabinet that really ruled. But now it is the other way round. The French President wields the real power and his cabinet acts merely as a body of advisers. An attempt has, of course, been made to place the President under apparent ministerial supervision by stating that the acts of the President of the Republic shall be countersigned by the Premier and should circumstances so require by the appropriate ministers (Article 19). But the same article states that the acts of the President under Articles 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 54 and 56 are not to be countersigned. That means, among other things, the submission of a bill to referendum, the dissolution of the National Assembly, the adoption of emergency measures, the communication of messages to Parliament and the composition of the Constitutional Council are outside the sphere of ministerial responsibility. So ministerial restrictions are applicable merely in minor matters. In the more important issues the President is free to act as he pleases.

Even in the minor matters the cabinet cannot decide by itself. The meetings of the cabinet are presided over not by the Premier but by the President. Thus the President takes over the leadership of the cabinet. In England, the Queen cannot even attend the cabinet meetings. In India, the same practice prevails. And that is the natural procedure under a parliamentary form of government.

But, perhaps, it would not be wrong to say that the French system is neither parliamentary nor presidential. If it were parliamentary the cabinet would have been the real ruler and the members of the cabinet would have been members of Parliament. In France, as we have seen, the real power is wielded by the President. Moreover, the cabinet members cannot remain members of Parliament. Once they join the government they have to resign

from Parliament.¹⁸ It is, of course, natural that under a Constitution aiming at "the separation of executive and legislative powers" the parliamentary system has not been adopted. Nor has the presidential system been installed in France. Under the presidential form the cabinet would have had nothing to do with the legislature. In France, however, the Government "shall be responsible to Parliament" (Article 21). And the Council of Ministers is removable by the National Assembly on a motion of censure.

It may be argued that the French system has been built on the Swiss model. In Switzerland also the Federal Executive which is known as the Federal Council is not a cabinet in the strict sense of the term. It is elected by the Federal Assembly and the members of the Council participate in the meetings of the Assembly. But the members of the Council cannot remain members of the Assembly. They have to resign from the Assembly. And the meetings of the Federal Council is also presided over by the President. The analogy, however, would be fallacious. The Federal Council is not removable by the Assembly, nor can it dissolve the Assembly. In France, as we have already seen, the cabinet is removable by Parliament and the National Assembly may be dissolved by the President. As to the position of the President in relation to the cabinet the picture in France is completely different from that in Switzerland. In Switzerland, the executive is collegial and the President is a member of that council, elected just for one year to head the Council. He is elected by Parliament. But, in France, the President is elected by an electoral college and that for a term of seven years. He is not a part of the cabinet, he controls it. The French Constitution, in fact, does not aim at the executive and the legislature working side by side in harmony and equality. It aims at building up everything around the central figure of the President.

The Executive and Parliament

While the President is stronger than

the cabinet, the government, as a whole, is much stronger than Parliament. Parliament is ordinarily invested with the power of making laws. But "the government may, in order to carry out its programme, ask Parliament for authorisation to take, through ordinances, during a limited period, measures that are normally within the domain of law." (Article 38). It was by means of this that the French Government assumed special powers for one year recently.¹⁹

But even when such powers have not been assumed by the government, even in ordinary times, the government has the upper hand. The discussion of the bills filed or agreed upon by the government has priority on the agenda of the Assemblies in the order determined by the government.²⁰ Moreover, a supervisory body, known as the Constitutional Council has been installed over Parliament. All organic laws and regulations of the parliamentary assemblies, before their promulgation, have to be submitted to the Constitutional Council which shall give its ruling on their constitutionality.²¹ Other laws may also be submitted, before their promulgation, by the President of the Republic or the Premier or the President of the one or the other Assembly. A provision declared to be unconstitutional cannot be promulgated. The decisions of the Constitutional Council are not subject to appeal to any jurisdiction whatsoever.²² And the composition of

19. Act granting special powers, February, 1960:

Section 1: The Government is authorised to take by decree in the conditions provided for in Art. 38 of the Constitution measures necessary to ensure the maintenance of order, the safeguarding of the State, the pacification and administration of Algeria.

Section 2: The authorisation provided for in the preceding section is valid for the period of one year from the day of the promulgation of the present law.

20. Article 48, French Constitution, 1958.

21. Article 61.

22. Article 62.

18. Article 23, French Constitution, 1958.

this Council reveals quite clearly that this body, if not a part of the executive, is its accessory. It has nine members, three of whom are appointed by the President of the Republic. The President of the Council is also appointed by him. In addition to the nine members, all former Presidents of the Republic shall be ex-officio members for the life of the Council.²³

Thus Parliament remains a body for deliberation, with the controlling power in the hands of the executive and its nominees.

Legal Dictatorship

The constitutional pattern in which the executive, specially the President, emerges as the leading force is disturbing many democratic-minded Frenchmen. The "Mendesian Radicals," the Communists, the Poujadists, the Union des Forces Democratique and a minority of Socialists opposed the Constitution at the very beginning. M. Merdes-France, leader of the non-Communist campaign against the new Constitution told a press conference on September 5, 1958 that the President would have almost sovereign powers under the new Constitution and could promulgate a "legal dictatorship" in an emergency. His fears were echoed by M. Edouard Depreaux, Socialist deputy for a Paris Constituency in the last Parliament of the Fourth Republic, when he spoke at the Socialist Party's Congress at Issy-les-Moulineaux in September, 1958. He said that the Constitution was likely to lead to a dictatorship, a "neo-Boulangierism."

The working of the Constitution seems to have confirmed their fears. Because, even those who supported the Constitution at the beginning and are still supporting the Government have been forced to criticise the concentration of powers in the hands of the executive. The Radical Party and the Socialist Party supported not only the new Constitution but also the Special Powers Bill.²⁴ Yet at its Congress at Pau on June

13-15, 1959, the Radical Party adopted a resolution on "the Defence of Democracy" which denounced the "growing influence of a technocracy which despises the judgment of universal suffrage." The same resolution referred to a dispute over the parliamentary rules and stated that the Government had "interpreted the constitution in a way which amputates the constitutional rights of Parliament." At the annual congress of the Socialist Party (July, 1959), a resolution proposed by the Party-leadership opposed the Debre Government's interpretation of the Constitution.

It would be correct to say that though France now has a strong executive headed by an extremely strong President, forces aiming at bringing about a true balance of powers and the supremacy of the people's will are also at work. Which proves to be stronger yet remains to be seen.

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24. At the time of voting on the Special Powers Bill on February 3, 1960, the Radicals and the Socialists (except two Socialists) voted in favour of the Bill.



HAS THERE BEEN DECREASE OF POPULATION IN SOUTH EASTERN INDIA? MOST LIKELY YES

By J. M. DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (London).

1. King Kapilendra Deva (crowned in 1435, died in 1470), grandfather of Gajapati Prataprudra Deva of Orissa, who was a contemporary of Lord Gauranga, ruled over a vast empire from Triveni on the banks of the sacred Bhagirathi or the Ganges—the Hooghly of European cartographers to Trichinopoly on the Cauvery. Triveni is in the Hooghly district of West Bengal, and Trichinopoly in Madras. He is said to have ruled over 9 crores. (=90 millions) of human beings.

2. The late Rakhaldas Banerjea (the actual discoverer of Mohenjo Daro) in his *opus magnum* the **History of Orissa** says that "He (Kapilendra) succeeded in conquering the entire eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal from Hooghly in Bengal to Trichinopoly in Madras," and that one of the titles of the Emperor "**Nava-Koti-Karnata-Kalavarageswara**" (see Vol. I, pp. 304, 302). He goes on to say: "Kapilendra certainly possessed the right to call himself the master of ninety millions of people of Karnata, as he had conquered the eastern coast as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly." A sketch map of Kapilendra's empire is given at p. 296 of Vol. I of the **History of Orissa**.

3. The present (1931) population of his empire, we estimate thus:

We assume that he ruled over all the Oriya-speaking population, and all the Telegu speaking population and half of the Tamil speakers and two-thirds of the total population of the Burdwan Division of Bengal. The result is:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| All the Oriya speakers | 112 lakhs. |
| All the Telegu speakers | 264 " |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ of Tamil speakers | 102 " |
| $\frac{2}{3}$ of Burdwan Division | 57 " |

535 lakhs.

An estimate, if anything, errs on the side of including doubtful areas in Kapilendra's empire.

4. The increase of population of the several areas more or less corresponding to Kapilendra's Empire during the fifty years 1881-1931 is given below:

| Area | Pop., in 1931 in lakhs | Percentage of increase+, or decrease during 1881-1931 |
|--------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Burdwan Division | 86.5 | +16.9 |
| Orissa | 42.0 | +15.8 |
| Orissa States | 46.5 | +93.0 |
| Madras— | | |
| Agency | 1.7 | +33.6 |
| East Coast North | 121.7 | +38.5 |
| East Coast Central | 133.5 | +34.7 |
| East Coast South | 103.8 | +24.0 |
| Telingana | | |
| (Hyderabad State) | 75.5 | +69.4 |
| | 611.2 | +39.3 |

We have included Telingana, but surely Kapilendra did not rule over entire Telingana; there was the Bahamani Kingdom.

5. At this rate of increase, the population about 1480 would be 309.5 lakhs. Whatever the rate of increase, even if we assume it to be **zero**, which cannot be the case, the population of Kapilendra's time cannot exceed 61 millions. About 1881 the population would be about 44 millions.

6. Is Kapilendra's claim to have ruled over 90 millions a mere poetic exaggeration? Some inaccuracy in his figures is quite natural. The traditional method of estimating population in mediæval times was to get from each householder a **cowrie** marked with red vermilion mark; tie them up in bundles village by village; send them to a central place for being counted. After ascertaining the number of **cowries** to multiply it by a certain factor, the average number of persons per house.

As this average was found by enumerating persons per house round about the local capitals, where people live more huddled together than elsewhere, it introduces an error towards exaggeration. There is also sampling error.

The nomadic and the forest people possibly escaped enumeration, because they had no fixed homes or houses.

The demand of a **cowrie** from each household is an additional taxation. Its

amount may be guessed; in Bengal rice sold at 2 annas a maund about 1670. In Orissa and Madras, two centuries earlier it was perhaps cheaper. A *courie* is thus equivalent to a *seer* of rice. This the very poor may not have been able to pay or to collect. They may have pooled together several householders into one unit.

On the whole exaggeration and under-enumeration neutralised each other to some extent. But there is the tendency to under-enumeration.

7. We think his claim is not a mere poetic exaggeration. Had he claimed to be the over-lord of 10 crores or 10 lakhs, or 10 crores 10 lakhs we may have taken it to be a mere poetic way of saying a large number, *Nine* is not an auspicious number. So we are of opinion that there must be some justification for his claim in facts, however crudely arrived at.

3. On the other hand Moreland's estimate for the population of entire South India a century or so later is 30 millions. For the area under Kapilendra's Empire it would be something like half that figure.

Although Mr. Moreland's total for India is more or less vindicated the factual basis for his estimate for South India is very slender. The Census Commissioner of India for 1921 at p. 56 in a foot-note observes :

"Mr. Moreland estimates the population of India between Multan and Monghyr at something over 30 millions. His method of calculation for this tract (population=cultivated acres \times labour necessary to cultivate an acre) inspires more confidence than that for Southern India, for which the alleged size of armies—with a large discount for exaggeration—is the basis used. The *Seir-ul-Mutakhirin* and the works of Herodotus suggest that the alleged size of oriental armies cannot be used as evidence at all, because the unknown discount may be anything up to 95 per cent of the known allegation. An arguable co-efficient for the Xerxes Expeditionary Force, for instance, would be alleged thousands=actual hundreds. But

| | | |
|---|---|-------|
| 2 | 2 | would |
| be equally arguable. The numbers of a massed body can only be known by count- | | |

ing ocular estimates even when made by educated persons are, as is well known, of the wildest description."

9. Even if Kapilendra's claim is halved to 45 millions, it is strange that there would be no growth of population over so large an area for over four centuries. This is against all experience. So we are forced to conclude that there has been de-growth of population in this region since Kapilendra's time.

10. What the reasons for de-growth are have not been investigated. Too frequent wars and consequent devastation, slaughter on mass scale by the Muhammadan Sultans of the early days, the invasions of Orissa by Muhammadan rulers of Bengal and destruction and slaughter, the oppressive misrule of the Marathas for over fifty years in Orissa, too frequent devastating famines, floods and consequent changes in the river courses of the rivers, pestilence seem to be the cause. A list of famines in Madras is given below from Ramesh Dutt's "*Famines in India*," Chapter I:

1783—due to wars; 1792; 1807—"a severe and disolating famine"; 1823; 1833—"the northern districts of the Province suffered most from this famine specially the district of Guntur, in which the mortality was so great that this was known as Guntur famine. 'It was estimated that 200,000 persons died in Guntur out of a population of 500,000.' Groups of people died in the streets of Madras, numbers perished in Masulipatam; in Nellore 'the roads were strewn with dead bodies.'"; 1854—"a famine visited the northern part of the Madras Presidency * * * the census taken in 1856-57 showed that the growth of population had received a serious set-back"; 1866—**Orissa famine**—there was a famine in some parts of the Madras Presidency, death increased by 450,000; "one-third of the population of Orissa, or nearly a million persons died"; 1877—there were 5 million deaths.

Between 1872-1881 the population of the Madras Presidency showed a decline of 1.2 per cent.

There are very good evidences to show that the mouths of the several branches of the Mahanadi have choked within the last 500 years. The Chandrabhaga have become a dry bed of sand.

EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Dr. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

Education in Great Britain is an offshoot of the democratic life of the country; it owes its origin and growth to the care and protection of Parliament. There has always been a popular demand for a system of education in Britain capable of serving a classless democracy and of developing political consciousness and a spirit of independence in the individual adequate for firmly establishing such a democratic life. The country had the wisdom to realise in time that its future depends on school power as well as sea power, and that only trained and qualified men, whose minds have been unlocked by proper education, and not merely stored with uncorrelated knowledge, can help to maintain and improve the cultural standard of the British nation. The attitude of Britain towards education has been well-expressed by Sir Winston Churchill in the words, "I believe that if we are to survive and prosper as a nation it is going to be very important that we shall be a well-educated nation."

There are strong and concrete material considerations as well behind such an urge for education. A small island with a teeming population not capable of supporting itself from its own agricultural production, Great Britain needs the maximum possible supply of highly skilled workers and technologists from its secondary schools, technical colleges and Universities. The supply of scientists and technologists should be of such a quantity and calibre as is capable of exploring the industrial possibilities of nuclear energy, radio isotopes, ultrasonics electronics, etc., and also of exploiting fully the geographical position of the country at the hub of the air routes linking the greatest centres of world population.

The problems of education in Great Britain are perhaps no less numerous or formidable, than in any other country.

The school-going population of the country is $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions and the annual birth rate of about 800,000. Each individual in this vast army of students must be given the individual attention of trained teachers every day. Besides, the Education Act of 1944 has provided for (1) raising the school-leaving age to 15 years, (2) reducing the size of classes to a maximum of 30 for secondary schools and senior classes and 40 for primary schools and junior classes, and (3) eliminating unqualified teachers. Classes in primary and secondary schools should be of a proper size so that education, as distinct from formal instruction, becomes possible, and the teacher's job of catering for the intellectual, moral, social and physical development of every child becomes easier.

Work in this line was started even before the War and the Education Act. A total of 1,800 new primary and senior elementary schools and 120 secondary grammar schools were built and opened during 1926-1930, and the even better figure of 10,235 schools, representing just half the number then in existence in England and Wales, were enlarged, remodelled or improved. The total teaching force of the country has been raised by 70,000 in the course of eight years from 1945 to 1953, a prodigious feat by any standard and one without any parallel in British history. Various hurdles and impediments however are still standing in the way of a substantial realisation of the educational ideals of the country. The War has affected its national economy and constructive capacity in all their facets, and has thereby retarded educational progress by at least twenty years. The sudden and overwhelming increase in the birth rate during the postwar period, combined with a reduction in infant mortality rate is making havoc of educational planning in Great Britain. The educational administrator, no

matter whether he is calculating the needs for additional accommodation in schools or extra teachers and equipment, feels like a man trying to race up the down staircase of an escalator, or of Alice and the Red Queen who must run as fast as they can to remain in the same place, let alone make any progress.

The highlights of educational achievement in Britain during the last 50-55 years have been (1) the measures taken by the Ministry of Education and the Local Authorities to raise the number of teachers by attracting the best educational material available each year into the training colleges through salary and other inducements, and developing a sense of freedom in the mind of every teacher through encouragement and initiatives; (2) the linking of primary education with an expanding system of secondary education through the award of scholarships and fees; (3) the concurrent creation of alternatives to grammar school education through secondary technical schools and specialist courses at the top of secondary modern schools; (4) the policy of enlarging and elaborating the "educational plant" through construction of new buildings and supply of books, apparatus, lantern slides, and livestock, pets, clothing, apparatus for visual education, games and modern physical training, etc.; (5) the extra care taken by all Local Education Authorities in dealing with delicate, tubercular, crippled or mentally defective children, those handicapped by blindness or deafness, and also those unable to get the full benefit of school attendance for want of food, dress, etc., due to poverty; (6) the equal treatment of all schools, primary or secondary, by the Local Education Authorities and other school bodies.

Within and beyond the four walls of this "brick and mortar" picture the matter-of-fact achievements of the Education Department and the educational institutions of the country, are to be looked for,—achievements of 50-55 years distinctive and outstanding enough to be termed a "silent social revolution." A visitor, for example, who had inspected several schools in Britain in 1904-1905 would encounter many surpris-

ing changes and improvements in any school of today. He would, for instance, notice that (1) the classes are considerably smaller but the teachers are of better physical and intellectual stature; (2) there is hardly a pupil poorly clad or bare-footed or weak in health or intellect; the speech and appearance of the pupils have also improved; (3) every pupil in many class-rooms is occupied either in small groups or individually in some pursuit, and is often far too engrossed in his work to look up; (4) an engaging friendliness between the teacher and pupil has replaced the rather stiff formal relationship of the past. Our visitor would also observe to his surprise that there are more unoccupied class-rooms during school hours due to the fact that a far larger number of pupils than before are engaged in practical work, games and sports, visits to swimming baths, public libraries, docks, museums, etc., and even are away from school for a fortnight, enjoying a school camp in the country or travelling on the Continent in a school party. He would also come across classes engaged in a debate, rehearsing a play, watching an educational film, constructing a historical or geographical model, repairing a machine, assembling the parts of an instrument, or drinking their mid-morning milk. He would encounter the school orchestras at practice, work in progress in school workshops and gymnasias and vigorous games of football, net ball, etc., between teams clad in light dress who enjoy a shower bath after the game. He would also observe that, as a part of the social security programme, kitchens and dining rooms have been provided in the school for the pupils' daily dinner.

Achievements in the field of primary education have been no less spectacular or revolutionary. The British primary school is trying to synthesise all the results of recent research on the nature and growth of children into a properly conceived educational plan. It has, for example, been realised that childhood is a very important part of man's life and it is every child's birthright to get the right chances in the proper way and stage of

life for his mental and physical development. It is now well-known that children educate themselves and, as with students in general, knowledge is to be acquired and not given. It is the duty and responsibility of teachers, parents and guardians to help this process of self-development and divert it patiently and intelligently into the channel of the three "R's" of primary education. The present-day primary teacher no longer "tortures" pupils over grammar or the six-times table, for he has learnt that these lessons can wait, and if it is true that at some stage of his career a student has got to cut his teeth on hard subjects like grammar and arithmetic, it is equally true and human to see that his milk-teeth are not cut on these.

As a result of all these findings children now begin their geography lessons with excursions to the zoo and other places, history lessons with seeing an ancient monument, church or tower, and their arithmetic through the counting they do in connection with their games. They are given sufficient scope to be "busy little workmen in search of work to do," and thus learn manual dexterity. They are encouraged to find and collect things, by using their eyes. Infant and nursery schools nowadays provide young children with many pet animals to encourage their feeling of kinship with animals. Thus their world of make-believe recedes and they see and understand a bit more of the world around them. Soon after the first World War, Margaret McMillan and other nursery school pioneers established in an English setting and with an English twist, Madame Montessori's principle that the child will grow naturally and educate himself spontaneously impelled by forces within himself—if he is given an environment suitable for his developmental needs.

This break with past beliefs, however, is not very much to the liking of the grandparents of a child and they express their anxiety over the matter to their daughter or daughter-in-law (the child's mother) about Peter's poor progress in the eight-times table or spelling. Bewildered parents raise the issue in the next Parent Teacher Association and come back con-

vinced of the efficiency of the modern methods in general and about the poor progress of their child in particular.

Britain is almost the only country where all children are required to begin their schooldays at 5 years instead of 6, and also one of the very few countries where the birth of every child is recorded with great care. Ninety four per cent of the children here start their school life in a State Primary School at five or just before that age and the other 6 per cent find their way to preparatory schools of various kinds conducted by private individuals. In rare cases children are kept at home for a while if a parent can show that they are receiving an education from their mother, aunt or governess fully appropriate to their age. To deprive a fit and healthy child of his birthright of mixing with his fellows in the same age group in the hope of better training at home is a very questionable expedient in Britain.

Two and a half million students in Britain join the Technical Colleges and Universities after their secondary education. The Technical Colleges are run by the Local Education Authorities under the "Technological and Further Education" scheme and accommodate students in full-time day courses or on a part-time day or evening class basis. They train young men and women for the posts of Technical assistants, designers, draughtsmen, foremen, craftsmen, etc., and thus equip them more satisfactorily for life. The subjects taught and the special lines of study in these colleges are as varied as life itself. National Diploma, National Certificate and General Certificate courses exist for mining, metallurgy, engineering, agriculture, horticulture, poultry and dairying, bee-keeping, rearing of birds and animals, business administration, training in sea-going yachts, ship-building, millinery and dressmaking, cake-making and confectionery, knitting, ball-room dancing, etc. Study for a University degree through these technical colleges can also be arranged.

There are 25 Universities in Britain,—quite a large number for a population of 500 millions,—and most of them are only

next to Oxford and Cambridge in rank and standard. In the matter of the subject discussed, interest taken in the different branches of human activity and the high standard maintained in teaching and research, the Universities of Britain are unique indeed. The fact that only one student in 32 out of the school-going population wins through to the University shows the rigorousness and efforts of the education authorities to maintain standard and quality. Three-quarters of the University students are assisted by Scholarships and allowances for their maintenance on a sufficiently liberal scale to render it unnecessary for them to seek part-time job. University professors are mostly outstanding personalities in their lines who have reached eminence by their ability to absorb, analyse and build upon the findings and thoughts of scientists and philosophers. Fundamental contributions to the stock of human knowledge are almost matter-of-course affairs to these Universities with their traditions of professors like Clerk Maxwell, J. J. Thomson, E. Rutherford, Lord Raleigh, Lawrence Bragg, Alexander Fleming, Huxley, Arnold Toynbee, to mention only a few among the endless galaxy of British scientists. In fact it has been claimed that each square yard floor of the Cavendish Laboratory of Cambridge University has contributed more to science than many countries of the world.

Students from all progressive and underdeveloped countries rush to Oxford, Cambridge, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, etc., for training, degrees and diploma in various physical and biological sciences, engineering, medicine, surgery, mining, metallurgy, agriculture, horticulture and a host of other subjects. About ten per cent of the University students in Britain are from overseas countries. More than ever before, India is getting a very large number of its scientists and technicians trained from this country in connection with national development and the Five-Year Plans.

Confidence in the "raw materials" of educational machinery and in the performance of that machinery has time and again

been expressed by teachers and patriots in their speeches, e.g.,

(1) "There are boys and girls going out from the schools today worthy of the very best this country has ever produced. There are schools that are slums and where conditions are overcrowded and appalling but where teachers are doing a real job of work and, by their skill and devotion, are giving the children a really first class education."—Miss Florence Horsburgh, 1954.

(2) "The people of this country can regard themselves as having been paid back every penny they ever spent on their education rate by what happened in the skies of Britain between June and September, 1940."—Member of the House of Commons, during the passage of the Education Act, 1954.

There is therefore a determination in the minds of the educational architects to see that every new school turns out to be an emblem of fitness for the purpose rather than a municipal monument. The national expenditure on education was £600 millions in 1958 and will rise to £1000 millions by the time the Education Act of 1944 is fully implemented. An average family in Britain pays £160-180 to their Local Education Authority as education "rate" for the house or flat they live in and £400-425 as tax for the cigarettes and beer they consume in course of 12 years, and these amounts are more than realised when their son or daughter gets education for 12 years in primary and secondary schools. A rich family, however, have to provide, in addition to spending the price of a Rolls Royce car on the education of their son and daughter, the rate-borne cost of nearly two class rooms full of children attending the local school from 5 to 15 years of age. A teacher's basic salary is £520-1000 per annum with additions for special responsibilities.

As education here amounts to the integral welfare of the future generation, children are periodically examined by the School Medical Officers, provided with milk as a mid-morning drink, and looked

after in all respects of health. Diseases among children are therefore fast declining.

The limitations of examinations in education are well appreciated in Britain, it is, for example, held that no examination can be devised to reveal the future saint or mystic, a person's sense of humour, capacity to get on with people, or the quality of leadership. As Sir Winston Churchill remarked about his examination at Harrow, the good candidate may be asked all the questions to which he does not know the answers and none of those in which he could excel.

As in most other phases of national life, complacency over past achievements or present position is least likely to affect the future of British education. Teachers from this country are going to teach in America, Canada, Soviet Russia, France and Western Germany on exchange basis. It has been observed that a University entrant in America is academically behind one in Britain by at least two years, and the overall standard in West Germany or France is by no means better than in Britain. Yet alertness against unfavourable competition from Russia, America or re-equipped Europe in the field of education in general and technical and scientific development in particular can always be felt here through the report of "Precy" Committee and similar other activities.

The sensible admixture of school work, physical training and games, dramatic work, school societies, educational visits and school journeys and lastly, the friendly relation between teachers and students are in high appreciation among the teachers and experts on education in America and the Continent. Britain was shown in 1950 to be easily the most literate of the 36 countries examined by UNESCO in the matter of production of books and the

number of newspapers read per head of the population. Libraries are maintained throughout the country by the County Councils and they stock books on all subjects from mountaineering and sea yachting to practice of Yoga. The librarians and assistants are very helpful to the readers in their problems and subjects of interest.

The British conception of education is quite unique. Training here is defined as "The collection and collation of facts, the correlation of sources of knowledge, the interpretation of evidence, the establishment of principles from particular examples, the analysis and synthesis involved in the realisation that the requirements of an investigation demand at some stage the mastery of a technique before further progress can be made—all these are first-rate training; and the fact that heterogeneous material is being used rather than the more homogeneous material of a particular subject is an advantage rather than a disadvantage." Acid tests of students here are: "How far are they in serious pursuit of seasoned knowledge?" "What is the sum they are going to contribute to the nation's life or livelihood."

An educated man in Britain is, therefore, "the fully integrated and balanced individual," "the cultural personality in whose presence others will weigh their words before they speak," "the mind liberalised by the discipline of its faculties," "one who is enlightened in his interests, impersonal in his judgements, ready in his sympathy for whatever is just and right, effective in the work he sets himself to do and willing to lend a hand to anyone who is in need of it." No wonder, then, that an Englishman should be a gentleman in the truest sense of the term, and the position of Britain should be so high in the ladder of civilization.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

JONATHAN DUNCAN & VARANASI :
By V. A. Narain. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1959. Pp. 240. Rs. 12-50.

Jonathan Duncan was one of the ablest of the East India Company's administrators in the period of the real foundation of its rule in our country which covered the Governor-Generalships of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis. Especially valuable were Duncan's services in ending in his capacity as British Resident at the Court of the Raja of Varanasi the shocking misgovernment prevailing in that territory for some time past. The history of Varanasi in this respect was but a faint echo of that of Bengal in the years of disgraceful oppression under the dual rule of the Nawab and the Company and its slow termination in the period following the assumption of the Dewani by the Company. The full story of Varanasi during these eventful years has been told very fully and adequately in the learned monograph under notice which won for its author the distinction of Doctoral degree of the London University. The relevant chapters (Chs. III-VI) forming the core of this work are entitled **The condition of Benares at the time of Duncan's appointment; Duncan's economic policy, 1787-1795; Justice and law and order, 1787-1795; and lastly, Duncan and Indian society.** The outstanding part played throughout by Duncan with the fortunate support of successive Governors-General and the Board of Directors in combating the incredible evils that had crept into the society and government of Benares at that time has been brought out with a great wealth of detail based upon

first-hand studies of original State papers, both published and unpublished as well as a number of secondary sources. The high standard of scholarship displayed by the author will assure for his work an abiding value for students of Indian history in the early period of British rule. The value of the work has been enhanced by a bibliography (with a somewhat prolix list of secondary sources), a glossary of technical terms, and an index. The addition of a map would have been very welcome.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

INDIA TODAY : By Frank Moraes. Published by The MacMillan Co., New York-11. March, 1960. Pp. 242. Price \$1.50 (paper bound), \$4.00 (cloth bound).

Frank Moraes is one of those newspapermen of note and standing who have taken a live interest in the growth and rise of the Indian Republic. He has already made a name by his eminently readable biography of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. The book under review is a delightful study of independent India with glances on the salient features of its background, depicting the meandering course of her evolution; and he is at once informative and illuminative. With his gift of kindlier discernment he enters into the soul of Gandhi's leadership and there is a ring of genuine sympathy, when he says that his 'reputation is not enhanced or embellished by the behaviour of the average Congressman of today.' He highlights Gandhi's contribution in making the mass politically conscious; in switching off the mind of the British-made middle class from Western thoughts and methods to the potentials of India's own Satyagraha giving an entirely moral stamp to the

nationalist movement; and, in inspiring this vast sub-continent end to end with a faith that he could deliver the goods. The author credits Gandhi, early as 1931 and reiterating it as well after independence, with the forecast of the moral deterioration of the Congress party by its acceptance of office and thus making a body, dedicated to selfless service, turn into people 'primarily interested in privilege, power and perquisites,' as the author says. It is, however, no justification, as we should opine, for the author to say, 'posterity will probably rate Gandhi as one of history's magnificent failures,' for the simple truth that a Christ or Gandhi lives eternally by their eternal crucifixion. As an indication of the author's painstaking, neutral mind it may be mentioned that he does not omit to say how a bad negotiator Gandhi was by a reference to the Poona Pact, which, as he says, was at the cost of the higher castes of Bengal Hindus. Again, in our opinion, the author should have as well stated the other view-point that Gandhi saved the Hindu society the threatened split and saved India a further vivisection. The author disabuses the notion of people outside India and among a section in India that Gandhi is the architect of Swadeshi and Swaraj. Certainly they owe their genesis to Bengal and Mrs. Sarojinee Naidu is very correct historically to say that there is not a single weapon the non-co-operators have used which does not originally belong to Bengal. It will, however, be a violence on history to omit to say that Gandhi operated this mighty explosive on all-India scale and has acquitted himself so creditably as to justify Einstein to say that he confronted the brutality of Europe by the dignity of a single individual. On the debit side of Gandhi's leadership, the author cites the deepening of the rift between the Hindus and the Moslems of India. On the point of India fighting her war by Non-violent Non-co-operation, we do not share the author's smug assessment that we were fortunate in having 'British as rulers, who observed the rules of the game.' We rather stand by the verdict of Tagore and Gandhi that there was nothing which Britain did not and would not do and abandon the basic principle of civilized being to retain her grip on India. Leave alone Jallianwalla-bag and its miniature replicas all over India, leave alone the policy of steel whips and iron bars to stamp out the national upsurge,

India will take long to forget the most ingeniously, stringently organised gearing of medieval fanaticism in order to make the common man act as fuse for barbarous communal explosions, culminating into the division of India. It is not suggested that Hindu-Moslem relation was all sweetness, but what it ultimately became is the result of the policy Britain unrelentingly pursued ever since Clive instructed the Board of Directors of the East India Company 'to encourage rivalry between the Gentoos and the Mussalmen.' In fact, what Louis Fischer says is deadly to the point that if Britain willed she could have a working compromise in the course of 24 hours. It is a long-past history, but the author of such political study cannot afford to pass it by so cheaply. It is also in our opinion a serious omission to black out Netajee Subhas Bose, who rendered it impossible any further for Britain to rest her guns on Indian shoulders in order to sustain her hold on India and about whom India to a man shares Dr. K. N. Katju's verdict that 'he dealt the final decisive blow to the British Raj.'

We have spoken in the above strain because what we consider to be so excellent a production might be free from what strikes us as omissions. Any way, **India Today** is an exceedingly desirable addition to literature relating to Indian politics. For the materials embodied, it may well be treated as a book of reference. Its one other merit is the scientific precision with which conflicting ideologies and tendencies have been analysed, the author's economy of expression—a rare point amongst political writers—adding no less to its impact.

Joges C. Bose

INDIA OF MY DREAMS: By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Pp. 339. Price Rs. 2.50nP.

TRUTH IS GOD: By M. K. Gandhi, Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Pp. 168. Price. Rs. 2.

WOMEN: By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. 111. Price Re. 1/-

PANCHAYAT RAJ: By M. K. Gandhi, Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Pp. 41. Price. 30nP.

All published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

A new India is in the making. Gandhi had his own ideas about a new India. Sri R. K. Prabhu has compiled with studious care and placed before the reading public in this handy volume Gandhi's ideas about the India of his conception. The book would help the reader appreciate what Gandhi lived and worked for, and how things are shaping. Every nation has its own peculiar genius. Progress to be true must accord with that genius. Blind imitation would do more harm than good. Gandhi wanted a prosperous India but he did not picture it 'as a third class or even first class copy of the dying civilization of the West.' The book deserves to be widely read. From it the reader may find direction and correctives.

To know Gandhi and all that he stood for one must know the source he derived his great strength from. Truth as God was the source from which he derived all his strength. And what that truth was like? He says:

"I claim to know my millions. All the hours of the day I am with Him. They are my first care and last because I recognize no God except that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize His presence; I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions."

The book shows how he lived for them and died for them. They were his living God.

Indian women owe their emancipation to Gandhi. The present volume is a condensation of and a successor to *Women and Social Injustice*. In editing care has been taken that it loses none of the essentials of its predecessors. The inequality the women of India suffered from was galling to Gandhi, and his pain found expression in passages like this: "...as long as the birth of a girl does not receive the same welcome as that of a boy, so long we should know that India is suffering from partial paralysis."

Gandhi's Panchayat Raj was synonymous with Gram Raj. Here it is in his own words: "My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a **complete republic**, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in

which dependence is a necessity." Make no mistake. The Gram Panchayats are no answer to what Gandhi visualized by Panchayat Raj. Gandhi envisaged that people in a Panchayat Raj would be men of sturdy independence managing their own affairs free from the apron-strings of either the State or Central Government. But what a picture of the Gram Panchayats emerges from the following:

"Some 200 trucks brought 10,000 villagers from rural Delhi. Many more came in bullock carts. The villagers were led by their panches and had come carrying the banners of their village panchayats"—Eisenhower's welcome in Delhi as reported by the *Statesman* of 10-12-59.

Birendranath Guha

ENGLISH-GERMAN

A SYNOPSIS OF GERMAN GRAMMAR: By Arnold and Wilhelmine Keyserling. Published by Valmik, 8-1 B, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 6 or sh. 8 net.

Now that India is independent and is esteemed as a great country of the world, educated Indians should be equipped with more than one occidental language. English has become almost a second language to us. Something more is required. Along with that language German or French or Russian should be studied. The author, Arnold Keyserling, came to India as a Visiting Professor of Philosophy in Santiniketan and later as a Lecturer, Birla Education Trust, Pilani, Rajasthan. He thus came into contact with Indian students and became interested in their welfare. The book is a joint production. The author and the authoress are now Lecturers, German Language Class, Sarat Bose Academy, Calcutta. The book is dedicated to this Institute of National and International Affairs. A Grammar written in the German language is not suitable for students who have no knowledge of German. For the convenience of English-knowing students the Synopsis is written in English. The book is thus written by experienced Professors engaged in teaching Indian students, who are thoroughly conversant with their needs. It is the only book of its kind. The Synopsis sets forth, along with apt examples, all the essential rules of German Grammar, and is written in a clear and precise lan-

guage. Students will have no difficulty in understanding the rules of German Grammar as incorporated in this book. In some ways the treatment is unique. In order to become well-versed in a language the study of grammar is indispensable, and the Synopsis affords such opportunity. Even those who are conversant with German will find the original way of treatment very interesting.

S. Law.

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA (Fascicule 33, Volume 19) : Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1959.

The Bhandarkar Institute was founded in 1919 and soon began working on the Mahabharata critical edition. Dr. Vishnu Sukthankar, the first Editor, worked on it from August, 1925, till his death in 1943 when his colleague Dr. S. K. Belvalkar took up the onerous duty in April, 1943. He completed the last four Parvans in his 80th year and we offer him our joyous felicitations. He interviewed in Bonn Prof. H. Jacobi on 31st August 1914, and escaped the trials of the First World War. He recounted the past history in his final Editorial Notes (31-3-1959). He watched the growth of the first critical edition of the Mahabharata, for nearly 40 years, out of which 20 years he spent over the Edition: of the Bhishmaparvan (1935-47), giving us the new text of the Bhagavad-Gita. He edited also the four volumes of the Santiparvan (1947-56) and completed (1956-59) the last four Parvans (under review) of the Great Epic: the Ashrama-vasiki and the Manasala, the Maha-prasthanika and the Svargarohana cantos.

The collation and critical restitution of the text have been done, as usual, on scientific lines; and the printing also does great credit to the Editor's staff (one dying after full 30 years service) as well as to the printer of the Institute Press. The complete set of 24 volumes (including Harivamsa and the Epilogue) is reasonably priced at Rs. 500 (paper-bound) or Rs. 600 (cloth-bound) edition. We urge all Orientalists and specially our Indian fellow-citizens to buy the copies on a large scale. Only six more volumes wait for release from the press and we hope to write a detailed appreciation of the volume, when the Great Epic is fully in our hand.

Kalidas Nag

BENGALI

BHAGAVATA TATTVA-JIGNASA : By Manishinath Basu Saraswati. Published by the author from 6, Mohan Bagan Lane, Calcutta-4. Pp. 90. Price Rs. 3.

The small book, under review, may be called the historical and higher criticism of Srimad Bhagavatam. In it, the learned author has recorded the astounding results of his penetrative perusal and critical analysis of this popular Mahapurana in the original.

The Bhagavatam being one of the eighteen Mahapuranas; there must have been eighteen thousand slokas in it. But the present form of the Bhagavatam with twelve skandas contains 14239 slokas only. Where are its remaining 3761 slokas to be found? An untiring search for them is incumbent on the scholars. The extant size of the Bhagavatam, therefore, is deformed and diminished.

The probable date of the origin of the Bhagavatam has also been properly discussed by the present author. He is definitely of opinion that it was composed in the seventh century A.D. The Manu Samhita being quoted in the Bhagavatam, the latter must have been originated after the former. The date of the Manu Samhita is ascertained by the scholars to be first or second century B.C. The two savants of the West, Winternitz and A. B. Keith observe that Bhagavatam came into existence in the tenth century of the Christian era. Sri C. V. Vaidya of Bombay proves with facts that it was composed after Sankaracharya, but before Jayadeva, the last Sanskrit poet of Bengal. In the works of Sankaracharya Bhagavatam is never quoted; but in those of Ramanuja, it is often mentioned. This leads several scholars to the conclusion that the Bhagavatam was composed in the twelfth Century A.D. before Ramanuja.

In the Bhagavatam (2.7.36) Vyasa is called an Avatara. Had he himself been the author of this Mahapurana, he would never have called himself an *avatara*. From this fact, it is concluded by the present author that Vyasa is neither the author nor compiler of the Bhagavatam.

These are some of the astonishing but undeniable conclusions arrived at by the scholarly author. A searching enquiry into

the place of its origin and scrutinising analysis of the various subjects treated in it are the special features of the book. The kind attention of the Bengali scholars in particular should be drawn to it and the students of the Bhagavatam will be amply benefited by it.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

GUJARATI

RABINDRA-SAURABH : Translator and commentator, Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. February, 1959. Price Rs. 2-50.

Kakasaheb Kalelkar has done very valuable service to the cause of Indian unity by popularising Rabindranath's works among Gujarati- and Marathi-speaking public. *Prachin Sahitya* and *Swadeshi Samaj* had been translated by Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parikh and

Nagindas Parekh. Kakasaheb has introduced two publications, (1) *Achalayatan* and (2) *Chitrangada and Viday-abhishap*. Readers of *Mangal Prabhat* will remember with pleasure Kakasaheb's interest in Rabindra literature and his enthusiasm in giving them publicity.

The volume under review is a translation of Tagore's *Lipika*, each piece of which is translated and the translation is followed by an appreciation. The translation has been done from Bengali to Marathi by Kakasaheb and the Gujarati version is due to Sarojini Nanavati, so well-known for her spirit of service and devotion to the cause of culture. So, in the Gujarati version, as Kakasaheb notes in the preface, there has been Triveni-Sangam, the streams of Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati have mingled. A fine piece of work.

P. R. Sen

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Indian Periodicals

James Elroy Flecker

Poet of the Sun

Herbert Bluen writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The poet's voice was never more needed than in this twentieth century when rampant materialism threatens to stifle all that is best in life. Yet little poetry is read today despite the fact that many thinking people are not content to live by bread alone and are hungry for spiritual sustenance. Poetry is the quintessence of literature. It expresses man's loftiest thoughts. It can satisfy spiritual hunger; but if a poet wishes to gain a wide audience he must be intelligible. Unfortunately much modern poetry is arid. Its authors have little ear for the music of words. Their symbolism is private and beyond the comprehension of ordinary readers. They make no attempt to please, uplift or solace, but are cynically aloof. It would appear that so long as the poet can purge his mind of the bitterness that corrodes it by expressing his thoughts on paper he has fulfilled his mission. It is difficult to see what purpose there is in such poetry which is usually tainted with a complete lack of humility. Fine poetry, on the other hand, is never just an exercise in morbid introspection. It has universality. Great poets have been essentially humble men with a love of humanity, an understanding of its joys and sorrows, a belief in a Supreme Being.

It may be true that the general public is so obsessed with material matters that it has little time to spare for poetry. Yet the popularity of such poets as John Masefield, W. H. Davies and Walter de la Mare suggests that the general public does enjoy poetry when it is reasonably intelligible. The poetry of James Elroy Flecker is not so widely known as that of the three poets just mentioned. He is nevertheless a fine poet. His poetry is musical and exotic. It is quite different from the work of any other English poet. Occasionally, however, it is reminiscent of Charles Baudelaire, also a lover of exotic Oriental imagery. Flecker is a passionate poet. His inspiration has all the warmth and brilliance of the summer sun at noonday.

When the whole sky is vested silken blue
With not one fleece to view.

To those weary of the drabness and regimentation of modern life Flecker's poetry is a fountain of refreshment. Only occasionally is it introspective. He regards the miracles of nature with eyes of wonder and gratitude. Occasionally he is witty. He has no message, no political axe to grind. He is not a great but a fine minor poet. To appreciate him it is not necessary to have received a higher education although some knowledge of ancient mythology will help. Most of his poems are short. His short life gave him no opportunity for a massive contribution to literature. Lack of quantity is, however, amply recompensed by quality and originality. Each of his poems has been "meticulously jarred," to quote the Chief Grocer in *Hassan* when praising his jams. It represents the triumph of genius over ill-health.

James Elroy Flecker was the son of the Reverend W. H. Flecker. He was born on November 5th, 1884, and educated at Uppingham and Oxford. He entered the Consular Service and served in his official capacity at Constantinople and Beirut. In 1910 he married Helle Skiadaressi, a Greek lady. He had already produced two books of poems. *The Bridge of Fire* and *Thirty-Six Poems*. He died of consumption at Davos on January 3rd, 1915, aged thirty.

In spite of his religious upbringing Flecker became an agnostic but was reconverted to Christianity on his death-bed. His friends considered him an optimist, yet some of his poetry is tinged with sadness. He is assured of a permanent place among the English poets.

Apart from his gifts as a lyric poet, Flecker proved in his play *Hassan* that he possessed considerable dramatic power. He wrote one other play, *Don Juan*, which is of less importance. *Hassan* was successfully produced at His Majesty's Theatre in 1923. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with this play as a whole, but to consider Flecker from the aspect of his lyric poetry. Nevertheless, it must be said that in addition to its dramatic power *Hassan* sparkles with poetry even though most of it is written in prose. It tells the story of the rather ludicrous love of Hassan, a fat middle-aged confectioner of Bagdad, for Yasmin, a beautiful young widow, and the tragic love of Rafi, King

Despite ill health Flecker had a great capacity for happiness, especially that serene happiness induced by contemplation of the beauties of nature :

Ah, misty woodland, down whose deep
And twilight paths I love to stroll
To meadows quieter than sleep
And pools more secret than the soul!

Even Flecker's saddest poems uplift us because of the consummate artistry with which they are written. This is the test of good poetry, which should have the power to transcend pain and suffering.

Flecker could create a vivid picture with a few brief strokes of the pen :

A ship, an isle, a sickle moon—
With few but with how splendid stars
The mirrors of the sea are strewn
Between their silver bars;

Although Flecker is essentially a poet of the sun the beauty and mystery of the night could also inspire him as these lines illustrate.

Flecker was fascinated by the splendours of the past and the sea is often in his thoughts :

I have seen old ships sail like swans asleep
Beyond the village which men still call Tyre,
With leaden age o'ercargoed, dipping deep
For Famagusta and the hidden sun
That rings black Cyprus with a lake of fire.

Genius often flowers out of suffering. This is true of Flecker. In hospital, stricken with illness and shut away from the workaday world, he triumphantly proves that "stone walls do not a prison make." His body may lie upon a hospital bed but the spirit has the power to escape like a bird uncaged and become one with "The shimmering lake in which the planets swim."

"The Ballad of Camden Town" is not perhaps an example of Flecker at his best. Indeed it can hardly be described as typical Flecker. It has echoes of John Masefield and W. H. Davies. It has no gorgeous Oriental imagery. It is, however, written with an attractive gusto :

I walked with Maisie long years back
The streets of Camden Town,
I splendid in my suit of black,
And she divine in brown.

This is the charming and very English picture with which we are presented in the first verse of the Ballad, which tells the story of two lovers whose love was ill-fated. "A bed, a chest, a faded mat" and a few broken-down

chairs was all the furniture they possessed but Maisie's lover was happy when they walked to Hampstead Heath, and he could "crown his head with daisies." Then, one day, he fell ill and "She left the latchkey on its nail" and he never saw her again. Her lover wonders whether some dreadful fate has overtaken her, yet dreams wistfully that "she dwells in London still" :

Once more together we will live,
For I will find her yet:
I have so little to forgive;
So much, I can't forget.

"Brumana" is one of Flecker's finest poems. Homesickness is its theme, a longing to see once more the "Meadows of England shining in the rain," with her "daisied lawns" and "ramparts green." As in so many of his poems the sea is in his thoughts. Dreaming of his return to England, he asks the English stream to store for him their love and kingcups, and his old fragrant friends, the pines, to sing for him as they once sang long ago

When, lonely boy, beneath the chosen tree
I listened, with my eyes upon the sea.
He remembers how

... from the sea's blue fields and syren dales
Shadows and light noon-spectres of the foam
Riding the summer gales
On aery viols plucked an idle sound.

In those distant days the poet fancied that the pines were singing to him of

"... older seas,
That beat on vaster sands,
Where the wise snailfish move their pearly towers
To carved rocks and sculptured promont'ries,
Hearing you whisper, "Lads
Where blaze the unimaginable flowers."

Perhaps Flecker anticipated that his poetry would survive him; for, in "To a Poet Thousand Years Hence," he writes :

Since I can never see your face,
And never take you by the hand,
I send my soul through time and space
To greet you. You will understand.

Every age has its competent poets, but mere competence does not suffice if a poet is to survive the changing winds of fashion. Only the poet who is gifted with some unique quality will be remembered by posterity.

James Elroy Flecker is such a poet.

Nepal, India and China

Chowringhee writes editorially :

Before Mr. Koirala went to China he visited Delhi and possibly consulted somebody or other about the policy he should follow regarding Nepal's relations with China. Again, he might not have consulted anyone and when he signed his agreement with China regarding the boundary line separating Tibet from Nepal, he might have acted entirely on his own. The right of Nepal to settle such an important matter without any discussion with India may be technically correct, but, when the Prime Minister of India could affirm that any aggression upon Nepal would be an aggression on India, there should be some reciprocal considerations favouring India in Nepal's foreign policy too. But were there any? Or was Pandit Nehru entertaining various Prime Ministers of various lukewarm-friendly countries and of potential enemies too at the tax-payer's expense as a normal expression of his love of foreigners, without any reference to the advantages he could secure for India by being Bhai-Bhai with anybody or everybody?

The Nepalese have gone on to China quite easily, in exercise of their sovereign rights and we have nothing to say about that. But Nepal is so closely associated with India in so many ways that if she gets too friendly with the potential enemies of India she could create trouble for India. India should, therefore, have a clearer understanding with Nepal about mutual obligations in fixing the details of the foreign policy of the two countries.

What will happen if China does not vacate her aggression upon India? What will Nepal say if India wanted to make a defensive alliance with the sovereign states bordering India? Would Nepal side with India or would she bargain for advantages?

If Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim started visiting Peking in order to sign boundary, trade and economic aid agreements with China, India should take note of the principle of the thing. India is supposed to provide a lot of facilities for these countries and also guarantee military protection to them against aggression by other foreign powers. In the circumstances India may rightfully expect that these countries will have a common policy with India, about their relations with other foreign powers. Nepal's agreement with China regarding her border

line with Tibet could have settled one or more of three problems. One will be the existing border line as considered right by custom and by whatever documents there may be. China and Nepal could have acknowledged this border line to be the correct line of demarcation between Tibet and Nepal. The second probability might have been that Nepal ceded certain territories to Tibet and the last that Nepal could have been given some bits and pieces of Tibet to make her frontier more practically maintainable. This giving and taking of territory would be a dangerous game for Mr. Koirala, for, his government is constitutionally run and he has no lawful rights to give away his nation's territory, nor perhaps, to exchange territory with another country.

The problem in the background of all these transactions is the nature of the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. China is not the same country as Tibet and the Chinese are quite different from the Tibetans in every known way. Yet China has grabbed Tibet in a manner suggesting that she did not consider the Tibetan people to be separate in any manner from the Chinese. There are also accusations from the Tibetans that the Chinese are replacing the Tibetan population of Tibet by Chinese substitutes. They have also destroyed the Theocratic Government of Tibet, abolished its religious and cultural institutions and, generally speaking, man-handled the Tibetan people and their national character in the manner of conquerors.

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If, therefore, China has conquered Tibet or has forcibly destroyed the political rights of the Tibetans, even though such rights were of a limited kind, and has imposed a new type of government upon the Tibetans, then the moral position of China in Tibet can be questioned by the Tibetans. Those victims of the Chinese invasion of Tibet, who had to fly from the country had among them the Dalai Lama who and whose predecessors had been the rulers of Tibet for long centuries. The Chinese manner of liberating the Tibetan peoples was moulded on the principle that the Mighty can do no wrong. So that, if at any time the Chinese ceased to be quite so mighty, the Tibetans could reliberate themselves and become a separate nation from China as they have been always. In such an eventuality the Burmese, the Nepalese and any other powers that deal with China for settling

matters of Tibetan interest, may find themselves in an awkward position.

To sum up, we feel that all nations and States bordering Tibet should act together and follow a common policy regarding frontiers, trade, economic contacts, etc., while dealing with China as the owner, conqueror, ruler or overlord of Tibet. For all settlements, agreements, treaties and open understandings inevitably lead to the formulation of principles and, such principles may be contradictory if too many people rush around and do things independently. Secondly, we feel that China is wrongfully in possession of Tibet and that the Chinese conquest of Tibet or the rebellion of the Tibetans against their sovereign power China has not yet reached its final historical conclusion. So, caution should be our watchword in dealing with Chinese Tibet or Tibetan China.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Agonizing Question

World Veteran, January, 1960 writes editorially :

Authors of science-fiction novels are tempted to describe mankind of the future as living comfortably in a sort of "Never-never-land", travelling with ease from one planet to other, while all the work is done by perfect machines. No need to worry about the daily bread: it has disappeared in this new world, and a little pill takes care of the necessary vitamins and calories that sustain life.

But before the age of the powerful pill comes along, Man will have to eat. And as long as the pill has not been invented, mankind will rely upon the good Earth to produce the food that is needed every day. This leads to the agonizing question: is there enough food for everybody and will there be enough in the near future?

At this very moment, in the world we live in, two human beings out of three go to sleep every night without having had enough to eat—if anything at all.

At least, mankind has become aware of the problem. It realizes that more food produced does not mean more food is eaten by each person; it knows that the technically advanced countries are becoming richer while the poor ones can hardly keep up their present miserably low standards.

Nowadays it seems certain that, without an effort by one and all the present conditions will get progressively worse. But in an age which boasts of its technical achievements, nobody should fail to understand that, even on a purely economic basis, hunger does not pay.

The Problem of hunger and malnutrition arises mainly from:

- (1) an imbalance between the natural increase of population and the increase in production of foodstuffs;

- (2) the relationship between income and purchasing power;

- (3) the problem of distribution of goods which, in turn, depends on economic and commercial factors.

Latest statistics show that the world population is increasing at the rate of 86 human beings every minute. Even if this rate were to remain stationary, the estimate of a population of 5 to 7 billion for the year 2000 is no exaggeration.

The question will then arise of whether the Earth can still feed all its inhabitants. But until then, the problem can be solved. The means exist, as is shown in the article written by Dr. B. R. Sen, Director General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, who stresses that available technical means for producing foodstuffs are markedly higher than those actually used.

We are happy to publish Dr. Sen's article in the following pages, as a most interesting contribution to one of the outstanding problems of our time.

The present answer to the question "how to increase food production" is therefore a technical one. It is possible to grow more food through improved productivity which can be obtained by the appropriate use of chemical fertilizers in order to make the soil richer, of insecticides in order to destroy its enemies, and of chemicals against crop diseases. It is possible to grow better food—in terms of nutritive value—through the use of the right seed. It is possible to make better use of natural resources through land settlement in large areas insufficiently exploited. It is also possible to improve the breeding of birds and to protect cattle from diseases by exploiting medical discoveries which can help animals just as they help humans.

It is in this field that the task of the FAO, and particularly its world-wide "Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign", is found.

The other two aspects of the problem may overlap the "Food and Agriculture" approach, but they are no less important. If more food is produced without its reaching those who need it most, just because they are too poor to buy it or because the system of distribution is inadequate, nothing has been achieved. In a world where two thirds of the population do not eat enough, it would be criminal to work for the benefit of those who, on the contrary, eat too much, as doctors have long maintained.

The fight against poverty is a social problem. The poor distribution of existing reserves in some parts of the world is a commercial and economic one. The question of "too much here, too little there" has been described rightly as "the paradox of our time". In this respect much remains to be done.

Information and education, research and national action programs are the main topics of the campaign, which aims at making the entire world conscious of the huge problems and stimu-

lating action by Governments towards increased food production, more efficient distribution and better nutrition.

The estimated cost will be some \$ 750,000 per year over five to six years, to be borne mainly by voluntary contributions from Governments. But the betterment of social and human conditions is worth an effort, all the more since humanity will be on the losing side of the terrifying race between Population and Food, unless it mobilizes all its resources.

It has to recognize the simple truth that, in our world, hunger and malnutrition have ceased to be a private matter. It is now as much the concern of the rich as of the poor to ensure that everyone has enough to eat.

But there is no time to lose.

Upper Silesia

In course of an article in **Polish Press Agency**, January, 1960 Tadeusz Derlatka writes:

On January 28th, 1945 the Soviet troops took the capital of Upper Silesia—Katowice, and on January 29th the whole of Upper Silesia had been liberated. The most important industrial region in Poland had been saved.

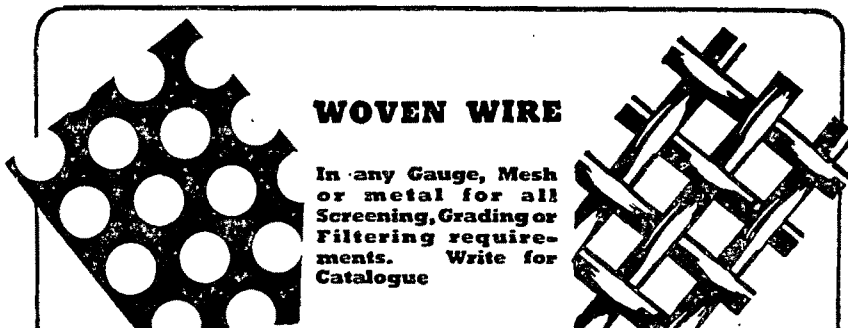
The rich deposits of high quality coal, zinc and iron ores accounted for the speedy

development of industry in Upper Silesia in the 19th century. Somewhat earlier, however, as a result of the Prussian expansion policy almost the whole of this region was within the frontiers of the Prussian state. In this area the class division closely corresponded to the nationality division: the propertied and ruling classes were Germans—the workers and peasants were Poles.

Situated far away from the chief economic regions of Germany, Upper Silesia did not have favourable conditions for development before World War I. This accounted for the fact that the Silesian coal mining industry, which had excellent natural conditions for development and outstripped the Ruhr Basin at the beginning of the 19th century, gave 60 per cent of the Ruhr coal production in 1840 and only 40 per cent in 1913.

Similarly the share of Upper Silesia in the total German production of iron and steel diminished as compared to the years before 1914. The division of Upper Silesia after the first war made the situation even more complicated.

When, however, 15 years ago the Soviet troops liberated Upper Silesia a new era of flourishing development opened before the "Polish Ruhr."



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When we speak of industrial Upper Silesia, usually in an administrative sense, we think of it as the Katowice Voivodship. There are four industrial regions in that voivodship: the Upper Silesian, Rybnik, Czestochowa and Bielsko-Biala regions.

The biggest is undoubtedly the Upper Silesian industrial region, situated in the centre of Katowice voivodship. Here, one beside the other are the biggest towns: Katowice—the capital of the voivodship Zabrze, Gliwice, Chorzow, Sosnowiec and Bytom. Over half of the urban population of the voivodship is concentrated in the triangle between Dabrowa Gornicza, Gliwice and Tarnowskie Gory. Iron and zinc metallurgical establishments, collieries, zinc ore mines coking plants, power stations, chemical works and engineering works are concentrated over an area of several score kilometres.

To the south of the Upper Silesian industrial region, the Rybnik industrial region is developing and in the near future it will become the main coking coal centre. For several years now intensive work has been carried on her building new mines.

Further to the south, in the Bielsko-Biala region, there is a big textile industry centre, producing mainly woollen fabrics. The products of these mills are famed for their high quality both at home and abroad.

The Czestochowa industrial region, in the north part of the voivodship, sprung up in post-war year. Here iron ore mining is concentrated and a big iron metallurgical works has been built which is to be still further expanded.

Katowice Voivodship occupies the first place in the whole country in industrial production; during the last 15 years Poland located 1/3 of her investments in the development of Silesian industry.

This region of the country, which before the war was divided by the Polish-German state frontier, is developing in an allround way within the framework of the whole Polish economy. The excessive density of industry in the centre of Katowice Voivodship brought in its wake the speedy development of neighbouring regions, both in Katowice Voivodship itself and in the Cracow and Opole voivodships.

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Freedom vs. Bread: An Asian Viewpoint

In course of an article in *Problems of Communism*, Jan-Feb, 1960 published from Washington, Asoka Mehta writes:

We live in an age of ever-increasing developments. The governing principle is that of acceleration. In the past ten years, great strides have been taken in economic development and socio-political change. Over 800 million people have regained their national freedom. Massive efforts are being made, irrespective of ideologies, to rehabilitate humanity submerged in want. Mass welfare is no longer a subversive concept or an utopian dream, but the characteristic dimension of modern society.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union has made spectacular advances. Perhaps under any ideology substantial advances would have been made because the rate of growth in Russia on the eve of World War I was already high and also because it is a vast country with enormous resources. Such a development of productive forces cannot be used all the time to further the ends of political power. Sooner or later the claims of the people overtake the aims of the rulers.

Percolation of the gains of economic development to the people was inevitable; it seems Khrushchev has been under political pressure to accelerate this process. We welcome the accent on welfare because to that extent the old postures get changed.

Westerners have often emphasized that conditions in the Soviet Union are hard and its standard of living low. They are perhaps insufficiently aware that levels that appear low to them happen to be much higher than the ones prevalent in Asia. That indictment therefore fails to register with our people. There is, however, an increasing realization that denial of freedom can be a cumulative process and that tyrannical fear can be an epidemic; the rulers fear their subjects, the subjects fear one another and the rulers as well, and the action taken against such dangers and fears finally culminates in terror. Forty years of communism has made even the unsophisticated Asian somewhat aware of the dialectical movement by which tyranny grows more tyrannical.

There is a surprising commitment to democracy in this ancient continent. Even when democracy fails, when generals disperse parliaments and disband political parties, the myth of democracy remains sovereign, the strivings of the people continue to be graced with that alluring goal. No one in Asia dare describe democracy as a "putrid corpse," as the autho-

ritarians in Europe were wont to do during the inter-war years.

In Asia, therefore, there is an allegiance to freedom as well as to development. Political freedom is compromised when a threat to national freedom emerges because that risk the newly liberated countries are not willing to take. The Asians, however, dislike to be impaled on the horns of a dilemma of freedom vs. bread. They believe that it is possible to reconcile the two; and in the difficult conditions of Asia, with its immense population and pressure on soil, to separate the two is to frustrate advance in either direction.

The most depressed parts of the world are in South and Southeast Asia. Here success lies in planning extensively and executing intensively: one must conceive like a giant and finish like a jeweller. Take the State of Kerala in India, where 15 million people live in an area that gives a density of 1,000 persons per square mile. As a third of the state is full of mountains, lakes and forests and as the overwhelming proportion of the people live by agriculture, pressure on soil is 1,500 or more per square mile. Sixty-one per cent of all holdings of land are below one acre each. Any development here demands conscious co-operation of the people. How the Communist methods break down in such a social milieu was dramatically shown recently when 2 per cent of the adult population courted imprisonment and many more supported the Liberation Movement that pushed the Communist government out of power in the state. In India experience has taught us that freedom is both the fulfilment as well as the function of economic development: at once the cornerstone and the coping edifice.

The population of India is a third of the underdeveloped world. And yet all that India asks from the developed world is a billion dollars a year. Of the 7.5 billion needed for the underdeveloped world, India thus surrenders two-thirds of her possible claim. Just that small is the size of the catalyst that India needs from abroad to open up her sluices of production. The rest she can do on her own.

We in India with our modest demand, with our proven record of devotion to democracy, with our modicum of administrative efficiency, are often surprised at the persistent questioning about our ability to withstand Communist blandishments. Is it any wonder, then, that Indians are dismayed by the fact that their friends have thus far been insufficiently helpful in granting them the modest aid India needs in order to surprise the world with its

democratic development, just as it was privileged to do with its adherence to non-violence in the national liberation movement? As ideological edges on both the sides get blunted, perhaps India's pragmatic plea will receive more attention and her stubborn self-confidence greater recognition.

We believe that recent experiences of all countries, again irrespective of ideologies, has shown that resources are never fixed, that there is a considerable flexibility inherent in them, and that their complementarity allows for significant excess capacity. If capitalism has meant blind movement forward, if it has meant the sway of the hidden hand, Communists have always believed that the people must be put in blinkers and have depended on the hidden fist. We, on the other hand, believe that with the balance-sheets of capitalism and communism open before us we can evoke conscious understanding about the process of development and rely in place of any hidden hand—or fist—on the open hand of mutual friendship and co-operation.

South Africa's Policy of Apartheid

We quote from *The American Embassy News Letter*, April 6, 1960 the following excerpt:

America's official attitude on racial discrimination was clearly reaffirmed this week when the United Nations Security Council held its discussions on South Africa's policy of "apartheid".

Under the Chairmanship of U.S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge, the Council met to see what could be done about bringing about greater racial harmony in South Africa.

The situation, long smoldering, came to a head two weeks ago when, in various parts of the Union of South Africa, people of African origin carried out mass demonstrations against regulations which require them to carry passes. According to figures made public by the South African Mission to the U.N., at least 68 Africans were killed and over 220 were injured by police attacks against the demonstrators.

Those grim happenings, and others that followed, "have caused shock and distress beyond the border of South Africa," Ambassador Lodge said during the Council's discussion.

"It is clear," he added, "that the source of the conflict from which the recent tragic events have flowed is the policy of apartheid followed by the Government of the Union of South Africa. . . . We acknowledge that the prob-

lem of creating a stable society of diverse racial groups anywhere is difficult. It takes many decades, indeed many generations, to allay anxieties and remove tensions. But it is not too late, we think, to reverse the tide in South Africa. . . ."

Earlier, the delegate from Ecuador had submitted a draft resolution which reflected many of the views and much of the concern that most Council members had expressed.

This resolution calls upon the Government of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality, and also provides that Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, through his skill and resourcefulness, should make arrangements which will "help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter."

Many of the Council members agreed with Mr. Lodge when he said, in announcing the U.S. support of the plan, that "it seeks to build a bridge and not a wall."

This followed closely the thought voiced by President Eisenhower in his news conference last week. At that time the President said: "Naturally, when we see things of this kind, where people are killed and there is violence, so much violence—we deplore it. But it is a very touchy thing; I think that in that country there are probably a lot of people of understanding, human understanding, who want to get a better condition brought about. I'd like to see them do it."

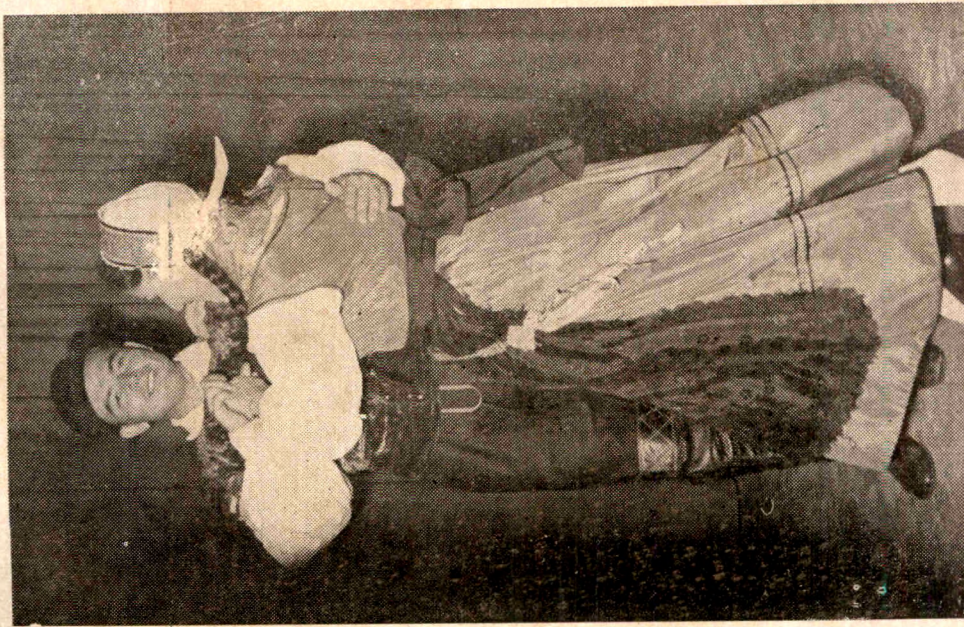
Late last Friday, after three days' debate, the Council acted. The vote was 9-0 in favour, Britain and France abstaining. These two countries had, from the outset, expressed doubts about the Council's legal rights to handle the South African issue, but they did not try to block discussion of it nor did they use their veto power to kill the resolution.

The case was remarkable in U.N. history in several ways. It was taken to the Security Council by the largest number of nations ever to join in such a move—29, the entire Asian and African membership of the U.N. The final resolution, incidentally, was acceptable to them.

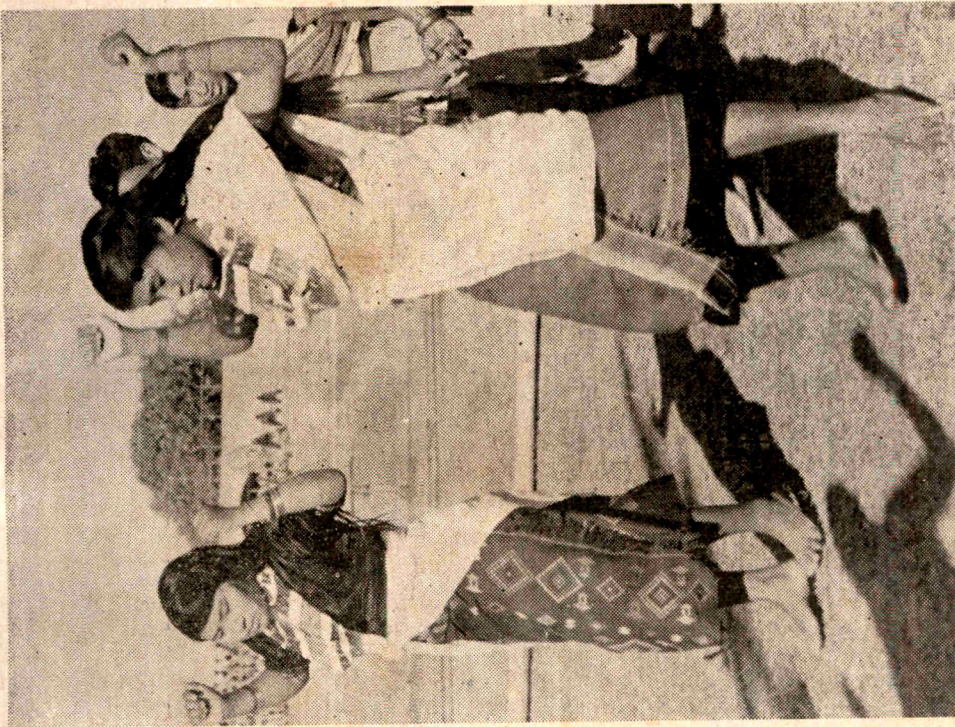
In addition, more non-members of the Council participated in the debate without vote than had ever done so before. Now the next step is up to Secretary-General Hammarskjöld—and the Government of South Africa. We hope, with many other people of goodwill, that the Council's action will indeed prove to be "a bridge and not a wall."

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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"Kolo", a dance and song ensemble from Yugoslavia visits India



Thanklahl Nagas from Manipur rehearsing a folk dance at National Stadium



STORMY WEATHER
By Chitrani Chaudhuri

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



1960



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NOTES

Stormy Weather ?

The month of May saw the stream of World Affairs being disturbed by a series of storms, major and minor, which were unpredictable both in their sudden outburst as well as in their consequences viewed from a long-term survey.

The first was, of course, the student-led disturbances that led to the downfall of the Old Man of South Korea. Syngman Rhee had his battle-torn territory in his absolute control, so far as the outer world knew, because of the manifold factors that were at his credit. Apart from his heroic defiance of the vastly superior forces of Soviet equipped Communism, trained and let loose on Korean soil by Red China, which led to the war and the final division of his country which gave him a legendary status, he had the economic control over the country and its peoples through the medium of U.S. aid on a gigantic scale. He had the tacit support of the United States in all his moves, for, even in his defiance of World opinion, where he was palpably wrong, there was no open protest forthcoming from the U.S. This led the crusty old dictator into many acts that crossed the limits of modern concept of democracy. He rigged elections, suppressed the liberty of the press, imprisoned opponents without any semblance of a judicial trial and finally started murdering outspoken opponents.

One such murder led to a violent student demonstration, which he attempted to put down with a blood-bath. Unfortunately for

him the army did not approve of his action, though the police carried out his orders. When the people came to realize the attitude of the army, the demonstrations became a revolt. His apologists in the U.S. could no longer whitewash his misdeeds and the reaction set in. He had to abdicate and at the time of writing the news has come that he is fleeing the country and seeking asylum in the U.S.

Then came the news of the U-2 that had been shot down over Sverdlovsk in the Urals. This was followed by the raging denunciation of the U.S. and President Eisenhower by Premier Khrushchev, first at Moscow and later at Paris. The latest news indicate that the storm is abating, but it is doubtful whether the wreck of the Sumn it can be salvaged and refloated.

Immediately after, came the news from Turkey about the military *coup d'etat* that ended the tyrannical misrule of Premier Menderes. As yet the bare details have come in about the *coup*. But as in South Korea, here also is the reassuring news that a democratic rule will follow as soon as fresh elections can be held.

At home we have had minor political happenings over the last few months, that have emboldened the forces of reaction and disruption within the country. The Communist Party is again trying on its old moves, as is apparent in the resolutions passed by its Council, the significant portions of which are given elsewhere, in its seven-day session at Calcutta. Master Tara

Singh's Akali Dal has come in open conflict with the Government of East Punjab.

There is stormy weather ahead, there is no doubt, at home and abroad and we have to be prepared for it, for mere shibboleths may not suffice. Is it not about time that a realistic view is taken of the situation and the country's safety properly looked after? The enemy has been allowed to entrench himself on our northern frontiers—thanks to Pandit Nehru's obsessions—and we have forces within trying their best to weaken the country at the behest of our "friendly" neighbours.

The Congress President in West Bengal

Following the Communist victory in the Lok Sabha bye-election in South-West Calcutta, there have been a whole host of Communist wins in the urban elections to the Upper House of the West Bengal legislature, particularly from the Teachers and the Registered Graduates constituencies. In all these elections the only real fight given to the Communist candidate by a Congress nominee was in the West Bengal Graduates Constituency where the Congress nominee was defeated by the narrow margin of 120 votes only in a total poll of almost 8,000 votes. The Congress has lost three seats, one to an independent and two to Communists. The independent candidate is an ex-Congressman who was denied the Congress ticket—for reasons best known to the Congress "authorities." That there was no enthusiasm for the candidates set-up by the W.E.P.C.C. was as apparent in the voting as in the results.

The Congress President, during his Calcutta visit, remarked about the Communist win in one of his public speeches. As usual he totally missed the significance of this apparently distinct turn towards the Communists by the urban electorates of West Bengal. The reason for this lapse is not far to seek—and, indeed, it is about time that the Congress President was told about it in clear language. The reason is that the corrupt Congressmen of most States have converted the Congress President into a ventriloquist's puppet. He is garlanded and made much of in public,

much after the fashion of the dressmaker's or tailor's dummy in a window display, and public meetings are arranged for him—with due precautions against the incursion of Truth, in the shape of public complaints or public opinion. The Congress President is not allowed to come in contact with anyone who might be against the caucus of corrupt officials and Congress satellites, and he is made to swallow all kinds of perverse answers to embarrassing questions, as for example, the reason for the veering away of the common citizen in those electorates of West Bengal where there is a high degree of literacy and political awareness.

This unfortunate state of affairs is not confined to West Bengal, nor is it limited to the Congress circles. The higher authorities are almost sealed off from contact with the public—and this sealing off is voluntary, ostensibly to prevent the minister or the official being pestered by the importunities of undesirable people. The reason is justifiable without doubt, as the number of job-seekers, favour seekers and plain beggars is legion all over India. But in reality it is the public-spirited person who asks for no favour, or the person who wants to carry some valuable information to the chief executive of the State, who is barred from the right of entry, and it is the foul intriguer or the blood-sucking parasite who has free access to all the seats of the mighty. The Congress President is no longer mighty, as the most formidable weapon in the armoury of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, which was Truth, has been cast aside on the dung-heap by those who have cashed-in on the heritage of his sainted memory. But all the same, the Congress President goes about in a sealed capsule, handed from State to State by one corrupt "public" man to another.

This state of affairs became acute soon after the calamitous demise of the late K. G. Mashruwalla, of *Harijan* fame. The *Harijan* was the last venue of true public opinion that had to be kept open even by unwilling and corrupt Congressmen because it carried the imprint of

Bapu's hands, while his worthy disciple was in the editorial chair. After the demise of Mashruwalla there was no other paper that could not be ignored by the tinsel-decked President of the Congress or his keepers.

Why is Congress yielding ground in West Bengal? The question should be gone into with great perspicacity and patience by unbiassed and independent minded men, as it is as vital a problem as that of student unrest—which also is being glossed over—which if neglected may one day result in the Congress facing "The Awful Majesty of the People's Will" as the Moslem League did in Pakistan. Corruption has permeated to the highest places, as is known to all decent people—indeed, the wicked but intelligent amongst the indecent ones know it better—it is only the few adulation drugged heads at the top who do not, and the common citizen is unable to attain any redress. It was not without very sound reason that the **Statesman** wrote on May 21 last as follows :

"Apart from long-drawn litigation, which few have the desire or the means to pursue, the ordinary citizen has almost no remedy against Government departments and civil servants. The Courts, too, will step in only when a remedy is possible in law; they are powerless against quixotic decisions or downright discourtesy. The local M.P. can sometimes help a little; but his constituency, and even the M.L.A.'s, is much too extensive. Beyond writing to newspapers the spurned citizen has often no way of ventilating his grievance. And yet in a democracy his indignation should be heeded—particularly in a country like India where the Services have a somewhat arrogant tradition and where the operations of Government departments, quasi-Governmental enterprises and tribunals are spreading fast."

In the old days of British rule there were a very few independent newspapers, owned by men with a mission who defied all prosecutions and vented the feelings of the people. And there was the Congress, the Congress of Gandhiji, where all could get a hearing who were sincere at heart—though they were outnumbered by the arrogant fools and the insincere camp-

followers—and justice, however, meagre and tardy was the usual result. What has the common citizen got now?

In the West Bengal Upper-House constituencies where the educated voter was called upon to choose, the percentage of those who exercised their franchise was the lowest on record. Why?

We know this is a consequence of the helpless resentment of all decent thoughtful men who were given the choice between the Devil and the Deep-Deep Sea.

Shri Sanjiva Reddy, who is credited with brains as well as goodness, unlike his immediate predecessors, who were undoubtedly good, is he going to be contented with this Gram Udyog Tailor's dummy existence?

Crime in West Bengal

If further illustration were needed as to why all decent and thoughtful persons in this hapless State feel helpless and exasperated, we could point an accusing finger at the record of police inefficiency and cite that as a causative factor.

The **Amrita Bazar Patrika** of May 30 gave the following news, which we append in part :

"Between the Police and the criminals in West Bengal now the latter seems to be the craftier.

This is borne out by the latest statistics of crimes in this State published by the Home Ministry of the Union Government.

It is revealed that of the crimes reported to the authorities more cases are abandoned than those tracked down and prosecuted by the Police.

In 1958 out of 65,290 cases of cognizable crimes reported to the Police in this State, 36,779 went completely undetected while the guardians of law and order could pursue only 20,275 cases and submit chargesheets against the arrested persons. This is about the overall situation in this State.

For example, house-breaking and theft which concern the common citizen of the State do not appear to have been taken any serious note of by the Police. Figures disclose that out of 39,129 cases of house-breaking and theft brought to the notice of the Police during 1958, no less than 28,331 went absolutely undetected while charge-sheets were submitted in the case of only 7,535.

Even in the cases of heinous offences like murder, dacoity and robbery, which stir the society to its very depth with indignation and provoke hatred against the offenders, the Police record of efficiency in bringing the criminals to book is found to be appallingly poor. For example, out of 467 murder cases reported in 1958 the Police could submit chargesheets in respect of only 196. In regard to robbery cases, numbering altogether 747, the chargesheets could be given for only 203. Out of 503 dacoities, the total number of cases in which chargesheets were given did not exceed 157 while 294 cases were not followed up at all.

The publication also shows that the general level of crime had increased both in West Bengal and in the city of Calcutta in 1958 as compared to 1957. In Calcutta the cases of cognizable crimes increased to 12,247 in 1958 as against 10,725 in the previous year, the percentage of increase being 13. In the remaining parts of West Bengal the total number of crime cases in the year under review was 53,043 as against 52,884 in 1957."

Thus far the **Amrita Bazar Patrika**. We would add to the above our own personal and family experiences, that of four untraced robberies at our residences and two big hauls from the press, all untraced and finally abandoned by us. Indeed, we know personally of numberless cases where the sufferers have been our friends and acquaintances.

Motor car parts, metallic house equipment like man-hole covers, rain-water pipes, exposed wire netting or electric wiring, have the shortest life in Calcutta, where there is the biggest organisation of stolen metal and metallic parts receiving system in the world. They have even lorry-loads coming in from Asansol and the colliery areas. It is further known that the tens of millions worth of looted goods from the railway pilferage stations like Kharagpur, are also brought down to Calcutta openly and sold through chains of hawkers' stalls, spread all over Calcutta.

Does all this disturb the (Congress) Minister for Police in West Bengal? Not at all, he goes on placidly masticating bushels of food, for all to see. Does it concern the

W.B.P.C.C.? Oh, no! How could it? So, what can the common citizen say but "plague on both thy camps."?

The Summit Fiasco

The World had been led to expect great things—may be a blue-print for the mechanism that was to beat all swords unto plough-shares, may be a Five-Year Plan for Eternal Peace—out of a meeting at Paris, that had been planned for and negotiated for by the top-most four Chief Executives of the Great Powers. It was as a preliminary to this Summit meeting that President Eisenhower undertook his tour across half the world at express speed and it was to brighten the prospects of this meeting that Premier Nikita Khrushchev visited the United States and later came to South-East Asia. It was likewise one of the main subjects that took De Gaulle to Britain and America and Macmillan to West Germany. In short, it was the main objective in all International Conferences that had taken place during the last two years:

The prospects seemed brighter and brighter as the day of the meeting drew nearer. World tension distinctly slackened and the Cold War started thawing under the gentle, warm breezes that blew across the embattled frontiers, coming mainly from Moscow. And then came the incident that rendered the meeting into a debacle.

The world learnt that on May 1, an American high-altitude U-2 plane had been shot down over Sverdlovsk, from a height of 65,000 ft. by a Soviet ground-to-air rocket. The Pilot Francis Gary Powers had come down in a parachute and had talked, in response to the interrogation by the Soviet authorities, according to Premier Nikita Khrushchev, who gave the story as follows :—

Powers took off from the U.S. Air Force base at Incirlik, near Adana, Turkey, on April 27, and flew across the southern boundary of the U.S.S.R. to Peshawar in Pakistan.

From there he took off on a reconnaissance flight, on May 1, on a route that would have taken him up the Ural mountains to Murmansk on Kola Peninsula and then on to a landing, somewhere, in Norway. Soviet radar spotted and tracked him all the way from the very first take-off until he was shot down at 65,000 ft. over Sverdlovsk by a Soviet anti-aircraft rocket, on

personal orders, it was said, of Khrushchev himself. According to the Soviet Premier Pilot Powers did not fire his ejection seat because that would have blown up the plane with all its instrumental equipment and possibly the pilot as well, instead of merely propelling him clear of the wrecked plane. He climbed out of the cockpit and parachuted down to earth and was captured. His plane crashed near the same spot. From the wreckage they reclaimed a lot of material including high-altitude infra-red photographs of Soviet targets. Premier Khrushchev said of the incident that "this aggressive act by an American aircraft as one aimed at rekindling the nerve-racking Cold War and reviving the dead rat while it is not yet prepared for war. Imagine what would have happened," he said, "if a Soviet plane appeared over New York or Chicago. U.S. spokesmen have repeatedly declared that they have atomic bombers on duty which, on the approach of a foreign plane, can take to the air and head for assigned targets." He continued, "We do not have duty bombers, but we do have duty rockets, which accurately and inevitably will arrive at their appointed targets and do their jobs more surely and efficiently."

When the news of the U-2 plane being shot down over Sverdlovsk first reached Washington, a State Department spokesman denied that there had been any planned over-flights of Russia. It was further stated that the U-2 planes were used for weather-flights for testing conditions at high altitudes. Khrushchev's scathing statement with its denunciations however altered the course of the U.S. officialdom. With the President's approval, they revealed the truth. Lincoln White, the same State Department official, who had issued the denial the day before, gave the world the news that this high-altitude U.S. jet had indeed gone over Russia on an intelligence mission, to nose out Soviet secrets and that similar flights had been going on for the past four years. It was sought to justify such espion-flights by Mr. White who said, "The necessity for such activities as measures for legitimate national defence is enhanced by the excessive secrecy practised by the Soviet Union in contrast to the free world."

The U.S. press has revealed that the U.S.

Central Intelligence Agency became aware, early in the cold-war period, how appallingly weak it was in the gathering of intelligence about the U.S.S.R. This lack of war-intelligence became acute when it was found, rather late in the day, that the Soviet had successfully switched to missiles, in preference to bombers. The U.S. defence installation targets being known they became sitting pigeons. On the other hand, the U.S. knew practically nothing about U.S.S.R. targets. Attempts by U.S. patrol bombers to peep over the rim of Russia yielded precious little at the high cost of casualties, in the terms of planes and very highly trained personnel. As a solution of this acute problem the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency commissioned the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. of California to design a plane that was capable of flying far above the possibility of aerial interception, while loaded with electronic and camera-gear. The U-2 was the answer, and for the past four years this *hush-hush* plane has been flying across the Iron Curtain, and gathering information from a height that was beyond the range of anti-aircraft weapons. It is conjectured that the Russians have long known of these surveillance flights but have kept silent, till this incident, because they did not want to admit their inability to prevent such surveillance flights. On this particular flight, it is thought in the U.S., the plane had to come down to 48000 ft. due to engine trouble or some defect in the oxygen system, and that is how the U-2 was brought down.

Needless to say the Soviet Premier has made the uttermost of this occasion, and there are few in the neutral world that are surprised at his outburst. The U.S. has been placed in an embarrassing situation and is attempting to take a realistic and straightforward view of the situation. To us it is apparent that the old order has not changed, or if it is changing at all the process is very slow indeed. It is no use therefore to assume that the millenium is just beyond the horizon.

The Soviet Premier has delivered a pungent diatribe on the U.S. and bitterly attacked the U.S. President sitting across the table at the Paris meeting. He cancelled the invitation to President Eisenhower to visit Russia next month. His demands were that the U.S. should officially

apologise for the U-2 flight, punish all concerned in this flight project and give an undertaking that such overflights should cease. President Eisenhower in his turn accused Premier Khrushchev of deliberately trying to "sabotage" the Summit meeting by thus coming from Moscow to Paris to deliver this ultimatum. He offered, however, an assurance that such flights are not to be resumed and further said that he was willing to meet Khrushchev in a separate meeting to see if the Summit could be saved, but all to no effect.

The standpoint of the U.S. is that in the circumstances of the Cold war, it had a right to protect itself against surprise attacks through such intelligence activities. The formal statement of U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter was that "the Government of the United States would be derelict to its responsibility not only to the American people but to free peoples everywhere if it did not, in the absence of Soviet co-operation, take such measures as are possible unilaterally to lessen and to overcome this danger of surprise attack. In fact, the U.S. has not and does not shirk this responsibility".

This proposition seems to be an encroachment on the limits set by international law. Of course, the international practice of all powers in the past have been along the lines of espionage and counter-espionage where World Power has been in question.

We know that spying is practised by all nations that have the means and the equipment—in the form of a highly-trained intelligence service with international contacts for it. Only we are the exception—incapable, obsessed, and inefficient and therefore innocent. The complaint by the U.S.S.R. before the Security Council of the U.N. has been rejected and there is talk about it coming before the General Assembly, it is useless to indulge in further speculation about the consequences therefore.

The text of the Soviet draft resolution submitted to the United Nations Security Council was :

"The Security Council having discussed the question of aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace,"

Noting that the violation of the sovereignty

of other states is incompatible with the principles and aims of the United Nations Charter,

Considering that such actions create a threat to universal peace,

Condemns the incursions of United States aircraft into other States and regards them as aggressive acts,

Requests the Government of the United States of America to take steps forthwith to put an end to such actions and to prevent their recurrence."

It should be apparent to our tin-gods that the World as yet relies on bombers and missiles and takes very little stock of the utterances of the weak about Peace and War. And perhaps if we had changed over from planes to missiles our frontiers would not have been violated with such impunity. For Missiles are the only answer to Aggression today.

High-Level Spying

Spying is a well-established and time-honoured institution. There are indications in treatises dealing with the politics and economics of governance, like the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, that spying played an important part in all plans for "national" defence and for offensive warfare. Even the fifth column and propaganda through preachers of religion for undermining the morale of foreign nations are hinted at. Spying has been found very necessary, even essential and a "must" in all military planning, throughout history. When, therefore, Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister, let off scandalised roars of indignation over the incident of the U.S.A. spying plane which the Russians claimed to have shot down on May 1, 1960, 1,200 miles inside their territory, we had the impression that Mr. Khrushchev thought international spying was an act of aggression and that spying was reprehensible and utterly wrong from the political point of view. We think that spying is immoral and an act of violating the privacy of persons or nations. But, we cannot convince ourselves that Mr. Khrushchev or his associates have any whole-hearted attachment to this point of view. For Russia, China and the smaller satellites of the U.S.S.R. have been engaging extensively in elaborate

espionage, fifth column activities and revolutionary propaganda in other lands, since they acquired the position and power to carry out such plans of violating the privacy of other nations. It may be true that the Russians do not spy from planes; but they cannot claim freedom from this evil habit of poking their nose into the private affairs of other nations. China has been sending reconnaissance planes over Indian territory regularly for a long time and these planes must have been taking photographs too. But, although, Messrs. Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung must have known about these little immoralities of their associates, they did not take the trouble to condemn such conduct. This shows that Russia's indignation at the U-2 plane incident was based on their deep admiration of the daring displayed by the American spy who went 1,200 miles into Russian territory while flying at the incredible height of 70,000 feet. This is something which the Russians have not been able to do and Mr. Khrushchev cannot think of anything with equanimity in which the Russians have been excelled by Americans. He also wished to advertise the fact that Russia could bring down planes by exploding rockets under them. His threats and bluster have been mostly directed at the nations who support the U.S.A. in her military plan. These were also unnecessary, for the whole world knew that Pakistan, Iran and Turkey belonged to the American bloc.

The above incident has brought out several facts which are not indicative of a peaceful atmosphere in the relationship existing among the powers of the world. Mr. Khrushchev has made it more than clear that Russia has plenty of rockets which can blow out of existence any targets anywhere in the world. The Americans, by their blunt admission of their high-level spying, appear to possess a good deal of self-confidence in the face of all these Russian threats. This indicates that the Americans too are not helpless against Russia. In the circumstances, chances are that all this sabre-rattling will lead to nothing serious and that the powers will show mutual appreciation in the military sphere by settling their so-called disputes peacefully. If Mr. Khrushchev wanted to see how America will take his aggressive talk, he has seen what effect it has had on Eisenhower. If Eisenhower had

any counter-bluster to offer to the world press to prove the might of America, he has shown reticence and said nothing. This may be a sign of weakness, but his apparently unwise admissions are definitely not so.

We hope Russia and America will use their mastery of the forces of nature for the mastery of human wants, ailments and passions, and not for the destruction of human civilisation. For any total war between these two leaders of military blocs will cause mass destruction of most things valued by humanity.

A. C.

Army Rule in Turkey

As in South Korea where the disturbances started by students in protest against the actions of a corrupt and oppressive dictator finally led to the overthrow and the retirement in disgrace of Syngman Rhee, the student explosion at Istanbul has put an end to the dictatorship of Premier Adnan Menderes.

Menderes, whose party is named "Democrat"—perhaps because it stands for the negation of democracy—defeated the Republican Party of Ismet Inonu, the lieutenant-in-politics of Kamal Ataturk, in 1950. Since this party came in office they have done everything possible to demolish the structure of Civil Rights, in every way. Newspapers were gagged, more than 200 journalists were imprisoned and the Opposition was being stamped out of existence by the enactment of laws that went against every principle of a civilized Government.

The last straw that broke the patient Turk's back was a move by Menderes to pass a bill giving dictatorial powers to a special Commission—selected and empowered by Menderes needles to say—to "investigate the subversive, illegitimate" activities of the Opposition Republican Party. This was too much for the youth of Istanbul University.

Some 1,500 students gathered round a Statue of Kemal "The Father of the Turks" at the University gate, shouting "*Hurriyet*" (freedom) and singing the famous victory song of Ataturk. Police rushed in and there was a scuffle. Shooting started, and when The University President protested to the police chief and told him that it was illegal for the police to enter the University grounds without his sanction, he was knocked down, manhandled and finally was taken into

custody in a wounded condition, with streams of blood pouring down his face. Needless to say this caused an explosion and over 5,000 students raged through the streets roaring for the release of their beloved President. Late in the day President Siddik Onar was brought back but the students were out of control. They called for action as in South Korea.

As in South Korea, the soldiers were sympathetic but the police were the creatures of the corrupt Government—as is the case everywhere where there is a mockery of democracy. Shooting started, five were killed and many wounded. The demonstration gained force and tanks and troops had to be called in. Istanbul became virtually a dead city. Ankara students followed suit and then those at Izmir. Demonstrators in their thousands shouted for freedom and the overthrow of dictators. Troops were used against them and that highly disciplined body broke up the demonstrations by pushing them off the streets without bloodshed—but with evident distaste.

In the Turkish legislature, Ismet Inonu, the leader of the Opposition, a warrior who had fought in two wars by the side of Kemal Ataturk and who was President of Turkey from 1938-50, compared Menderes with Syngman Rhee and even at that to the disadvantage of Menderes. Pandemonium resulted, deputies fought, and the Majority party of Menderes formally voted to expel Inonu. Then followed the protest march of the military cadets, after the carefully rigged counter-demonstrations in favour of Menderes had collapsed, even though seven days of martial law had elapsed in between. With the cadet demonstration march the wind evidently changed.

At the time of writing the news came that the Army had taken over the Government and the President Celal Bayar and Premier Menderes had been arrested. Ankara radio reported that General Camel Gursel had become the Chairman of the Committee of National Union which had taken over control. The radio message further said that the take over was temporary, pending new elections. The *Coup* it said had been without bloodshed and followed sporadic disturbances and anti-Government demonstrations for over a month following the "suspension" of the Republican Party leader Ismet Inonu from the Turkish Nationalist Assembly.

Wrong Vocation

It is impossible to analyse in detail from a distance the juxtaposition of circumstances that prompted Vinobaji to use the expression "courageous" while referring to the dacoits or to the complex factors that led to this historic surrender. It is, in fact, one of those occasions, when the punitive law is so effectively supplemented by the moral strength of a significant personality. Time and again, Vinobaji laid emphasis on the inalienable qualities of a man; and how they do not forsake him even if he becomes a dacoit—because a dacoit is a dacoit for his wrong choice of vocation. It is the living influence of the man making the appeal, which has gone home. There is no question of a soft treatment; but we hope that Law will be enforced in a manner that will not break in upon the process initiated for a surrender. As the socio-economic causes of this cancerous outgrowth is probed and reformatory institutions make room for reformatory schools, it remains to be assessed why this locality, associated with the memory of **Thugs**, continues to breed these ferocious anti-social elements.

It is idle to minimize, in this connection, the sustained efforts of Law and Order, which were yielding satisfactory results progressively—470 dacoits were arrested and 60 killed in the chase last year though the cost, in terms of money and efforts, was gigantic. Major General Yadunath Singh has done a signal service in preparing the ground for the Acharya. He took at great personal risk to plough up, as it were, the ravines of the Chambal Valley and contact the miscreants.

This is how a good many of them were won over. There is, however, no reason for complacency. There are yet a good many, who have scouted the idea of surrender and have been doing what they can to alert the rank and file against being taken in by the appeal.

Apart from what Acharya Vinoba Bhave has done to reclaim a section of the dacoits, who had consistently foiled the attempts of the people and the Government to apprehend them, he has done so well to

refer, in contrast, to the 'dacoits of Delhi—men who were invited to seats of humour'. We make no comment on the depredations of this New Class, ushered into being under the auspices of our Independence. Only this much will suffice that they fully deserve the appraisal.

J.B.

The Calcutta Corporation Ordinance

The Congress is the majority in the Corporation; and we do not grudge the Congress Government arrogating to itself the capacity to judge the merits of Congress nominees, passing the ordeal of ballot box. What is, however, to us of deep, agonising concern is that what the British Government forbore doing in the ugly episode of a scuffle for the Mayoral Chair between the Congress-cum-Swarajist Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker and the Independent candidate Mr. Fazlul Huq, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, a Congress democrat, does without any the least compunction.

It was an unlucky day for the public life of Bengal when the Congress in the name of party-funds began levying a relentless toll on all conceivable quarters of the Calcutta Corporation. A set of Congress leaders or henchmen of leaders sprang up into life, who were, by open professions, procurers of jobs for the jobless and contracts for the contractors, illustratively speaking. It was no uncommon sight for the very highly-placed officials of the Corporation to hobnob with those, who would ordinarily pass for the riffraff for the one reason that they had free access to the Congress leaders in power. They could thus be lubricated from a safe range for promotions, increment in salary, renewal of the term of service or the like. The result cumulatively was that the Calcutta Corporation was corrupt to the bone. What otherwise explains the fact that the Congress rule in the very first lap of our freedom was constrained to supersede the Corporation? Why again was it very near being superseded?

J. B.

Reckless Abandon

The audit report, the Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure has presented to Parliament this year, reveals a state of affairs, for which we have pretty good reasons to feel uneasy. Some of the enthusiasts of the ruling party gave vent to their resentment against the Auditor-General of India. Their obstreperousness makes the position of the Treasury Bench all the more untenable. Breaches in the technicalities in accountancy, even if undesirable, may pass; but a chronic disregard of the key rules for overall accuracy in budgeting and control of expenditure is always to be viewed with grave concern. It is the sluice-gate for all corruptions coming in. In fact, we feel distressed at the care-free, slipshod manner of handling public money, climaxing to a stubborn unwillingness to conform to correct procedure, chalked out after a full consideration of all the pros and cons of the subject in question.

Coming down to the brass tacks of some flagrant cases of loss and preventable waste in various departments of Government, the following, in a nutshell, bears citation. Grants-in-aid paid by the Government to social service organisations—they are run mostly by Congress people—were far in excess of actual requirements. In one case alone, the amount exceeded Rs. 16 lakhs; and there were, as well, cases where grants were being as meticulously made despite large sums of money lying idle in the custody of managements for an unconscionable length of time. Of the many nugatory spendings, one of those to strike is so fantastic that after spending Rs. 22 lakhs over the construction of a road it was abandoned, because, it could not be pressed to any use. On the score of a little bit of care and devotion, let alone efficiency, we gather from the report that of over Rs. 143 crores, voted by Parliament, grants under five heads finally proved unnecessary; and there were excesses in 11 voted grants exceeding Rs. 42 lakhs. As in the past, the audit report draws pointed attention to faulty planning and inordinate delay in the execution of work. Added to, what is always so serious, the non-enforcement of the provisions of contract agreements, it has resulted cumulatively into a heavy loss

to the exchequer. All this tells disastrously upon the mind of millions of people, stuck up in one gruelling fight for economic survival.

Forty years back, young Nehru was prevailed upon by a group of peasants to visit their village in the district of Pratapgarh, Oudh, for an on-the-spot-study of their agrarian grievances. The countryside was before his eyes—naked, starved, crushed and utterly miserable. He was, he says, filled with shame and sorrow—shame at his easygoing, comfortable way of living side by side with the degradation and over-whelming poverty of India. It changed him mightily; and he had his future charted on hard lines of pilgrimage to Freedom. The same grinding poverty, the same pestilential squalor continues, but the Nehru of that day is having, without any compunction, his fill in comforts and luxury from out of the bowls of sweated misery. And he pleads unabashed on the floor of Parliament to justify the colossal squanderings, such as those indicated in the audit report; and to write off Rs. 40 lakhs more or less for, what by now is a skeleton on the cupboard, the notorious jeep transaction, because his agent entered into contract with men, who had at no time the means to make good a probable default.

J. B.

Writings On The Wall

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, is to be complimented for his stand in respect of South Africa's Apartheid. Mr. Macmillan is as much entitled to praise for the consummate skill with which he brought the question to bear upon the joint deliberations, even if informally, of the Prime Ministers of Commonwealth nations at their recent Conference in London. We noted in our March issue, under the caption *A Happy Augury*, that Mr. Macmillan's unequivocal declaration, in his South African tour, that England would not subscribe to the ideology of master race, has cut the ice and added to Britain's moral stature. She has now crossed one more hurdle; and were she to follow it up with some earnestness, there shall have to be no occasion for anyone to write about her decline and fall. In fact, the spirit that fed the empire is being transfigured into the principle 'live and let live.'

As Mr. Eric Louw, External Affairs Minister of South Africa, was expounding his pet shibboleth, dead as mutton, some of the heads of delegation indicated, in a manner, that they would have gladly left the room rather than listen to the silly rot. In fact, Mr. Rahman left the room and made a statement, published in all the leading papers of London the following morning. The British public and the press uniformly gave Mr. Louw a cold shoulder; and Mr. Macmillan asked him to settle accounts with other Prime Ministers. The Commonwealth of Nations is a multi-racial organisation and South Africa's racial obsession and relentlessness is a point-blank denial of common humanity. The conference, therefore, rejected the plea that the question posed, being fundamentally one of common concern, could not be treated as an internal affair of South Africa and must, as such, be answered by all. Mr. Louw obtained by telephone the consent of his Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd, still now in hospital, and signed the communique along with other Prime Ministers. It states without any ambiguity that as and when South Africa became a republic, which she intends to do in the near future, her re-entry into the Commonwealth would have to be subject to the consent of every other member state.

Mr. Nehru and Dr. Nkrumah are, for the time being, satisfied with the progress so far achieved in clarification of the point at issue. Mr. Nehru has issued a note of warning in polite language, but which is nonetheless a portent, that the Commonwealth is facing difficult basic problems and needed to be saved from being 'too vague to be identified as anything at all'. Mr. Rahman and General Ayub Khan have all along maintained a forthright attitude. It is all well, and not a day too early. A wishy-washy disapproval is not enough. South Africa is under the pressure now of a massed anger of humanity. In fact, there are already indications what price she shall have to pay for her obduracy. The President of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange has made the agonizing appraisal—is it in the nature of a crystal ball?—that there had been a drop of £501 millions in the capital value of company stocks, listed on the exchange during the first three months of the year.

J. B.

The Commonwealth Communique

The following is the text of the communique issued after the end of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference. We append it below as it might be the last Commonwealth Conference with an unbroken facade. It should be noted that the main topic, where the communique is concerned, is the economic aspect of International affairs and that *apartheid* was barely touched upon—and that by indirect reference only :

"The meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers ended today. Pakistan was represented by its President. The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Ghana, the Federation of Malaya and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were represented by their Prime Ministers. South Africa was represented by the Minister of External Affairs and Ceylon by the Minister of Justice.

"This was the tenth of these meetings to have been held since the war, the first taking place at a time of great significance to the Commonwealth and the world.

"The continuing growth of the membership of the Commonwealth was marked by the attendance at this meeting of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, which achieved independence in August 1957. The representatives of the other Commonwealth countries welcomed the presence of the Federation at the conference.

"The Commonwealth is an association of independent sovereign States, each responsible for its own policies : but the primary objective of all is world peace and security. It is their declared purpose to do everything in their power to achieve that objective, and to continue to co-operate to that end with all the peace-loving nations of the world.

"In this spirit, the Commonwealth Ministers have reviewed the major international problems of the day, on the eve of the impending Summit Conference which is to be attended by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. They expressed their sincere hopes for a successful outcome of that conference as a further step in the relaxation of international tension.

"They discussed, in particular, the problem of disarmament and they welcomed the progress

made at the Geneva Conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests.

"They hoped that, on the basis of the preliminary work already done, the Summit Conference would be able to make some significant progress towards an eventual settlement under international control, of the problem of disarmament. An advance towards a solution of that problem, linked with a progressive lessening of political tensions, would afford a firm basis for strengthening confidence between nations and promoting world security.

"The Commonwealth Ministers also discussed the problems of Africa, the Middle-East, the Far-East and South-East Asia. They recognised that economic and social progress are essential for political stability. They welcomed the continuing contribution which mutual assistance under the Colombo Plan affords, throughout South-East Asia to these aims : and they agreed that there and elsewhere throughout the less developed areas of the world the best hope of peace, stability and political freedom lies in practical international co-operation of this kind.

"The Ministers reviewed the world economic situation, they noted that while in general the outlook was favourable, the economic expansion which had taken place since their last meeting had been greater in the industrialised countries of the Commonwealth than in the primary producing countries.

"They agreed that an important condition of the prosperity of these countries was their ability to develop their export trade. They also recognised the urgent need to maintain and, where possible, increase the flow of economic assistance to the less developed countries. They welcomed the decision to establish an International Development Association.

"The Ministers discussed European trade problems. They expressed concern at the prospect of any economic division in Europe and its possible political implications. The countries of Europe form an important market for Commonwealth exports.

"The Ministers expressed their hope that these countries would follow trade policies in accordance with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and thus avoid damage to the economies of the primary produc-

ing countries and those that are also developing exports of manufactured goods.

"In addition, European countries have an important contribution to make in assisting the economic development of the less advanced countries. The Ministers hoped that these problems could be speedily and satisfactorily resolved, with due regard to the interests of countries outside Europe.

"The Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the economic development of Commonwealth countries in Africa which have recently attained or are approaching independence. They agreed that consideration should be given to the possibility of cooperative action among members of the Commonwealth in assisting the economic development of these countries. This possibility will be studied in the first instance by officials of Commonwealth Governments, and the Commonwealth economic consultative council will examine it at its next meeting.

"The Ministers also re-affirmed their belief in the value of exchanges between Commonwealth countries of persons with specialised skills and experience. They agreed that further efforts should be made to foster and encourage these exchanges, whether on a regional or other basis and that the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council should take this question into urgent consideration.

"They trusted that employers in Commonwealth countries—whether Government, statutory bodies or private companies—would be ready, wherever possible, to encourage members of their staffs to undertake a period of public service abroad and would do their best to ensure that their prospects in their home countries would not thereby be prejudiced.

"The Ministers reviewed the constitutional development of the Commonwealth, with particular reference to the future of the smaller dependent territories. They agreed that a detailed study of this subject should be made for consideration by Commonwealth Governments.

They noted that the Federation of Nigeria would attain independence on October 1. They extended to the Federation their good wishes for its future and looked forward to welcoming an independent Nigeria as a member of the

Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

"The meeting was informed that in pursuance of the recent plebiscite, the Constituent Assembly in Ghana had resolved that the necessary constitutional steps should be taken to introduce a republican form of constitution in Ghana by July 1.

"In notifying this forthcoming constitutional change, the Prime Minister of Ghana assured the meeting of his country's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth and her acceptance of the Queen as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The heads of delegations of the other member countries of the Commonwealth assured the Prime Minister of Ghana that the present relations between their countries and Ghana would remain unaffected by this constitutional change and they declared that their Governments would accept and recognise Ghana's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

"The meeting noted a statement by the South African Minister of External Affairs that the Union Government intended to hold a referendum on the subject of South Africa becoming a republic. The meeting affirmed the view that the choice between a monarchy and a republic was entirely the responsibility of the country concerned.

"In the event of South Africa deciding to become a republic and if the desire was subsequently expressed to remain a member of the Commonwealth, the meeting suggested that the South African Government should then ask for the consent of the other Commonwealth Governments either at a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers or if this were not practicable by correspondence.

"Whilst re-affirming the traditional practice that Commonwealth conferences do not discuss the internal affairs of member countries, Ministers availed themselves of Mr. Louw's presence in London to have informal discussions with him about the racial situation in South Africa. During these informal discussions Mr. Louw gave information and answered questions on the Union's policies and the other Ministers

conveyed to him their views on the South African problem.

"The Ministers emphasised that the Commonwealth itself is a multi-racial association and expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member States and peoples of the Commonwealth."

Linguistic Nationalism

The bifurcation of the State of Bombay into its linguistic components, Maharashtra and Mahaguzrat, is an act of balkanisation in India. It is unfortunately not the last of its kind. The East Punjab is heading for a partition into Punjabi and Hindi-speaking areas. Assam might be following suit. And for an equitable redistribution, it needs being split up into (1) Bengali-speaking Cachar, (2) the Assamese-speaking low lands of the Brahmaputra valley, and (3) the multi-lingual hill tracts, bordering on Burma. Here the people are mostly Christians and, led by foreign missionaries, they would prefer English as their official language. The attempted imposition of the Assamese language on the Bengalis and the hill tribes will be like Hindi on non-Hindi people. We do not certainly feel happy to see India cut down to bits. All the same, the re-organisation of States on sound lines is a necessity. The Central Government, as usual, has betrayed a woeful lack of courage, foresight and statesmanship in tackling it. It as much constitutes a melancholy chapter of their rule that after indulging in a game of bluff and bluster, not excluding idle threats and a resolve to administer the city of Bombay from Delhi, they yielded, as in the case of Andhra, to violence and bloodshed.

There is every likelihood of the Sikhs now intensifying their demand for a Punjabi subah. It bodes ill, inasmuch as there is a pronounced religio-political pull in their nationalism. It is an accepted rule that when sectarian religion gets mixed up with organised politics it results into a highly emotional, explosive communalism. In fact, we must not mince matters to say that we have been noticing an affinity between the current religio-linguistic com-

munalism of East Punjab with its bent for sub-division and the fratricidal division of India by the two-nation communalism. The promoters of Pakistan and Partition sought to carve out India, not merely on socio-religious grounds, but on the basis of two rival linguistic cultures—the Indo-Saracene culture using Urdu as its inter-lingua and Hindustan espousing Hindi as its national language. Likewise, in the controversy over the national language of East Punjab, it is, oddly enough, not the Punjabi-speaking Hindus but the Punjabi-speaking Sikhs, who are pressing for the installation of the Punjabi language and subah. An additional factor in this religio-political complex is the matter of rival scripts—Devnagri being regarded as a symbol of renascent Hinduism, Urdu as the Muslim script and Gurumkhi as the outward and visible sign, among others, of Sikhism.

One must, in the circumstances, reflect whether or not to halt the stupid confusion. India should accept the Nehru formula as the one way-out and allow English to continue as an associate language for purpose of State business. It is for the Prime Minister of India to clarify and energise his outlook once for all and save the country from the Hindi fanatics, seeking to steal a march over others in order to dominate them.

J. B.

The Akali Arrests

The Statesman's special representative sent the following report. The Punjabi Suba move thus enters on a critical phase:

Chandigarh, May 25.—The Akali Dal office at Amritsar said this morning that over 500 people had been arrested, including Master Tara Singh's son, Mohan Singh, the junior Vice-President of the Akali Dal, Sardar Harlans Singh, and the Editor of the Akali, one of the newspapers of the party.

An unknown number of Akali workers and leaders, including some M.L.A.s, could not be traced. The warrants for their arrest have not been executed so far.

Notices have been served on five newspapers asking them not to publish anything for or against the demand for a further division of Punjab. The newspapers are: the Prabhat, the Akali, the Pratap, the Vir Pratap and the Hind Samachar.

The Chief Minister, Sardar Kairon, said here this morning that similar action would be taken against any newspaper which tried to create tension between Hindus and Sikhs.

The Government has so far imposed no general ban on meetings or processions connected with the Punjabi Suba agitation but has left it to the discretion of the local authorities to take such action whenever they find it necessary. There is no intention at present to ban the Akali Dal.

Only Master Tara Singh, it is learnt, has been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. Other arrests have been made under powers to meet apprehension of a breach of peace.

Master Tara Singh, who was examined by a Civil Surgeon before he was arrested, was reported to be in good health. He is being held at the sub-jail at Dharamsala. His case will be brought before an advisory board as required under the Preventive Detention Act.

The Chief Minister said: "No leniency will be shown to people who want to create tension between Hindus and Sikhs."

A communique issued this morning on Master Tara Singh's arrest contains the warning that the "Government would like everyone to note that any action on the part of any section likely to disturb peace and order will not be tolerated and the Government will adopt firm measures to deal with the situation effectively."

Explaining why the Akali leader was arrested, the communique says his "wild propaganda" and threats to launch a Punjabi Suba morcha "even by violence has greatly excited his followers and his utterances have resulted in a very provocative situation."

Student Indiscipline

The **Hindusthan Standard** gave the following report on May 28th. There had been serious attempts by some rowdy elements amongst students to prevent the holding of B. Com. examination in the Calcutta Univer-

sity buildings, on the previous day. We hope there would be some proposal at the Khadakvasla meeting, to set up a long-term investigation, to examine all aspects of student indiscipline, as we have reasons to believe that it is a far more complicated affair than what the officials think:

How to check indiscipline among students will be the main topic of discussion at the conference of Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities to be held at the Indian Defence Academy at Khadakvasla, about seven miles from Poona, on June 15 and 16, it is learnt.

It is likely that a draft plan to curb students' indiscipline would be placed before the conference by the Union Education Minister, Dr. Srimali, who will inaugurate the proceedings. The Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Dr. Chintaman Deshmukh, will preside.

Discussing the method of curbing students' indiscipline the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Prof. N. K. Siddhanta, told me on Friday the present system of public examination needed drastic reforms. The number of examinees specially in Calcutta University had increased to unmanageable proportions and sooner the present system of examination was changed, the better. Prof. Siddhanta was in favour of partly depending on college records of students concerned, partly on objective tests and partly on essay type of examination.

It would not be possible to continue the elaborate essay-type of examination, as was prevalent now-a-days, he said. Instead of a three-hour examination on a paper one hour, if not half-an-hour, should be allotted for each paper, he added.

C. P. I. Council Resolution

We append below the significant portions of the lengthy resolutions adopted at the end of the concluding session of the Communist Party's National Council at Calcutta. Coming as it did after a bye-election in Calcutta, in which the Lok Sabha seat was presented on a silver plate to the C.P.I. candidate by the local Congress caucus, it shows that the C.P.I. is getting back to its stand as an extension to foreign affairs departments of the Communist World

Powers. The extracts are from the **Statesman** of May 13 :

The council noted with satisfaction that as a result of the recent talks between the Prime Ministers of India and China there "has been some lessening of tension in the relations between the two countries. Although it is a matter of regret that a solution has not been found in these talks to the India-China border dispute, the decisions of the two Governments to continue discussions at the official level and to take measures to avoid any further incidents and maintain tranquillity in the border areas are undoubtedly positive achievements" of the two Prime Ministers' talks.

Whatever the present difficulties the council was confident that, given the approach of goodwill and friendly discussion, a peaceful solution of the India-China border question would surely be found.

The council warned that there were powerful forces both within the country and outside, which were interested in keeping the dispute between the two countries alive. Ever since the issue came to the forefront, the resolution said, these forces had spared no effort to embitter relations and prevent every move in the direction of peaceful negotiation. They had exploited the tragic development not only to pull India and China apart, but to assail even India's policy of peace and non-alignment. In fact, their attacks against India-China friendship were an "integral part of their wider destructive strategy against Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace."

It further noted that the two Prime Ministers' talks had made the imperialists abroad and reactionaries at home more desperate and there was no doubt that they would try all possible means to spoil the atmosphere and frustrate discussions and negotiations.

The council regretted that certain utterances coming from official quarters were sometimes found to be out of tune with India's basic policy of peaceful negotiations and were taken advantage of by the reactionary forces to further their ends. In this situation, "great responsibilities devolve on our people in defending the policy of peaceful negotiations on the India-China border dispute, as also the larger cause of India's policy of peace and non-alignment."

In the resolution on the Summit conference, the council expressed the hope that the conference would lead to early initial agreements for total and universal disarmament. It said that the unparalleled growth of the forces of peace, national independence and socialism and change of the entire world balance of forces against imperialists, together with the most recent tremendous scientific advances had created a situation where imperialist statesmen themselves were compelled to respond to the worldwide demand for summit talks on disarmament and other important international issues.

Nevertheless, the resolution continued, the imperialists had by no means given up their "lunatic" plans for war. The recent "outrageous violation of Soviet air space by a plane admittedly sent by the U.S. Government on an espionage mission, indicates how grave the dangers to world peace remain and how certain forces are bent on preventing success at the summit."

The council condemned "this heinous action of the U.S. imperialists which contravenes all canons of international law and civilized behaviour. The world has been particularly shocked at the brazen-faced attempts of the U.S. Government leaders to justify this crime against peace."

The council had been particularly perturbed by the fact that the "territory of our neighbour, Pakistan, has been used as a base for the espionage mission and thus brought the danger of nuclear war to our doorsteps." It welcomed the reported invitation to Mr. Nehru by Mr. Khrushchev for a discussion on this matter of "urgent importance to both of our countries."

Dwelling on Manipur, the council's resolution condemned the "repression which has been unleashed against the people of Manipur for their having dared to voice a demand for responsible Government." It was a matter of shame that the helpless people of Manipur who were directly under the Union Government should have been subjected to "unprovoked police atrocities." The present policy of the Central Government in regard to Manipur was "wholly undemocratic and cannot but give rise to serious complications."

It was high time, the resolution said, the Union Government realized that the present setup in Manipur had completely "failed to even the minimum aspirations and striv-

its people. On the contrary, what now prevails in Manipur in the name of Central administration, is an arbitrary Chief Commissioner's regime, totally divorced from the life of the people."

U. S. Wheat and Rice

The following report gives the details about the historic agreement signed in Washington on May 4:

Washington, May 4.—President Eisenhower today signed an agreement under which the U.S.A. will send India 1,500 shiploads of wheat and rice in the next four years to meet deficits and build up a reserve.

The agreement, signed in the Cabinet Room of the White House, was historic in many respects. Mr. S. K. Patil, who signed for India, told the President it was "a signal honour to my country," that he (the President) had personally set his hand to the agreement.

Mr. Hagerty, the White House spokesman, said he could not recall a previous occasion during Mr. Eisenhower's 7½ years in the White House on which he had personally signed an agreement with another country.

The White House said in a statement that the agreement was four times as large as any previously signed since the U.S.A. began selling its farm surpluses abroad for local currency six years ago.

The U.S.A. will ship 16 million metric tons (about 587 million bushels) of wheat and one million metric tons (about 22 million bags) of U.S. rice in the next four years.

It will mean, on an average, more than a shipload of wheat each day during the four-year period.

For these commodities, plus some shipping costs, India will pay the U.S.A. \$1,275 million in rupees.

The White House said this was the first agreement specifically designed to help a country to establish substantial food

reserves. Twelve million tons will be provided for meeting India's annual food deficit of three million tons and five million tons will go into Indian silos and warehouses.

President Eisenhower, speaking before a large group of officials, reporters and cameramen at the signing ceremony, said: "This is a ceremony, Mr. Ambassador and Minister Patil, in which I am both honoured and delighted to participate. The agreement that we have just signed is a practical application of the term 'food for peace.'"

"When I was in your country last December, I noticed the spirit of progress that abounds in the new India. What we can do to lend encouragement, to lend a helping hand, we are most happy to do.

"My thoughts go back to the day—it was December 11—when I was in New Delhi at the opening of the great world agricultural fair. I recall the words of your Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, when he said that 'in this world today the call is for ever-greater co-operation between individuals, between groups, between nations.'"

"This is the fifth and by far the largest of such agreements entered into by our two nations.

"India is going forward with a zeal and determination that commands our unreserved admiration and respect. Its people are successfully embarked on the road to improved economic well-being in freedom. The food that we make available under our special programmes today will be reflected in India's accelerated progress tomorrow. This is what we mean by 'food for peace.'"

Mr. Patil expressed deep appreciation and told Mr. Eisenhower, "This agreement is probably unique in its range and even more significant in its concept.

"For a country as large as ours . . . a national food reserve is of paramount importance. This agreement enables us to build such a reserve. Freed from the anxiety of food shortages we shall be able to concentrate our efforts and energies to the all-round development of our country."

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SRI AUROBINDO*

By TARAKNATH DAS

"Aurobindo was the greatest intellectual of our age and a major force for the life of the spirit. India will not forget his services to politics and philosophy and the world will remember with gratitude his invaluable work in the realm of philosophy and religion."

The above passage, a tribute from Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, India's Vice-President and world-renowned philosopher, gives an estimate of Sri Aurobindo as a man who in his early life gave his services to the cause of Freedom of India, not for India's aggrandisement but for freedom of man and world freedom, against tyranny. Today the world knows Sri Aurobindo as the Saint of the Ashram at Pondicherry, who worked for spreading a philosophy of life, based on the teachings of the Rig Veda, the earlier Upanishads, the Vedanta and the Bhagabat Gita and supported by the modern scientific knowledge of man's potentialities for greatness. But Sri Aurobindo also made distinct contributions in the field of political philosophy, which would influence the society of men.

I

Man's religious, social and political ideals or philosophies are interwoven into a whole; and these cannot be compartmentalised. Thus a man's political philosophy is a segment of the philosophy of his life which he cherishes or a philosophy of life which is in the process of transition. Philosophy of life of a man is the product of the cumulative heritage of a group in which he is born and modified by inner evolution of the individual as influenced by outside forces—local and world-wide. This was also the case with Sri Aurobindo.

Aurobindo was the product of renaissance of India where the most enlightened of her people were consciously engaged in re-assertion of the best of Indian thought and at the same time interested in assimilation of the best of the West. This renaissance of India began in

Bengal—roughly from the time of Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833), the Founder of the Brahmo Samaj Movement (reformed Hinduism) and who was a pioneer in the field of study of comparative religion and an advocate of political and social reforms in India of his time. Sri Aurobindo was born in a most cultured family of Konnagar in Western Bengal. His grandfather was a leader of Brahmo Samaj movement and was a pupil of David Hare of Calcutta noted for his educational activities. His father Krishnadhan Ghose, after receiving medical education at Calcutta was sent to Aberdeen University for higher studies where he took M.D. degree. After his return from England, he entered the Indian Medical Service and served as Civil Surgeon in various parts of India. He was a cosmopolitan and his home became a common meeting-place for Europeans and Bengalees.

Aurobindo was born in 1872, some fifteen years after the outbreak of the so-called Sepoy Mutiny (1857) which was an effort to overthrow the British Domination in India. The Mutiny manifested the deep-rooted antagonism against alien rule as well as opposition to western cultural conquest. The military phase of the struggle for freedom failed but it forced out the irresponsible rule of the East India Company and establishment of direct British rule over India. Above all, it forced the British Parliament to take notice of India's demands for equal rights and thus came the proclamation of Queen Victoria which promised equal rights to the Indian people for the government of India without any discrimination owing to race, religion and colour. In 1885 the All-India Congress movement came into existence, but during the quarter of a century between the Queen's Proclamation (1858) and the inauguration of the Congress movement, the spirit of the intelligentsia of India was permeated with activities for cultural, social, economic and political regeneration of the people.

Aurobindo's father believed that India must adopt western methods of civilization. He felt that his children should be given the best of

*Taraknath Das's last article, written on August 1, 1958, which he wanted to be published in *The Modern Review*. His niece, Miss Nilima Das sends us this article from Hotel Ansonia, New York.

western education. Thus Aurobindo got his early education in the Loretto Convent, Darjeeling. In 1879 Aurobindo and his brothers were sent to England for further education, which was entrusted to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Drewett, then residing in Manchester. Mr. Drewett was an accomplished Latin scholar and he inculcated the study of Latin and Greek in him. In 1885 Aurobindo was sent to St. Paul's school in London. After five years' study in the school and making remarkable progress in classical studies, Aurobindo obtained senior classical scholarship, and proceeded to King's College, Cambridge. "Soon after entering Cambridge he appeared for the Indian Civil Service Examination and was given record marks in Greek and Latin. . . . Aurobindo passed the first part of the Classical Tripos Examination in the First Class at the end of his second year at Cambridge, and during these years also managed to spend part of his time studying modern languages and in writing Greek and Latin verse, for which in one of the years he won all the prizes given at King's College."

Aurobindo was at Cambridge to qualify for Civil Service but things happened that changed the whole career of the man. During his stay in England as a student at King's College he absorbed the political theories and ideals of Freedom and at the same time felt very keenly about the condition of the people of India, an enslaved people under foreign domination. While in Cambridge he expressed freely about his creed of freeing India and this was not liked by the British authorities and thus he was disqualified from becoming a Civil Servant in India under petty pretext. After fourteen years in England at the age of 21, in 1893 Aurobindo left for India. But it is said that while a student in London, "he had joined a Secret Society entitled *the Lotus and Dagger* dedicated to the cause of Indian Freedom." At the age of 21 Aurobindo was actively engaged in carrying out his political creed of Freedom for man by championing the cause of freedom of the people of India. Although Aurobindo was not able to get into Indian Civil Service, this was a great boon for him and India, because he was not bound to uphold the foreign rule in India, which he had to do as a British Civil Servant. In 1893 he took an appointment in the Civil

Service of the State of Baroda where he worked for nearly 13 years, during the latter part of his stay there, as the Principal of Baroda College, which is now Baroda University.

Fourteen years spent in England (from age 7 to 21) for education, laid the foundation of his future career as a man of vision and world perspective. But thirteen years spent at Baroda was spent not merely for the service of the State (Baroda was the most progressive of all Indian states, specially in the field of education), but self-education in the field of acquiring clear comprehension of India's legacy—in the spiritual field,—then existing condition and formulation of a revolutionary programme for Indian freedom as a necessary factor to freedom of Asia and the rest of the world.

II

It may be interesting to note that the year 1893 is the most important one in the history of modern India. It was in 1893, Swami Vivekananda came to the Parliament of Religion held at Chicago and represented Hinduism. Vivekananda's speech at the Parliament of Religion created a sensation all over the world, specially in India. The message was simple but revolutionary. The young Hindu Sanyasin proclaimed the old truth of the ancient sages that there are many ways to reach the destination of man's supreme interest in achieving God-consciousness and no religion has the monopoly of salvation. Every individual has the potentiality of divine existence and the thing that is necessary is to develop this "God-in-man" through one's Sadhana. Soul of a man is immortal and thus it never dies and the true nature of man is the source of all good and beyond all fear. This was the message of Freedom and Fearlessness in search after Truth as was being taught by Vivekananda, the disciple of Sri Ramakrishna. Aurobindo recognised the significance of Vivekananda's activities—in a sense conquering the thought world. This gave him double inspiration to drink deep into the fountain of knowledge of ancient sages of India. As a student of Greek philosophy he was quite conscious of the fact that through knowledge man may become free. But in studying Upanishads, the Bhagabat Gita and other works of the ancient Hindus, he was deeply impressed with the teachings of Karma Yoga. At this stage

of his life he was thinking in terms of activities leading to Freedom of India.

Sri Aurobindo, during his Cambridge days was deeply interested in Indian politics and later he became the leader of Indian revolutionary movement. If the teachings of Rāmākrishna, Vivekananda gave him the firm spiritual foundation for political activities, it was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the Congress leaders, but later on termed as the "extremist" leader of the Congress party, roused the spirit of political activities, not merely for some small concessions to be given to the Indian people towards self-government, but for Freedom of the land from a foreign yoke. In Hindu philosophy a man's liberation is not based on grace of somebody, but is to be attained by action. To be spiritually free there must be "the Will to be Free". Tilak represented the school of Indian political thought which advocated that if India were to be free then there must be Will to be free, supported by actions which might lead to suffering. A political leader must be a *Karma Yogi* and not an opportunist. It is not the place for me to discuss Tilak in action, but I want to emphasise that Aurobindo was influenced by Bal Gangadhar Tilak so much that he wrote an essay on "Appreciation of Tilak" as Indian national leader.

There was another man who influenced Sri Aurobindo's political and social ideals as well as internationalism—Rabindranath Tagore, the first Asian to win the coveted recognition of a winner of Nobel Prize in literature. Tagore was not only a poet, dramatist, educator, musician, but he was a philosopher and a revolutionist. To be a revolutionist, one is not required to be a "bomb-thrower" or a so-called "terrorist" but a true revolutionist is a torch-bearer of truth and fearlessness. Rabindranath Tagore was such a man, undoubtedly one of the greatest personalities of modern times.

During the end of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century, many things were happening in the field of world politics which had their effects upon the mind of Asian, specially Indian leaders. The Boer War left an impression that a small nation willing to fight for freedom can carry on the struggle against such a powerful force as the British Empire. Japan defeated China and later Japan's victory

over Russia shattered many of the myths regarding inferiority of Asian people in the arena of international affairs and politics. While these changes were going on in the world, including Turkish and Persian Revolutions, a new political force was developing in India. The All-India National Congress which came into existence in 1885 and working for political reforms of British administration in India, primarily through the goodwill of the British rulers, by the end of the 19th century and early 20th century was not gaining the end and there was a new demand for actions as will lead to complete independence of India, from the British rule.

It was during the administration of Lord Curzon, as the Governor General of India, the British authorities decided to partition Bengal, the most politically advanced and the largest of the provinces in India. This move was regarded by the political leaders of Bengal as a step to weaken Indian national movement and to disrupt the cultural unity of Bengalee-speaking people and to introduce the idea that Hindus and Moslems have conflicting interests in Indian politics. The British authorities proclaimed partition of Bengal on the basis that predominantly Moslem part of the province was detached and a new province was created supposedly for administrative purposes, but really to create Hindu-Moslem problems in Bengal. The British authorities thought that their programme would be carried out without any great deal of resistance, but the new spirit of India asserted and there was the struggle for Indian Freedom. By this time Sri Aurobindo was one of the leaders of Underground revolutionary movement, a link between Maharashtra led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the revolutionists of Bengal.

Here it may be asserted real movement for Indian Freedom from British rule was under the direction of the Underground revolutionists who were influenced by revolutions in various parts of the world, specially by the writings of Mazzini for the establishment of United Italy—a Republic. It may surprise many western scholars on Indian Freedom movement to know that Mazzini's writings—such as *Duties of Man* and other works—were translated into Bengalee, and the working principles of Italian Carbonari Society was well known among them. The

initiators of Bengal Revolutionary movement had to study the life of Garibaldi, *Bhagbat Gita* and some special writings of Swami Vivekananda. Above all the story of Sannyasi Revolt in Bengal which happened during the early days of the 19th century and as it was depicted in the novel *Ananda Math* was a source of inspiration to Indian nationalists and the song *Bande Mataram* (Hail Mother) was sung as the national anthem. *Bande Mataram* became the watchword or words of greetings among the youth of Bengal. At this time Aurobindo's visits to Bengal from Baroda became frequent and he played the most important role in formulating the programme and activities of Indian Revolutionists which were trying to capture the Congress organisation.

III

Aurobindo played an important part in formulating that *Swaraj* (Self-rule or Independence) will be the goal and this must be attained by national efforts of constructive activities, of development of national industries, and at the same time special emphasis was to be put in furthering National Education, in which Indian national culture must be given proper recognition and Indian history must be interpreted in the proper perspective of Indian national aspiration. It was through the efforts of Indian revolutionists under the leadership of Aurobindo the programme of *Swaraj*, *Swadeshi*, and *National Education* became accepted by the nation. To be sure many other prominent leaders played their role and supported the movement. It was in 1905 and 1906 that the real Foundation for Indian Freedom was laid.

Aurobindo was not a visionary and he felt the immediate need of an organ of the so-called extremists of Indian nationalists to preach the ideal. Thus a daily paper entitled *Bande Mataram* was established, with Aurobindo as its editor. The files of the *Bande Mataram* contained many articles by Aurobindo which must be carefully studied by those who wish to understand the spirit of Indian nationalism. Indian Revolutionists, with Aurobindo as their leader, were the first who were convinced that for the success of their cause for freedom, the nation as a whole must be awakened,—thus they went to villages to work among the peasants. At this time National Council for Education in Bengal was organised

at Calcutta and the first national college was established, and Aurobindo was its first Principal while men like Rabindranath Tagore, Ananda Coomarswamy and others were associated with this great educational movement. This National College became Bengal National Technical College and is now the Jadavpur University, one of the foremost technical colleges in India. It may be reminded that the youth of Bengal and the students at colleges and universities responded to the call which Aurobindo and his associates spread through newspapers, public meetings and secret meetings. Tens of thousands of students joined the nationalist movement. At the same time Rabindranath Tagore through his songs roused patriotic emotions of the people verging to religious ecstasy. It was Rabindranath Tagore who prepared his concrete proposal of "creation of a State within State" in his booklet "Swadeshi Samaj."

IV

From these above-mentioned facts it must be clear that Aurobindo was not a visionary but a *Karma-Yogi* engaged in Dharma Yuddha (fight for Righteous Existence or supremacy of Right over Might). It also makes clear that some fifteen years or longer before the inauguration of non-co-operation movement (after the special session of the All-India National Congress at Calcutta by Mahatma Gandhi) Bengal revolutionists under the leadership of Aurobindo were engaged in practising non-co-operation and organising a State within the State. This activity naturally produced most unfavorable reaction among the British officials and repressive measures were inaugurated by the British Government to crush the movement. There came the retaliation by the revolutionists who killed Indian and British police officials. Here we may again point out that Indian revolutionists were following the path of Russian revolutionists of that time who were determined to overthrow the oppressive rule of Tsardom.

Lest there be any misunderstanding about Aurobindo's relations with terrorist activities in Bengal, it may be safely asserted that he was never personally implicated in any terrorist act; but Aurobindo was not a pacifist like Mahatma Gandhi and must have known that a section of the revolutionists were willing to die for freedom

and thus giving fight to the tools of repression. In connection with the repressive movement of the British Government, Aurobindo was arrested on the charge of preaching sedition and his connection with terroristic activities. This happened in August 1907, and his activities as the editor of *Bande Mataṛam* ended. He was kept in Alipur jail for nearly a year during the period of the trial. Ultimately he was acquitted through the efforts of his lawyer, late Chitta Ranjan Das. Chitta Ranjan Das held "Aurobindo would gladly admit that he had propagated and elucidated the message of national independence and for this suffering was necessary, would willingly suffer to the utmost." Chittaranjan's final appeal to the judges was significant.

"My appeal to you is this, that long after this controversy was hushed in silence, long after this turmoil and agitation will have ceased, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism, and the lover of humanity. His words will be echoed and reechoed not only in India, but across distant seas and lands."

While Aurobindo was the Editor of the *Bande Mataṛam*, he was reputed to be the author of a pamphlet entitled *Bhawani Mandir*, the theme of which is that they must build a temple to Bhawani, the Mother, as the source of their strength, and that attached to the temple there must be a new order of *Karma-Yogis* prepared to renounce all in the service of the Mother. The work of the Order must be based upon knowledge as upon a rock. What knowledge, it will be asked? The answer is given categorically—the knowledge enshrined in the mighty formula of the ancient gospel of *Vedanta*. And to what end? The answer is given without hesitation—to the end that India may fulfil the high destiny reserved for her. "It is she who must send forth from herself the future religion of the entire world, the eternal religion which is to harmonise all religion, science and philosophies and make mankind one soul."

It is quite clear from the future development of Sri Aurobindo's life, that while he was in Alipur jail which he later termed as Alipur Ashram, he had time to contemplate on the above ideal and what he should do for his own development, and about his ultimate mission.

Aurobindo wrote about his jail experience in this way, "God seemed to whisper I have had another thing for you to do, and it is for that I have brought you here, to teach you here what you could not learn for yourself, and to train you for my work."

In February 1910, Aurobindo retired from Calcutta and withdrew from political movements and went to Chandannagore, and a few months later settled down at Pondichery and attracted many disciples. He passed away from this mortal world in 1950, leaving a distinct place for him in Indian politics, world of philosophy and religion.

Aurobindo's political philosophy was not merely revolutionary changes to be brought about in the world, but he felt that in order to build a new structure we may have to tear down old buildings unsuited to new conditions, so we may have revolution leading to overthrow of existing Government to usher a new and better social order. How should the new social order be run? It should be directed by the wisest and the best of the society and not by a privileged class. What should be the spirit behind the activities of the rulers? They should practise *Raj-dharma*, ethical and spiritual laws governing the activities of the ruler in the field of administration of a State and human relations. According to Hindu philosophy this concept of duty or self-imposed obligation of a ruler is to carry on the Government of a State to uphold the welfare of the people and to protect them from oppression, external or internal; a Ruler should possess power of intelligence and knowledge, economic support as well as support of the people so that he will be able to fulfil his obligations, but never to use Power for self-aggrandisement and despotically. Aurobindo not only believed in the fundamental principle, but he practised it in his political career. The greatest tribute that was ever paid to Aurobindo was the poem written by Rabindranath Tagore extending his salutation to him, indicating that he (Tagore) and all India was willing to follow his leadership, because he was not only a political leader but a *Rishi*.

Aurobindo's political philosophy was not limited to nationalism but he was thinking of a

World State in which nations will play their own part, but their existence would be integrated harmoniously on the basis of cultural assets of various peoples. Thus he was opposed to partitions artificial division of states by imperialist powers. Although he retired from politics he expressed strong dissent against partition of India in 1947. As he was an apostle of infinite possibilities of individual development, so was he one of the foremost supporters of freedom of the subject peoples, and thus freedom of Asian and African peoples. He was opposed to racial and cultural imperialism of all kinds and an advocate of brotherhood of man.

Although the world speaks of Gandhi as the liberator of India, the fact remains that all of the ideas of Gandhi, except absolute pacificism; were preached by others, Specially Vivekananda; Tagore and Aurobindo and the latter as a revolutionary leader preached and practised the ideal of Freedom in India and ushered a revolutionary era leading to her political freedom. However, Aurobindo was not content with political freedom of India, but he took up the activities for freedom of man, his spiritual life.

New York City,
August 1, 1958

SECONDARY TEACHER TRAINING IN WEST BENGAL

By PARIMAL ROY, M.A., Ph.D. (London),
Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal (Rtd.).

A couple of years back the David Hare Training College—the pioneer and still the premier institution for secondary teacher training in West Bengal—celebrated its Golden Jubilee. Needless to say, completion of fifty years of existence of an institution of its kind formed a significant chapter in the evolution of teacher training for our secondary schools. It was a fitting occasion for stock-taking, and, appropriately, a souvenir volume was brought out which was largely, if not wholly, a retrospective study on the subject. The writer had the honour of being one of those who were asked to contribute to this commemoration volume. But he declined the honour with a pleasant “no” as much from a sense of his own incompetence as from a feeling that if he were to pen no mere platitudes but his honest conviction, he might strike a jarring note when it was customary to sing paeans of praises. For, he had the opportunity to see the institution, its working and its products, in the later years of its existence not however from a distance which lends enchantment to the view, but at sufficiently close quarters. He need not here conceal that as he witnessed the fan-

fares of the celebrations, the following line irresistibly kept running through his head:

“It’s now thy task to prove these (pre-claimed) glories true.”

What really is the exact situation? As the tree is known by its fruit, so the true measure of success of our training colleges is surely in the quality of their products—our trained graduate teachers. But “Why are our trained teachers apparently no better than untrained teachers?” exclaimed in agony the then Principal of the David Hare Training College in his Presidential Address at the Teacher Training Section of the All-India Educational Conference held at Chandigarh in 1958. Generally speaking, our trained teachers fall in the first place into two clearly recognised groups. At one extremity we have, unfortunately not a few, who may be dubbed as blanks of the society of trained teachers. The seeds of knowledge fell upon them as on “stony places, where they had not much earth”; and if “forthwith they sprung up,” enough to sell for a cheap livelihood, soon however, as in the parable, they withered away “because they had no root.” At the University examination with

its stock questions repeating themselves almost in a cyclical order and stereotyped practical tests, they could well afford to take calculated risk on the strength of what they crammed from made-easies and short-cuts—it was a sort of 50-50 toss-up for them. At the other extreme stand the naive who with a smattering of psychology and superficial scanning of text-books try to apply their unassimilated knowledge literally and without the least discrimination or adaptation to all kinds of situation. One can easily imagine the serio-comic role which they play but not perhaps so readily the mischief they do. Between these two groups lie the majority who combine in a great variety of forms and proportions ignorance with fads, shading into one another by gradual and imperceptible degrees.

A well-trained teacher true to his training is almost a rare gem. Firstly, for one reason or another suitable entrants to training colleges are not easily obtained. Secondly, present conditions of training are far from satisfactory. Thirdly, of the select few who are fortunate enough to receive tolerably good training, some are lured away from education to other more lucrative avenues of employment. The remnants, almost a handful, do not take long to pall and stagnate. They innocently point their fingers at the numerous difficulties, even open hostility, which confront them in their tasks. Which reminds the writer of the following line, the full maiden speech of a taciturn member of the United States Congress, delivered to parry the debate revolving round the power of the Constitution to undertake improvement of a certain variety of water :

"Mr. Speaker, I don't know 'nutting' very much about the Constitution, but I know this: I wouldn't give a cent for a constitution that didn't wash as well in hard water as in soft."* But the fact is that even when there is no hurdle to cross, as in Government Schools preponderantly staffed by trained teachers, the mode of

teaching seems no better, at least to any appreciable extent.

This is the over-all picture. To-day he teaches best who crams best his pupils for the final test. And the schools themselves are prone to make much of and trumpet their successes in these external examinations. Even the Board of Secondary Education applies this yard-stick for gradation of schools on its merit list. One cannot but recall in the context of this situation the trenchant observation of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee of 1922 about "the doubtful advantages derived from training" as being "worth the expenditure." Indisputably training, as organised today, yields but poor return. But that does not necessarily mean that training can never be a paying proposition and must be liquidated. The Committee's recommendation to close down training colleges was chiefly motivated by their extreme solicitude for economy at a time of acute financial stringency without true appreciation, however, of the value of training, if properly planned, organised, and executed. "Many teachers are good teachers by nature and common sense," said they, which would seem to emulate the example of Charlemagne who in his days enlisted as teachers "all those who by God's help are able to teach." Fortunately, the old belief that the capacity to teach is just a natural gift is long left behind. No serious-minded man now questions the obvious truth, though its recognition has come tardily even in the advanced countries of the West, that an intending teacher must be prepared for his job as well as an aspirant to any other profession. The risk in entrusting education of the young to unskilled hands may not be as readily apparent as when, say, unskilled engineers are engaged to construct bridges or quacks to take care of the ailing, but it is none-the-less real, and on a long view, even more incalculable.

In fact, in our own days it is no longer a question as to why but as to how the teachers may be trained. Until comparatively recent times training for

* Quoted with slight adaptation to suit the present context.

secondary teachers lay entirely in subject-matter fields as is still in vogue for University and College teachers who are highly specialised in their respective subjects but lack preparation in methods of teaching them. Gradually courses of studies for the preparation of secondary teachers became professionalised with due stress on the technique of transmitting learning. The importance attached to the one or the other aspect of this two-fold character of training, academic and professional, varied from one country to another with a distinct swing of the pendulum from the former to the latter. From mere acquirement of technical skill to impart knowledge, the methodology itself was with the progress of ideas oriented towards sympathetic understanding, on the one hand, of the pupil as a growing individual, and on the other, of the place of knowledge in his growth. In a word, emphasis shifted gradually from subject to technique and from technique to pupil. With the function of teaching thus broadened, the teachers' vocation has become highly specialised, complex, and difficult which evidently postulates careful training under proper guidance.

Nowhere perhaps is the ideal fully realized; but our training system does not even seem consciously directed towards the attainment of this avowed objective. Instead what is attempted is more of showmanship than of training and vain pursuit of shadows and symbols than of realities. Let us, by way of illustration, consider some of the conditions fundamental to successful training and examine how far they are fulfilled in West Bengal.

Success depends in no small measure on proper selection of trainees. That is all the more necessary in our country where training facilities are so inadequate and for more reason than one wastage can hardly be afforded. Educational achievement assessed simply by past academic record with or without an admission test is the usual basis adopted by our training colleges for screening the prospective trainees. Researches by experts have not yet discovered any correlation between efficiency

of experienced teachers and their earlier academic marks. There is, however, general agreement among them that the better way to test the requisite intellectual qualifications for successful teachers is to combine with scholastic record psychological tests of demonstrable value. No less important is the adjudgment of personal qualities and aptitudes; but most of our colleges make no attempt in this direction and the few which do rely solely upon a brief interview. Even the judgment of experienced interviewers, however conscientious, is not likely to prove fully trustworthy. Old school and college records may be more helpful but they are seldom kept, and even though avoidable in a few cases, are never called for and consulted. Mention may be made in passing of the aptitude tests used in the U.S.A.; personality and interest questionnaires; projection or other tests; the group exercise method developed for army officers, and in some countries for civil service selection; and such other devices. But nothing of the kind has been tried in any of our training colleges except for some spasmodic and half-hearted application of intelligence tests in the David Hare Training College. And this notwithstanding the setting up of a Psychological Bureau as an adjunct to the institution in 1953. Not that we have "sublime faith in the magic of scientific tests." But they should at least be tried for what they are worth. In any case, there is no justification to leave the process of selection on its present crude basis.

Next we proceed to analyse the B. T. curriculum of our University. It lends itself to obvious criticisms which may be summarised as follows:

A mere cursory glance will show that the syllabus is so framed as to over-do the theoretical, to the comparative neglect of the practical aspect of the training. In fact, theory covers nearly two-thirds of the whole course which presumably is too heavy a weightage in any scheme of studies for professional preparation. The revised syllabus proposed by the Conference of Training College Principals at Bangalore in 1957 and generally approved by the

Ministry of Education, Government of India, has, be it noted, attached equal importance to the theoretical and practical parts of the course. It is by no means faultless. A conspicuous defect, for example, is its failure to recognise the need of speech training and oral test. But it is undoubtedly a decided improvement. On present indication, however, the Calcutta University is unimpressed and remains unshaken in its intention to maintain the old order. The Visva-Bharati which has adopted the new syllabus is but responsible for the outturn of a very small percentage of our trained graduates.

Secondly, the course is over-loaded with a multiplicity of subjects making it too unwieldy for a short one-year, or what really amounts to an effective half-year, period of training. The original syllabus framed in 1906-8 was simpler and more practical. Its revision in its present form in 1941-42 without any comparable increase in the duration of the course or the college's total working hours cannot but be regarded as a retrograde measure. The expanded curriculum has served merely to detract from the thoroughness of instruction on the one hand and to cause shallowness and superfluity of learning on the other. The framers of the syllabus apparently lost sight of the truth that "educative effect inheres not in a subject but in the true spirit of study." And that was precisely that their handiwork was not likely to foster.

Thirdly, there is a good deal of dead wood in the curriculum, survival from the old-world belief in the potency of drill and exercise as an instrument of mental training. Very little is also gained in practice by the inclusion of a Modern Indian Language paper, and of Contents alongside Methodology of subjects. It is just those branches of studies which are truly and distinctly professional that alone should be accorded a place in the syllabus. Besides such subjects as relate to Primary and Infant School, Kindergarten, Nursery, Abnormal Psychology, Education of Handicapped seem out of place in preparation of

teachers for the usual run of our secondary schools.

Fourthly, the scope of a subject is often extended beyond what is necessary for its practical utility.

"So study evermore is overshoot :

While it doth study to have what

it would.

It doth forget to do the thing it should;

And when it hath the thing it

hunteth most,

'Tis won as towns with fire—so won,

so lost."

It is worthy of note that an intending teacher in Continental Europe is trained with a view to conditions he will afterwards find in the school rather than encouraged as here to push forward to his utmost capacity the frontiers of his knowledge of the content and method of a prescribed subject. Certainly it matters more how a teacher uses his knowledge than how much he knows. As the saying goes, "Although it is necessary to know in order to do, it is, however, better to do than to know."

Fifthly, coming to further detail we find that studies in Principles of Education and Psychology are not linked up with methods courses which in their turn are treated as altogether separate techniques. Then the two or three methods subjects which are required to be taken are not classified into allied groups. Trainees may, and indeed do, choose them at random unfettered by any standing rule or regulation. As a matter of fact, there is much that is un-co-ordinated in the present syllabus which is unlikely to "assist the prospective teacher to that professional integration at which sound teacher training aims." Far worse is the fact that the curriculum makes no attempt to bring the theoretical and practical sides of the course into close and vital relation to each other.

Finally, not to speak of experimentation with a view to its progressive adaptation to our peculiar needs, the fixity of the syllabus even in the face of changing situations and ideals, particularly after India's attainment of freedom, seems indefensible. It is amazing that it has not yet been made to respond to recent vital

changes in the structure of our secondary education. No competent authority has yet visibly addressed itself to the task of either instituting a new, or adjusting the old training course to the novel task of teachers in a multi-purpose school.

We now pass on to the training programme—the most vital link in the chain. No doubt it varies from one college to another but broadly is of the same pattern.

The time-table is everywhere heavy and over-crowded, thanks to the multiplicity of subjects in the curriculum. Even so the course can seldom be covered. That by itself need cause no regret so long as teaching successfully threshes chaff from the corn and does not needlessly encumber itself with what a trainee must master for himself by his self-controlled power of application. As the Spens Committee on Secondary Education in Great Britain observed: "We are not greatly concerned with the complaint that 'loose ends' are left in the teaching of subjects, for we remember that every branch and shoot of a tree has a loose end, and that these are the active points of growth." But neither does our present teaching method satisfy the foregoing requirement nor can the trainee be expected to find, unless the time-table is lightened, enough time for free reading and thinking and sustained personal practice.

Moreover, owing to inflation of roll-strength to which we shall have the occasion to allude hereafter in more detail, increasing reliance is now unavoidably placed on formal lectures. Tutorials and seminar have receded into the background and their effectiveness is again largely neutralised by the much bigger size of the groups. On analysis of the working routine of one of the foremost training colleges during the last session when its round of activities was in full swing, it is noticed that 34 periods of lectures were provided for as against 1 period of tutorial, 2 periods of seminar, and 2 periods of criticism and demonstration lessons in a week.*

*Cf. the following work programme of the David Hare Training College in one of its earliest years:

A tutorial or seminar group was composed of 20 or more pupils. One wonders if it was just lip service to some fashionable doctrines or an attempt to hoodwink the University regulation. Then we hear a lot of talk now-a-days from the training college staff about improved techniques, viz., workshops, supervised library reading, etc., but as a regular feature of training they are only conspicuous by their absence.

Nowhere perhaps does the maxim 'An ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory' apply more forcibly than in the sphere of professional education. But the outstanding weakness of our training college programme is that there is no proper integration of practical work with theoretical instruction. Each moves tangentially in direction of its own.

No provision exists at present for continuous practice teaching *pari passu* with theoretical lessons, as in England, or as indeed was arranged for in the early days of training. And in many cases conditions of school practice and of supervision in scattered far-off schools leave much to be desired. Unsatisfactory as arrangement for practice teaching is, and often the same is true of laboratory work for science subjects, such practical training, however, is seldom supplemented by any other, e.g., preparation of teacher aids, etc., which fall outside the scope of prescribed activity but are nevertheless very suitable to the needs of our school and community. So the field is extremely restricted for active purposeful work and the educational process as a

"Out of 28 periods in the time-table 9 periods had been allotted to lectures and as many as 16 periods to practical work. Adequate provision had also been made for tuition including discussion of essays and writing of answers to questions bearing upon lectures. The most striking feature of the programme was that it provided 35 thoroughly supervised lessons by students in 7 specially furnished classes in 5 periods in the week. The number of weekly demonstration lessons by the staff was as many as 10. There was also a criticism seminar to complete the scheme of practical training."—David Hare Training College Golden Jubilee Souvenir Volume, p. xliii.

result quickly degenerates into mere passive book-learning.

On the top of these gaps and deficiencies, there is the obsession of the University examination—the over-hanging Damocles' sword according to the jargon used in school and college circles—which throughout haunts the minds of the students and the teachers alike. Out of 900 to 1000 marks which the B.T. examination carries, only 50 marks are assigned to sessional work. The dominance of this examination over the entire course may, therefore, be easily imagined. The harmful effect of an external examination of this type is quite well-known and was recently high-lighted by Dr. Taylor's article in a local daily. Its unfavourable reaction on the work of a training college is especially unfortunate. For nothing is more disastrous for professional preparation than routinized teaching and memoriter learning to which it inevitably leads.

If the present state of affairs is as unsatisfactory as depicted above, it was not so in earlier years. The David Hare Training College got off to a good start with a small enrolment of picked trainees and adequate qualified staff and hence in spite of other untoward circumstances, was able to maintain a satisfactory standard for years. By and large its early products proved worthy of training. They were imbued with the sense of vocation and in addition to technical competence, showed enough resilience and grit to overcome all future obstacles. So, the select few, wherever they went, acted as "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."

No single factor has contributed so much to the steady deterioration of standard as the swelling of numbers which began in the thirties and has of late become worst accentuated. In the interval new training institutions were no doubt founded. The Calcutta University opened its Teachers' Training Department in 1935 and so did the Scottish Church College at about the same time for women trainees only. In 1941, B.T. affiliation was extended to the Union Christian College and Loreto House

for Women. The first-named suffered long from cramped accommodation and the rest were planned on an extremely limited scale. In recent years there has been a spurt—several training colleges have mushroomed into existence with inferior and inadequate human and material resources. Simultaneously, the growing need has also partially been met by augmentation of seats in the older institutions. From 60 which was fixed as the limit in 1925-26, when it shifted to its new premises at Ballygunge, the David Hare Training College has increased its numerical strength to 240. The University Training Department, after its removal from the main University Building where the enrolment had never exceeded 80, to ampler but by no means suitable accommodation in a rented house in South Calcutta, has become numerically nearly as large. The intake of the other institutions too has similarly increased, though in varying measures. Of course, staff, equipment and accommodation have not been enlarged to anything like the same proportion.

Naturally, this over-crowding and congestion has compelled the adoption of mass production methods. Individual attention, so characteristic of the old days, is now out of the question. Today a trainee must adjust himself to teaching as best he can, no matter what his own handicaps or proclivities may be. Personal exchanges and relationships—not only between the teachers and the taught but among fellow-students themselves—have become almost rare. Yet the crux of teacher-education is these contacts and intercourses; they have as everybody admits a tremendous influence in developing a trainee's personality and attitude. Nobody can blame the training college staff if they find the problems presented by the overwhelming mass of students as intractable. But the mournful truth is that there is now as a general rule more reluctance and less competence among them to brave the difficulties. There has been so much dipping into the level among later recruits on account of hasty expansion that the quip 'he who can't teach, he who can't teach, teaches others how to

teach has begun to be whispered about behind their back.

It should cause great anxiety to watch the present situation but no surprise if all around among the trained graduates there is seen a pervading sense of disillusionment, of frustration, and eventually of callousness, engineering in due order of succession cynicism among the new entrants. It is this moral debasement which portends the greatest danger. Clearly enough the need for remedy is urgent and imperative. But that is neither so easy nor will be found in mere criticism. Broad lines of remedial action, e.g., proper selection of trainees, revision of curriculum, emphasis on practical work of all kinds, reform of the traditional examining method, maintenance of proper pupil-teacher ratio, etc., are indicated in our diagnosis of the malady. The exact form and measure in which the foregoing suggestions and others may be brought about is a matter for careful expert consideration. They fall outside the scope of the present discussion. The Dey Commission on Secondary Education in West Bengal (1954) recognised the seriousness and complexity of the problem and suggested immediate appointment of a Committee of Experts to examine the question in all its aspects and to make constructive proposals. But it went unheeded as most such reports and recommendations usually are.

Whatever may be done either now or in the near future to redress or improve the situation, the following fundamental considerations should be borne in mind.

First, it should be recognised that out-turn of trained graduates and their employment on the staff of our High Schools is yet far too inadequate. In 1918, the Sadder Commission had noticed with dismay that the output of trained teachers even fell short of the requisite minimum for recoupment of loss by death, retirement and resignation. Of course, the position has since considerably improved, and progress has steadily been maintained over a number of years. Enrolment in B.T. classes in West Bengal Colleges exceeded 1200 in 1958-59 as compared to 195 in 1947-48 registering six times rise within the span of a little

over a decade. Within the same period the proportion of trained graduates to total number of teachers in High Schools has gone up from 10 per cent in 1947-48 to just above 24 per cent in 1957-58. Advancement from year to year has been at no uniform rate so that any precise calculation is difficult; but it is crystal clear that at this rate of progress it will take an inordinately long time before all our High Schools can be entirely or chiefly manned by trained graduates. Certainly we cannot wait that long, and no reasonable man will dispute that it is essential to make more rapid strides.

Secondly, it should be realized that unless training is effective, it is worse than useless. The decision should, therefore, be made definitely and once for all, that quality must in no circumstances be sacrificed for quantity. Our experience has well taught us that we have nothing to gain but much to lose by hurried development. In the background of the steadily increased employment of trained graduate teachers in our High Schools, the finding of the Dey Commission as quoted below strikes ironical enough but is a good pointer.

"There is no doubt, however, that the standard of secondary education in West Bengal is lower today than it had been in the past and that the deterioration is progressing rather rapidly."—**Report**, p. 50.

True quality must, as we have stated, be always ensured, but it does not follow, at needless or avoidable cost. The approach to the curriculum reform suggested above may, for example, be made in two ways. Either we may aim at completeness and enhance the length of training to 2 years as many have, indeed, advocated, or instead adhere to the existing one-year period and lighten the syllabus to what is required for actual use with ampler opportunities for practical work. In view of our limited man-power and financial resources, there may be no doubt in our mind as to which of the alternatives to choose. As a general rule, reasonable cost which is well within our means should, indeed, be a crucial test of any development project we may undertake.

Our duty then is to devise if we can a scheme which will accelerate the progress of teacher education without emasculation of its standard and undue strain on our available resources. But in any scheme first things should come first, and everything ought to proceed in a well-planned and well-co-ordinated manner. This is a further consideration which has got to be kept in the forefront.

Strangely, however, what our Government is doing is just the contrary. A case in point is the adoption of multi-lateralism as a general policy for our secondary schools which in the opinion of the Spens Committee was "too subversive a change to be made in a long-established system." Without entering into the merit of the controversy which has raged round it, we shall only point out what is pertinent to the present issue. Evidently it is irrational to super-impose upon the yet unsolved problem of teacher-training for the many old-pattern high schools a fresh one—that too untackled—for higher secondary schools and thereby aggravate the existing difficulties. Again, the introduction of differential salary-scales between trained and untrained graduate teachers has encouraged the older experienced people to crowd the training colleges, often elbowing out the young aspirants. It would have been more sensible if all of at least ten years' standing in the profession were spared the ordeal and certificated straightaway after an *ad hoc* practical test or an interview or at most on successful completion of a short vacation course. This is neither a new idea nor a novel practice. Nor is it unsound in theory. For experience is admittedly a good training ground, particularly for those who have the knack. The above are only a few of the instances where Government by its anxiety to do too much with too little and too soon is making confusion worse confounded.

In conclusion, we offer a new concrete proposal that is expected to be a major

contribution to the solution of the problem. Having regard to the urgency of demand for trained graduates going hand in hand with insuperable difficulties for augmentation of supply either by establishment of new training colleges or enlargement of old ones, it is suggested that the Honours course in Education which in no small measure overlaps the B.T. course be modified to suit the requirement of professional education (easier to accomplish for a three-year course) and be equated with B.T. for employment purposes or at least recognised as a valid pass-port to the profession of secondary school teachers. It will mean a year's saving in the total period of educational preparation—no small gain—but need not necessarily drag down the standard if the course is planned and run on rational lines. It will not only reduce the pressure on training colleges but help to keep up a steadily increasing flow of teachers of requisite calibre for our secondary schools. It will have the advantage of economy in men, money and material as they will be supplied in part from the common college pool. Finally, it will avoid wastage which results every year from the pursuit of the B.T. course by an appreciable number who resort to it as stop-gap, having nothing better to do at the moment. But once a young man decides to join the 3-year course in Education, he could not but have made up his mind about his profession. In reality that is the right time for making the decision as is corroborated by the experience of other countries where a very high percentage of the prospective teachers actually so decide at about the time they reach the end of secondary schools. We are aware of the existence of a school of opinion which is against specialist preparation during the period of general training. But the view has gained no general acceptance, and secondly, as things are, it would be difficult to meet the present exigencies by any other reasonable method.



MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN KERALA

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

II

Some Distinctive features of the present Elections

(a) Simultaneous voting

A distinctive feature of the February elections in Kerala was the fact that polling in all the constituencies (114 in all including a few double-member constituencies) was completed in a day (February 1) and was not staggered over a week or more as was the practice in the past. Provision was made for a continuous poll for 10 hours while on earlier occasions there had been provision for polling for eight hours with a break of half an hour.

(b) Speedier Announcement of Results

Similarly the announcement of the results of elections was also expedited. The results of more than seventy per cent of the seats were announced on February 2, those of all but four seats were known by February 3 and by the following day (February 4), the announcement of the results was completed.

(c) Marking System of Voting

But the most significant innovation introduced during these elections was the marking system of voting. Heretofore except in one or two bye-elections in urban areas the voter was given a numbered ballot paper which he used to put into the ballot box bearing the name and symbol of the candidate of his choice and there used to be as many boxes as there were candidates. The voter had not to mark the ballot paper. Under the marking system

there is only one box in a booth. The voter is given a ballot paper which bears the names of the contesting candidates with their symbols given against the name of each. The voter's task is to mark the name or symbol of the candidate of his choice by ink. Having marked and folded the ballot paper, the voter is required to cast it into the ballot box in the presence of the polling staff. Among the advantages claimed for the new system is that it makes for economy because under this system a smaller number of boxes is required and there is some saving also in installation and transportation costs of boxes. Another advantage—arising from the fact that the voter is required to put the ballot paper into box in the presence of polling officers—is that the chances of ballot paper being carried away by the voter are minimised and chances of misuse of ballot paper are to that extent averted.

The marking system presupposes a great degree of intelligence, if not actual literacy of the voters. Though Kerala has the highest percentage of literacy in India, all the voters could by no means be taken as literate. How did they react to this new voting procedure? If the number of invalid votes is any indicator then the voters must be regarded to have acquitted themselves quite well. The number of invalid votes in the February elections was 89,364 (a little over one per cent of the total votes polled) against 47,000 (less than one per cent (0.81%) of the total votes polled) in the elections in 1957. The relative and absolute increases in the number of waste votes are far smaller than the relative and absolute increases in the number of votes polled. The percentage of voter participation was 84.3 per cent in February 1960 against 66 per cent in 1957. The corres-

ponding absolute numbers are 8.1 million and 5.8 million respectively.

(d) Active Women

A marked characteristic of the February elections was the large initiative shown by the women. The special correspondent of the *Hindu* wrote after his tour of Kerala on the eve of the elections: "Tremendous work is being put forth by the workers of both sides (i.e., Communists and anti-Communists) and thousands are in the field working round the clock. A sizeable number of women workers are also doing active electioneering work. Continuous rallies, public meetings, slogan shouting and all other demonstrations of enthusiasm and fervour are the order of the day."¹⁸ The votes of the women were a decisive factor in the elections. Nearly four million women cast their votes and in many booths male voters were outnumbered by female voters. The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party passed a resolution on February 9 expressing its deep sense of gratitude to the people of Kerala—in particular saluting the women of Kerala whose solidarity, courage and enduring efforts had made such a splendid contribution to the cause of democracy.

(e) Heavy polling

A marked characteristic of the mid-term elections in Kerala was the unusually heavy polling. The high pitch to which the election fervour had risen had led many observers to forecast this event.¹⁹ "To one who witnessed a few earlier elections in the State," a newspaperman observed on the eve of the elections, "the current one strikes as extraordinary in many ways and certainly unprecedented in its impact. The war of the slogans shouted and written upon all conceivable places like public roads, public and private

compounds, walls, culverts and the like by rival party workers, is only matched by the battle of the flags of the different parties one vying with another to fly a little higher."²⁰ Polling was more than 80 per cent in sixty-two constituencies and in 25 of them exceeded 90 per cent. The highest percentage was 98.5 registered at Ottapalam constituency where only 865 people failed to vote, while the lowest percentage was 69.5 in Tanur, Palghat district. The average poll was about 85 per cent—only a little short of the national record of 88 per cent polled in Travancore-Cochin in 1954.²¹

Straight Contests

There were 312 candidates in the field for 126 seats. In seventy-eight constituencies there was a straight fight between the Communist Party and the Alliance as against only 23 straight contests in 1957. In all except one seat (Koothuparamba constituency where the Communist Party had no candidate of its own but supported the nominee of the Indian Socialist Party) the two blocks had their rival candidates. The Alliance won in 58 of the straight contests and the C.P.I. won in 20. In 42 constituencies there were three contestants: of these Alliance won 31 and the communists 8. In each of the remaining six constituencies there were four or more candidates for a seat; the Alliance secured five of them.

One hundred and two members were elected from single-member constituencies of whom 77 belonged to the Alliance and 19 to the Communist Party. In the twelve double-member constituencies, the Alliance was successful in 17 seats and the Communists in 7.

20. *Ibid*, (Report of the Special Correspondent from Neyyatinkara, dated 27th January).

21. *Times of India*, Bombay, 4th February, 1960 (Despatch of B.G. Verghese from Trivandrum); *Hindu*, 7th February, 1960 (Summary of article on the Kerala election by Mr. Easwar Sagar, the newspaper's special correspondent).

18. *Hindu*, Madras, 29 January, 1960.

19. For example, *Hindu*, *Ibid* (Report of the Special Correspondent from Ernakulam).

Loss of Security Deposit

The electoral law requires every candidate to make a security deposit which is forfeited if a candidate fails to obtain one-sixth of the valid votes polled. In the February elections in Kerala, fifty one candidates lost their deposits. Of these 14 belonged to the K.S.P., 14 to the R.S.P., 3 to the Jan Sangh, three to the Socialist Party of India of Mr. Lohia and 17 Independents. None of the candidates belonging to the Congress, Communist, P.S.P. or the Muslim League lost his security deposit.

decisive results than before. In the 1957 elections only 61 of the successful candidates got more than 50 per cent of the 'total votes polled in respective constituencies; the corresponding number this year is 107. The following table is self-explanatory.

| Majority | Triple Alliance | Communis | Others |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Less than 100 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 101—1,000 | 9 | 6 | 1 |
| 1,001—5,000 | 24 | 12 | 0 |
| 5,001—10,000 | 25 | 7 | 0 |
| Over 10,000 | 35 | 3 | 1 |

Re-Elections

One hundred and six Members of the dissolved Assembly contested the elections of whom 71 (35 Congress, 9 P.S.P., 6 M.L., 18 Communists, 2 Communist-supported Independent and one unattached Independent) were successful. Thirty-five persons were unseated of whom 31 were Communists, two Communist-supported Independents and two Congressmen. Among the defeated were 7 of the 11 members of the dissolved Communist Ministry. Among the successful candidates in the February elections seven were women (one more than in the last Assembly) and 12 belonging to the Scheduled Castes (three less than in the dissolved Assembly).

The results are summarised in the table below:

| Party | No. of seats contested by sitting members | No. of sitting members elected |
|--------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Communist | 49 | 18 |
| Congress | 37 | 35 |
| P.S.P. | 9 | 9 |
| M.L. | 6 | 6 |
| Independents | 5 | 3 |

Fewer Marginal Victories

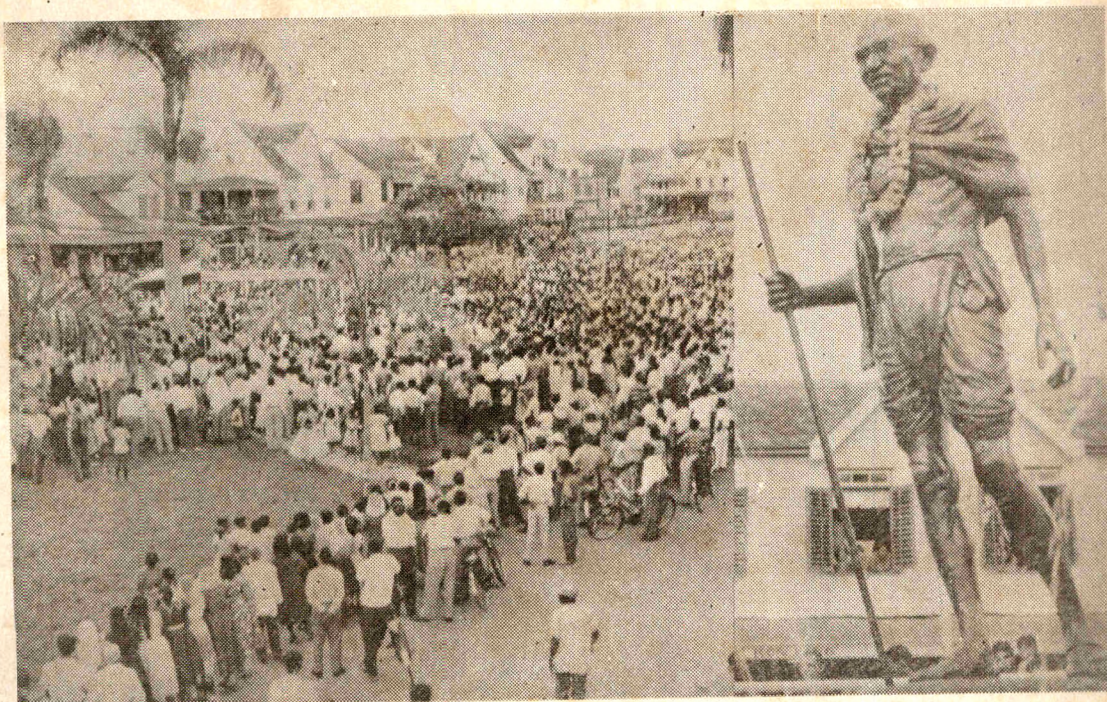
The polarisation of the political elements leading to the reduction in the number of contestants resulted in a larger number of

Political Parties

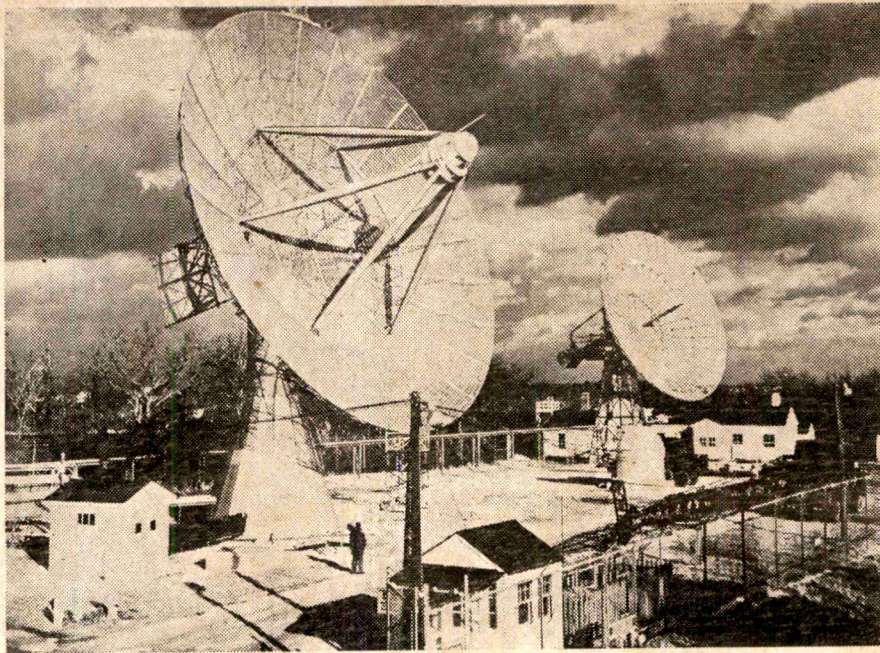
The mid-term elections in Kerala were contested by eight political parties. All the four national parties recognised as such by the Election Commission, viz., the Indian National Congress, the Communist Party of India (CPI), the Praja-Socialist Party (PSP) and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS) took part in them. The Congress put 80 candidates of whom 63 were returned; the Communists put up 102 candidates and supported 23 independent candidates of whom 26 party candidates and 3 Independents were returned; the PSP put up 33 candidates of whom 20 were returned, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh put up three candidates none of whom could come out successful. Of the other four parties three, viz., the Muslim League (ML), the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and the Kerala Socialist Party (KSP), are purely local parties having no activity outside Kerala (the RSP has a member in Parliament elected from West Bengal, but his is a special case). The fourth one—the Indian Socialist Party led by the erstwhile PSP leader, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, is an all-India party with a very small following and is not recognised as an all-India party. The RSP obtained one seat only, the other three parties failing to secure any seat. Apart from 23 Communist-supported Independents, there were 19 other Independent candidates in the field. Three Communist-supported Independents and two



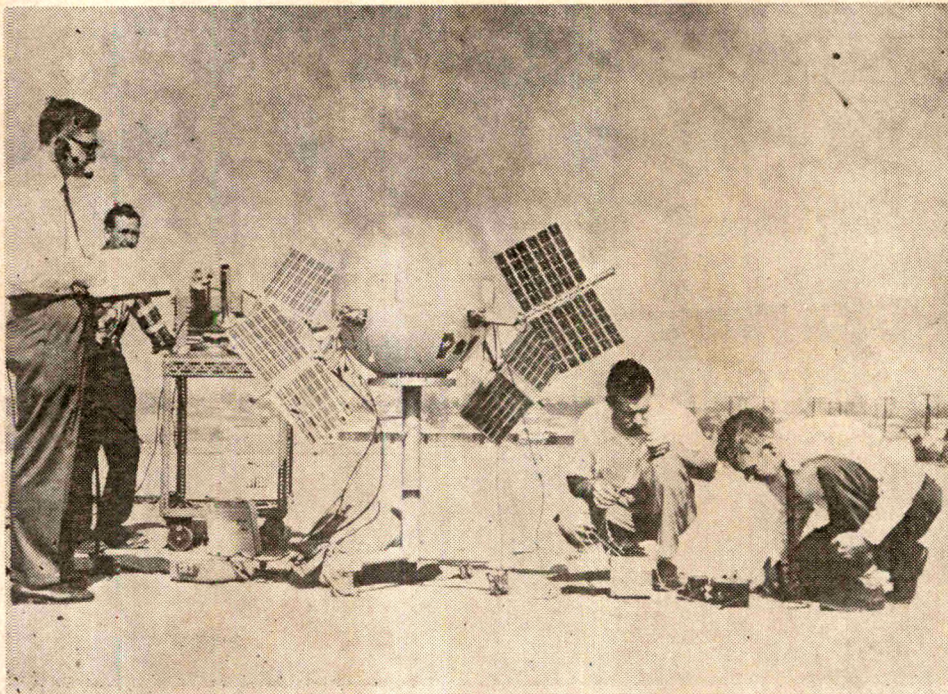
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister Chou En-lai (China), Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi (China), Union Minister Sardar Swaran Singh, in New Delhi



A life-size statue of Mahatma Gandhi was unveiled in the Centre of Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam, Dutch Guiana, by the Governor of the Colony on Gandhiji's 90th birth anniversary recently



The antenna complex at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, is being used to command and receive pictures from Trios I, the meteorological satellite launched by the U. S.



The U. S. launched a new 94-pound artificial planet to orbit around the Sun between Earth and Venus

non-attached Independents were returned. The table below summarises the results:

Comparative Table of Election Results in 1957 and 1960 in Kerala

Kerala Legislative Assembly Election, 1960

1957

| | | Seats contested | Seats won | Votes polled |
|---|----------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Seats—126 | Electorate—80,38,262 | | | |
| Vote polled—81,93,121 (of which 89,369 were declared invalid) | | | | |
| Name of the Political Party | Seats contested | Seats won | Votes polled | |
| Indian National Congress | 80 | 63 | 27,91,294 | |
| Communist Party of India | 102 | 26 | 29,75,259 | |
| Praja-Socialist Party | 33 | 20 | 11,46,029 | |
| Bharatiya Jan Sangh | 3 | Nil | 5,277 | |
| Muslim League | 12 | 11 | 3,99,925 | |
| Revolutionary Socialist Party | 18 | 1 | 1,06,137 | |
| Kerala Socialist Party | 14 | Nil | 5,938 | |
| Socialist Party of India | 4 | Nil | 21,297 | |
| Communist-sponsored Independents | 23 | 3 | 5,74,877 | |
| Independents | 19 | 2 | 77,725 | |

It becomes abundantly clear from the above table that the forceful political elements in Kerala are grouped around four parties—three national (Congress, Communist and the Praja-Socialist) parties and one local (Muslim League) party. The other two local parties (RSP and KSP) which had commanded some influence earlier have been completely eclipsed both in respect of popular support and in the number of seats won. All the KSP candidates and 14 of the 18 RSP candidates and all three Jan Sangh candidates lost their security deposits—having failed to obtain even one-sixth of the total valid votes polled.

How does the performance of the four major political parties in Kerala in the present elections compare with their achievement in the general elections in 1957 with which they are closely comparable in many respects? The following table presents a bird's eye view.

1960

| | Seats contested | Seats won | Votes polled |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|
| CPI | 101 (80%) | 60 (48%) | 20,59,547 (35%) |
| Congress | 124 (99.2%) | 43 (34.4%) | 22,09,251 (37.8%) |
| PSP | 64 (51%) | 9 (7.2%) | 6,28,261 (10%) |
| ML | 17 (13.4%) | 8 (6.4%) | 2,70,470 (4.6%) |
| RSP | 27 (21.6%) | Nil (0%) | 1,88,443 (3.2%) |
| Independents | 55 (44%) | 5 (4%) | 4,81,635 (8.3%) |

| | Seats contested | Seats won | Votes polled |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|
| CPI | 102 (81%) | 26 (20.7%) | 29,75,259 (36.7%) |
| Congress | 80 (63.5%) | 63 (50%) | 27,91,294 (34.5%) |
| PSP | 33 (26.15%) | 20 (15.9%) | 11,46,029 (14.2%) |
| ML | 12 (9.52%) | 11 (8.7%) | 3,99,925 (4.9%) |
| RSP | 18 (14.29%) | 1 (0.80%) | 1,06,137 (1.18%) |
| Independents | 42 (33.33%) | 5 (4.72%) | 6,52,602 (7.97%) |

The Communists contested more seats, got more votes (both in relative and absolute numbers) but fewer seats. The Congress contested a far smaller number of seats than in 1957 but got more votes (in absolute numbers, the popularity relative to other political parties showing a decline from 1957) and made a net gain of 46.51 per cent more seats. The Muslim League also put up fewer candidates, got 129,000 more votes (the relative popularity showing no marked change) and gained three seats over 1957. The RSP contested fewer seats, got fewer votes but obtained one seat (a gain over 1957). There were fewer Independent candidates in the field; they

The relative position of the different political parties in the different districts of Kerala is given in the following table:

| Districts | No. of seats | Communists | | Congress | | PSP | | Muslim League | |
|------------|--------------|------------|------|----------|------|------|------|---------------|------|
| | | 1957 | 1960 | 1957 | 1960 | 1957 | 1960 | 1957 | 1960 |
| Trivandrum | 12 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | — | — |
| Quillon | 14 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 6 | — | 3 | — | — |
| Alleppey | 14 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 8 | — | — | — | — |
| Kottayam | 13 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 1 | — | — |
| Ernakulam | 14 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 13 | — | — | — | — |
| Tirchur | 12 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 2 | — | — |
| Palghat | 15 | 11 | 10 | 3 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 3 |
| Calicut | 20 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 8 |
| Cannanore | 12 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 3 | — | — |

The Communist Party lost seats in every district, the PSP did not lose in any district but generally gained in all districts including three seats in Quillon where it had no candidates in 1957, the Congress gained in seven districts but lost two seats in Palghat and one seat in Calicut.

Communist Assessment

The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India met on February 5,

got more votes and retained their strength at Ernakulam for a preliminary review of in the legislature except for the fact that the results of the election.

in the last assembly all the five Independents were supported by, and supporters of, the Communist Party, but now there are only three such Independent candidates—the other two being supporters of the anti-Communist alliance.

The Committee said that the party had emerged from the mid-term poll "stronger than before and remains the first party of the people" in the State. The Communist Party had undoubtedly failed to secure the number of seats it had expected to win, it added, but the fact that the Communist Party and its allied Independents had registered an advance of 3.8 per cent in their poll while the votes polled by the Triple Alliance had gone up by less than one per cent (from 52.84 per cent in 1957 to 53.2 per cent) was also a very significant fact.²² The Secretariat of the National Council of the Party meeting in New Delhi on the same day passed a resolution which also repeated similar sentiments. The results of the poll clearly showed that the policies and principles for which the Communist Party had stood and which it had sought to carry out when in control of the Government had won more support among the people than before, it said.²³

Three days later, however, the Executive Committee of the Kerala State Council of the Party adopted a resolution (on February 8) admitting the party's defeat was serious and severe. "It is useless trying to ignore the gravity or minimise the seriousness of the defeat," the resolution said.²⁴

Congress

The Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (K.P.C.C.) adopted a resolution on February 7 thanking the people of Kerala, the other parties in the alliance and the other organisations for their co-operation in achieving a great victory in the election. Mr. R. Sankar, President of the Committee, told pressmen that the Committee generally favoured some form of "Joint Government of the Alliance and not an exclusively Congress Government."²⁵ The Central

22. Times of India, 6th February, 1960.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid, 10th February, 1960.

25. Ibid, 8th February, 1960.

Congress Parliamentary Board meeting in New Delhi on February 9, also generally agreed that the unity among the three parties forming the Alliance should not only be maintained but further strengthened by forming "some sort of a joint ministry in the State."²⁶ The Board, however, expressed the view that a Congressman should preferably head the ministry (the State Unit of the Congress Party had earlier indicated its willingness to accept Mr. Thanu Pillai of the P.S.P. as the Chief Minister) and that the coalition in the State Ministry be preferably limited to the Congress and the P.S.P. The third party of the Alliance—the Muslim League might be offered the Speakership of the Assembly.²⁷

The Muslim League, however, wanted to have at least one member in the Ministry; and this demand was strongly supported by the P.S.P. The Congress High Command was, however, vehemently opposed to this suggestion and firmly held its ground. Meanwhile on February 14 Mr. R. Sanker was elected leader of the Congress Legislature Party in Kerala after much internal wrangling.²⁸

P.S.P.

The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party meeting in New Delhi adopted a resolution on February 9, hailing the victory of the anti-Communist Alliance and appointed a five-man Committee headed by the National Chairman to consider and deal with post-election developments in Kerala including the

party's participation in a coalition Ministry.²⁹

Ministry Formation

The Congress-PSP talks for a coalition Ministry in Kerala almost foundered on the fundamental divergence in the outlook of the two parties over the inclusion of a Muslim League member in the proposed cabinet. The Congress was strongly against forming a Government with the Muslim League. As a final measure of concession to the PSP the Congress President wrote a letter to the Chairman of the PSP stating that in case the PSP refused to join a coalition with the Congress, the latter would be prepared to give full support to the PSP if it decided to form a ministry by itself or in coalition with the League.³⁰ Explaining the Congress opposition to the inclusion of the Muslim League, Mr. Nehru said before his monthly press conference in New Delhi on February 24, that the Muslim League's election manifesto had contained references which were highly objectionable.³¹ Eventually, however, a Congress-PSP coalition ministry was sworn in on February 22 headed by Mr. Thanu Pillai of the PSP, the ministry had eleven members—eight Congress and three (including the Chief Minister) PSP. A member of the Muslim League was duly elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.*

26. Ibid, 10th February, 1960.

27. Ibid, 11th February, 1960.

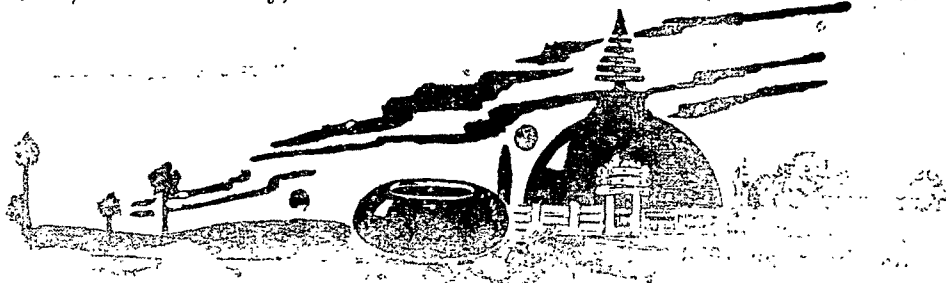
28. Ibid, 15th February, 1960.

29. Ibid, 10th February, 1960.

30. Ibid, 19th February, 1960.

31. Hindu, Madras, 25th Feb., 1960.

* Based on an article appearing in the World Today (Royal Institute of International Affairs) London, May, 1960.



LEVEL OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN OLD CHINA

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

China staggered the world by producing a food-grain crop of 350 million tons last year—an increase of the order of 90 per cent all condensed in one year. Appendix A, B, and C supply the necessary data about area, production and yield of important crops in China for the past few years. Nowhere in the history of world agriculture has such a tremendous increase been recorded. The maximum annual increase so far known was about 12 per cent in Taiwan in the years after their recovery in 1945. The only explanation for that is that there was a similar fall in the year 1939-45. Table 1 shows the level of agricultural production in Taiwan for the years 1910 to 1956.

Table 1 : Annual growth rate of agricultural output in Taiwan, 1910 to 1956.

| Period | Average annual growth rate (percentage) |
|-----------------|---|
| 1911-20 | 1.40 |
| 1921-39 | 4.50 |
| 1939-45 | 12.33 |
| 1945-52 | 12.90 |
| 1952-56 | 4.96 |
| 1910-39 Average | 3.45 |
| 1945-56 Average | 9.90 |
| 1910-56 Average | 2.70 |

Source : An Analytical review of Agricultural development in Taiwan, by S. C. Hsieh and T. H. Lee, p. 4.

On the analogy of Taiwan, the immediate question that comes to one's mind is that maybe, China has also recovered from the levels already touched by her during the pre-war years. This is a fitting subject that calls for a thorough examination. We accordingly propose to discuss in this paper the level of agricultural production in pre-war China in our search to find an answer to the high levels reached by her during the year 1958.

For a proper appreciation of Chinese agriculture, it is necessary to first under-

stand the peculiarities and distinctive features which she has developed over the long centuries. They are to be seen in the structure of her:

1. Land utilisation.
2. System of irrigation.
3. Preservation and use of organic manures, and
4. practice of double or even multiple cropping.

Land Utilisation

Pre-war records of land utilisation for China's total geographical area of about 2,400 million acres (roughly 3 times that of India), are not available. Buck conducted a survey of the major wheat and rice regions in that country covering an area of about 1,359 thousand square miles (nearly 870 million acres) during the period 1929-33. Cultivated land in these regions was estimated at 27 per cent. Forests occupied only 8.7 per cent and pastures another 4.6 per cent. Table 2 gives an idea of the major uses of land in eight countries in the pre-war period.

(See Table 2)

Over-all statistics of Buck exclude the desert and high mountains of the West and show 362,000 square miles or 232 million acres under cultivation in China without Manchuria and Taiwan.

Cressey¹ while examining the position of land utilisation during this period says that allowing for cultivated land in areas which Buck omitted, the total crop areas in China as a whole may reach 425,000 square miles (272 million acres) nearly 12 per cent of the country.

China witnessed many an upheaval during 10-12 years preceding her occupation of the Communist regime in 1949. And not only agriculture, but the total economy of the country suffered. Appendix 'D' gives an idea of the land utilisation pattern in China during the period 1949-50 and 1955-56.

1. G. B. Cressey : Land of the 500 million. A Geography of China.

Table 2: Major uses of land in eight countries—pre-war

| Countries | (Per cent of total) | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------|--------|------------|----------|
| | Cultivated land | Pasture | Forest | Other land | All land |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| China (eight agricultural areas) | 27.0 | 4.6 | 8.7 | 59.7 | 100 |
| Japan proper | 17.2 | .... | 56.6 | 26.2 | 100 |
| India (British Province) | 46.3 | .... | 13.1 | 40.6 | 100 |
| Russia (1928) | 12.0 | 2.9 | 27.3 | 57.8 | 100 |
| Italy | 44.6 | 20.1 | 16.0 | 19.3 | 100 |
| Germany | 43.8 | 17.4 | 27.2 | 11.6 | 100 |
| Great Britain | 22.5 | 56.3 | .... | 20.7 | 100 |
| United States | 22.6 | 35.1 | 31.9 | 10.4 | 100 |

Source: **Land Utilisation in China** by J. L. Buck, p. 172

Cultivated land in the country was only 10 per cent in 1949-50 and 11 per cent in 1955-56. This brings out the fact that no more additional areas were brought under cultivation during the ten years period in spite of the everyday increasing pressure on land because of population increase. Some of the land might have, on the other hand, gone out of cultivation due to the unsettled conditions in the country. The other and more important point is that the level of land utilisation in China, during all the period before 1948, was very low. This would suggest that the larger part of the cultivated area—especially in the river valleys—consisted of rich and fertile soils. The Chinese peasant, in spite of the heavy pressure on land was not required to bring under the plough vast extents of marginal or even submarginal land.

Mainland China sources now estimate an additional 266 million acres as reclaimable land.² It may be difficult to say exactly how much more land can be put to arable farming. But what seems plausible is that China in spite of the heavy pressure on land, still had vast untapped resources. During the First Five-Year Plan alone she succeeded to add about 13 million acres to her cultivated area against the original target of 6.3 million acres.

2. Chao-Kuo-Chun: **Agricultural Development and Problems in China**, **India Quarterly**, Jany-April, 1959, p. 18.

Irrigation System

China has 1,600 rivers with a basin area of 6,669 thousand square kilometers (1,667 million acres) representing 69.5 per cent of the total area of the country. With such a huge water potential, China naturally possesses a tremendous initial advantage in the development of her agriculture. The table below gives an idea of the water power potential:

Table 3: Water power potential

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------|---------|
| Rivers of fair size in | | No. Unit | |
| China | | | 1593 |
| Basin area | Thousand Sq. Kilometers | | 666.9 |
| Per cent of total area of China | | | 69.5 |
| Total length of rivers | Kilometer | | 226600 |
| Annual flow | Million Sq. metres | | 2617000 |
| Theoretical potential of water power | Million kw. | | 544 |
| Of this: usable water power „ | | | 300 |

Note: Calculated according to average flow.

Irrigated area in China has been vast yet like other agricultural statistics, no reliable data on the subject are available for the pre-war period. The survey conducted by Buck, revealed that irrigation of one or the other type existed in 95 per cent of all the localities studied. According to the sample farm studies in the areas covered by Buck's survey, irrigated land has 46 per cent of the cultivated land (232 million acres). This would work out to roughly 107 million acres. Estimates of irrigated area made on the basis of Agricultural Survey Schedules give nearly the same proportion of the area irrigated, namely, 47 per cent for all the hsien included in the study.³

The other point which deserves consideration in this respect is the fact that nearly 37 per cent of the crop area was devoted to rice and, of the latter area, almost all was irrigated.⁴ This would be helpful to understand the phenomena of high agricultural yields particularly those of rice in China.

As for the type of irrigation, chief sources of irrigation water according to Buck were streams, ponds, wells, and ditches, named in order of importance. In the Wheat Region, nearly three quarters of the localities used irrigation water from well, whereas in the Rice Region two-thirds obtained it from streams and other half from ponds. Well-irrigation was especially important in the Winter Wheat-kaoling area. Pond irrigation was most important in the Yangtze rice-wheat and the rice-tea areas. Pumping was the method of applying water to the fields for over three-fourths of the localities.⁵

The other peculiarity about Chinese irrigation has been a more or less constant supply of water although as much as 20 per cent of the localities surveyed by Buck reported failures once in three years.

Assuming that the areas left out of the survey conducted by Buck had the same

proportion of irrigated area, Mainland China had proper irrigation for about 128 million acres. If this is true, the maximum damage that China suffered during the postwar decade was in many of its irrigation works going out of use. According to the available data, irrigated area in China in the year 1949 was only 50 million acres, out of a cultivated area of about 242 million acres.⁶ Although Chinese agriculture recovered steadily after 1948, there was a considerable backlog of repair and maintenance to be done on river control and irrigation installations,⁷ even by 1952.

Preservation and use of Organic Manures

Wastage of any organic matter in China is considered nothing short of race suicide. Animal and human excreta as well as urine is preserved there with a religious fervour. If, for example, a Chinese farmer gets a crop of 1,000 lbs., from his field, he expects that the share which he and his family eat, shall as far as possible, be returned to the soil in the form of human waste.⁸ Whatever quantity of his grain he sells to the nearest market, he endeavours to recover by purchasing the town night soil. The result is that the farmer or the scavenger, who removes night soil from the cities, instead of being paid something as practised in India or elsewhere, pays each householder for the privilege. King⁹ cites the example of a Chinese contractor paying \$31,000 gold in 1908 for collecting 78,000 tons of human waste in the city of Shanghai.

A Chinese farmer in order to supplant his manurial requirements has been practising the formation of nitrates in soils. The floors of dwellings are charged with potassium nitrate. The overcharged soils are removed by contractors who pay for it.

6. Report of the Indian Delegation to China, p. 92.

7. Roshow: The Prospects for Communist China.

8. Cf. G. T. Wrench: The Restoration of Peasantries.

9. Farmers of Forty Centuries, p. 171.

3. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

5. Cf., Hsian-Tung Foy: Peasant Life in China, pp. 155-159.

Nitre-farming as it is called thus helps to increase uncropped virgin soils.¹⁰

Fuel and manurial economy is found at its best in the practice, both in China and Japan, of rice hulls and rice straw, being used as fuel and mulch. Coal dust mixed with clay is patted into small cakes to serve as fuel. The burnt soil is then used as manure. It has been found that if soil is heated to dryness at a temperature of 110 degree centigrade the solvent-power of water finds it more easy to recover from it plant food.

In Southern China, there is again an equally more laborious practice of periodic exchange of soil between mulberry orchards and rice¹¹ fields. They have found by experience that such an exchange goes a long way in improving both mulberry and rice. There is also the practice

of the use of canal mud, some times at the rate of even 70 tons or more¹² per acre.

The livestock population of China in March 1937 was hardly 140 million heads excluding poultry. Appendix E supplies the necessary data. Use of manures in the Agricultural economy there was, however, superb in the sense that the cultivator there could maintain higher production level without the use of fertilisers which her neighbour, Japan had been using extensively.

Table below gives an idea of the quantity of manures (in terms of 'N') applied per crop acre of all crops in the areas surveyed by Buck. China was putting in her soil about 100 lbs. of nitrogen per acre on an average.

Table 4 : Relation of size of farm to pounds of 'N' applied per crop acre of all crops¹³

| Regions and acres | Number of locality | Small | Medium | Medium large | Large | Very large |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------|--------|--------------|-------|------------|
| CHINA | | | | | | |
| Wheat Region | 152 | 93 | 95 | 100 | 97 | 104 |
| Rice Region | 68 | 85 | 85 | 86 | 85 | 88 |
| Wheat Region Areas | | | | | | |
| Spring Wheat | 13 | 97 | 109 | 105 | 80 | 137 |
| Winter Wheat-millet | 20 | 74 | 77 | 78 | 82 | 81 |
| Winter Wheat-kaciliang | 35 | 78 | 80 | 83 | 83 | 71 |
| Rice Region Areas | | | | | | |
| Yangtze Rice-wheat | 31 | 140 | 149 | 175 | 164 | 220 |
| Rice-tea | 22 | 56 | 58 | 56 | 57 | 48 |
| Szechwan Rice | 7 | 116 | 123 | 124 | 127 | 114 |
| Double Cropping Rice | 12 | 91 | 84 | 74 | 76 | 63 |
| South-western Rice | 12 | 104 | 82 | 86 | 72 | 70 |

10. The application of soil as a fertiliser to the fields of China must have played an important part in the permanency of agriculture in the Far East, for all such additions have been positive accretions to the effective soils, increasing its depth and carrying to it all plant food elements.

11. King, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

12. *Ibid*, p. 22. Also Wrench, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

13. Original figures given by Buck were in terms of farmyard manure. They have been converted into 'N' at 1 per cent Farmyard manure prepared in India by the Byer-pit system contains about 0.9 per cent of nitrogen. Chinese methods of preservation of manure are superior to those in India. Hence, our calculation at 1 per cent.

Double Cropping

Multiple crop index in China is high. Wilcox¹⁴ refers to as many as four rice crops being grown from the same field in China, although the crop does not take less than 115 days in all. This is done by sprouting the seed away from the field and thus saving 25 days for each crop.

All this is possible because of specific climatic conditions and an efficient irrigation system as already discussed. Besides this, cultivation techniques in China are complicated and there is a fine tradition of intensive cultivation.

China is located in the North Temperate Zone with mild climate. Since the country lies within smaller degrees of latitudes (53 and 18 degrees North), large part of the year is suitable for the growth of plants. Winter temperature is quite different between the northern and southern parts of China but summer temperature is more or less uniform. The frost-free period lasts for 125 days in the northern-most part and over 350 days in the southern-most part. Precipitation is ample but rainfall is scarce in the North-west region and frequent in the South-east region. In the central and southern parts, it is, therefore, possible to grow two or three crops a year.

In recent years, the cultivation of double rice crop has spread not only to the Yangtze but also to the Huai River. This practice has now been popularised in the Tai Lake, Chav Lake, and Chengtu plains and the yield is higher than single cropping. It has also been proved by the Tientain Agriculture, Forestry and Water Conservancy Experimental Station that if cultivation technique is improved, transplanting of seedlings can take place 20 to 30 days ahead of the usual time in the north.¹⁵ This would help extending double cropping of rice even to the North.

The physical ability of China to have multiple crops has placed the country in

a very favourable condition which other countries in the world cannot enjoy.

It has not been possible to collect data on double cropping for the pre-war period. The table below, however, shows net and gross sown area during the years 1952 to 1955, in China as well as India.

Table 5 : Comparison of net sown areas, and total sown area in China and India—1952 to 1955

(In thousand acres)

| Sl. No. | Year | China—1 | |
|---------|------|---------------|-----------------|
| | | Net-sown area | Gross-sown area |
| 1. | 1952 | 266612.9 | 348972.4 |
| 2. | 1953 | 268119.7 | 355839.4 |
| 3. | 1954 | 270160.5 | 365450.0 |
| 4. | 1955 | 272141.5 | 373247.1 |

| Sl. No. | Year | India—2 | |
|---------|------|---------------|-----------------|
| | | Net-sown area | Gross-sown area |
| 1. | 1952 | 304900 | 340000 |
| 2. | 1953 | 313253 | 351950 |
| 3. | 1954 | 317757 | 355854 |
| 4. | 1955 | 318200 | 362600 |

Source : 1. Report of the Indian Delegation to China, p. 92.
2. Land Utilisation Statistics, Directorate of Economics and Statistics.

Double cropping is primarily dependent upon the supply of water. Irrigated area in China in 1955 was only 65 million acres as against 125 million acres of pre-war level. It is quite possible that double-cropped area in the pre-war period may be somewhere near 200 million acres against 100 million acres in 1953. This is also supported by Buck when he says that nearly two-thirds of the cultivated land in China grew two or more crops.¹⁶ This would mean 180 million acres when the net sown area was 272 million acres.

Some Disadvantages

Some of the disadvantages, as noted below, from which Chinese agriculture suffered are, however, also significant.

14. Acres and People, p. 207.

15. TI Li Chin Shih, Changes in the Agricultural Geography of China, Geographical Knowledge, January, 1958.

16. Cf., Buck, op. cit., p. 44.

1. Animal-power and man-power was the main motive-power for agriculture and the mechanical power was very small. With the increase of multiple crop area, the introduction of intensive cultivation and the development of side occupations, shortage of animal-power and man-power was felt in many areas, particularly during the busy seasons.

2. The economic foundation of agriculture was weak. Labour productivity of agriculture was low. Accumulation fund for enlarging reproduction was slow and the ability to buy machinery and means of production limited. Labour-power still constituted the main part of agricultural investments.

3. Cultural level of China's peasants was low and their scientific and technical knowledge was lacking. They were not experienced in applying machinery, new types of farm tools, chemical fertilisers and insecticides. Further they were incapable of repairing the machines. The removal of all or any of these hindrances which may not be a very difficult problem could help increase agricultural productivity which was already at a very high level.

Pre-war Agricultural Productivity

With as much as 46 per cent of her area equipped with irrigation facilities and some more having an assured supply of water and an efficient use of organic manures, there is no wonder if China could reap very rich harvests.

Besides much of initiative shown by the Chinese cultivators, nature has also placed him in a very advantageous position. There are large areas which, under the painstaking care of the Chinese farmers, have a high natural or acquired fertility, or both. The other significant fact is that the vast majority of the people are concentrated in the valleys and flood plains of great rivers.

Again, in about 94 per cent of her cultivated area, nature had provided three broad types of soils—all of them rich in nitrogen and humus (organic matter) and

containing iron, aluminium or calcium. The broad three types of soils in India, on the other hand are deficient in nitrogen and humus.

Data with regard to agricultural production in pre-war China is most unreliable. One is the official source. Table below gives the area, production and yield of various crops during 1931-37 according to Chinese official sources.

Table 6: Area production and yield of principal crops in China during 1931-37*

| Crops | Area (000 acres) | Production (000 tons) | Yield (lbs. per acre) |
|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Paddy | 48796 | 49210 | 2259 |
| Wheat | 50416 | 21652 | 962 |
| Corn | 16132 | 8858 | 1230 |
| Kaoliang | 12659 | 6889 | 1259 |
| Millet | 13845 | 6496 | 1051 |
| Roots and Tubers | 6374 | 20078 | 7056 |
| | 148222 | 113183 | |
| Soyabeans | .. | .. | 1038 |
| Vegetables & fruits | .. | 22242 | .. |
| Oilseeds and fats | .. | 7480 | .. |
| Meat | .. | 5118 | .. |
| Sugar | .. | 3641 | .. |
| Fish | .. | 1082 | .. |
| Cotton | .. | 787 | .. |
| Eggs | .. | 629 | .. |

Source: T. N. Shen: **Agricultural Resources of China.**

* Area has been worked out from columns 3 and 4 which were available.

As pointed out by Buck, his data has been grossly under-estimated. Land owners would often evade taxes by mis-representing their area. Actual land surveys conducted by him revealed that the reported cultivated area in several regions differed from the actual by as much as one-third. The position with regard to yield and production may be still worse.

Buck himself has formulated some estimates of the yield per acre in respect of several crops. Besides this he gives an interesting picture of most frequent yields per acre of crops occurring on 20 per cent or more farms for each locality surveyed. The table below summarises the position as given by him.

Table 7: Yield of main food crops in China pre-war

| Crops | (In the per acre) | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| | Most frequent yield 1929-1933 | Average yields |
| Rice | 2952-2885 | 4020 |
| Wheat | 949-1069 | 960 |
| Corn | 1164 | 1960 |
| Kaoling | 1127 | — |
| Millet | 1038 | 1140@ |
| Irish potatoes | 5144 | 5220 |
| Soyabeans | 2234 | .. |
| Cotton lint | — | 370 |

@ Barley only

Source: Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-26.

Still higher yields are reported by the comprehensive survey of Fei and Chang in four of the Chinese villages. Table below shows the results obtained by them.

Table 8: Yield of rice in some villages in China.

| Village | (In lbs.) | |
|------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | Average rice yield per acre | Rice-yield per household from the farm under operation |
| Lutsun | 8000 | 10640 |
| Yitsun | 4800 | 5467 |
| Yutsun | 6933 | 5333 |
| Kiangta'un | 5333 | 6880 |

Source: *Earth Bound China* by Hsiao-Tung Fei and Chin-I Chang, p. 298.

Buck has not tried to estimate the total production of foodgrain in China. Nor has he given the average yield for all the foodgrains. There is, however, another estimate made by Ou Pao-San. He placed the total production of foodgrains in China for the year 1933 at 243 million tons.⁸ Table below gives the breakdown

into various commodities, as shown by Wu.¹⁹

Table 9: Production of foodgrains in China—1933
(In thousand metric-ton)

| Commodities | Production |
|-----------------|------------|
| Rice | 93713 |
| Wheat | 26542 |
| Corn | 16600 |
| Kaoling | 12415 |
| Millet | 11497 |
| Soyabeans | 10732 |
| Tubers | 49847 |
| Others | 12280 |

Source: Ou Pao-San: *China's National Income 1933*, Nanking, 1947.

Soyabeans in these days are excluded from foodgrains. The balance left would, therefore, be of the order of 233 million tons, if it is to be compared with the present-day figures.²⁰ Similarly, the yield of cotton has been estimated at 242 kilograms of lint per hectares.²¹

It may be very difficult to say with certainty anything about the actual production of various agricultural crops in China during the pre-war period. But the intensive type of cultivation that was being practised there leaves little room for doubt that official figures must have been grossly underestimated. No wonder if the actual production level, was somewhere near Pao-San's estimates or even higher.

17, 18. *China's National Income*. Quoted by Wu Yuon-Li: *An Economic Survey of Communist China*, p. 164. The total of the figures given in the table comes to 233 million tons. This may be due to some printing error.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

20. There is also one more point to be noted about tubers. Irish potatoes are included in current statistics as grains, but were excluded in the pre-Communist data. Again, Chinese Statisticians now convert potatoes into foodgrains at the rate of four to one, that is, four tons of potatoes are counted as one ton of foodgrains. No such conversion was employed during the Nationalist period.—(Chao, Kun-Chun, *op. cit.*, p. 5).

21. Wu, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

Conclusion

If the scattered information as given in the last few pages has any meaning, it comes out clearly that China is not different from any other part of the world with regard to agriculture. The very cultivators who produced 4,800 lbs. of paddy or 1,280 lbs., of course, grains in the year 1958, had been getting yields quite near to these figures 20 years earlier. The case of tea would be all the more interesting in this connection. According to **New China News Agency** (March 16, 1959), China's highest tea crop of 225,000 tons was produced in 1932. Output dropped to 41,000 in 1949. It rose to 111,500 tons in 1957 and had not reached the pre-war level in 1958, when, the production was hardly 141,000 tons.

The level achieved by China, even

otherwise, is nothing extraordinary when compared with other countries which have efficient agricultural practices. Appendix F would be of interest in this connection.

We must add that the object of the paper is not to minimise the achievements of communist China. If they had succeeded in touching their pre-war levels of agricultural production, they would have really done a wonderful job to harness and marshall their latent resources in such a short time of one year. But the latest reports from China indicate that the authorities there have revised their 1958 production targets. The production of foodgrains is said to be only 250 million tons as against 375 million tons originally announced. If so, China has yet to travel a long distance to catch up with her pre-war level of production.

APPENDIX 'A'

Sown area of major agricultural crops in China

(Thousand acres)

| Crops | 1949 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 (Target) | 1957 (Actual) | 1958 |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|------------------|--------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Food crops | 251053 | 277382 | 282260 | 287361 | 292440 | 377204 | 284090 | 295970 | 303050 |
| (a) Paddy | 63499 | 70104 | 69953 | 70943 | 72057 | 82549 | 73259 | 79060 | 84000 |
| (b) Wheat | 53143 | 61207 | 63321 | 66608 | 66045 | 67494 | 65920 | 67530 | 65880 |
| (c) Potatoes | 17319 | 21459 | 22270 | 24159 | 24833 | 27191 | 24287 | 25860 | 41170 |
| (d) Other grains | 117090 | 124612 | 126716 | 125651 | 129505 | 129970 | 120624 | 123520 | 112000 |
| Soyabeans | 20548 | 28847 | 30534 | 31255 | 28262 | 29795 | 31328 | 31290 | 23880 |
| Industrial crops | 14172 | 24216 | 22558 | 24322 | 27333 | 24582 | .... | 28260 | 44800 |
| (a) Cotton | 6842 | 13773 | 12795 | 13491 | 14259 | 15463 | 15646 | 14160 | 29810 |
| (b) Jute | 69 | 390 | 195 | 178 | 287 | 335 | 342 | 330 | 330 |
| (c) Cured tobacco | 151 | 459 | 472 | 538 | 422 | 954 | 689 | 870 | 910 |
| (d) Sugarcane | 367 | 450 | 474 | 541 | 504 | 544 | 666 | 660 | 910 |
| (e) Sugarbeets | 4 | 86 | 121 | 180 | 284 | 371 | 348 | 380 | 820 |
| (f) Peanuts | 3097 | 4456 | 4384 | 5180 | 5602 | 6380 | n.a | 6260 | 5930 |
| (g) Rapeseed | 3742 | 4602 | 4117 | 4214 | 5775 | 535 | n.a | 5600 | 6090 |
| Other crops | .. | 18522 | 10599 | 22436 | 25365 | 31710 | .... | .... | .... |
| Total crop acreage | 285773 | 348967 | 345951 | 365374 | 373400 | 393291 | 375242 | .... | .... |
| Total cultivated area | 241766 | 266560 | 268067 | 270107 | 272085 | 276156 | 273500 | 276200 | 279990 |

Source : Chao Kuo-Chun, *op. cit.*, 1957 and 1958 data have, however, been collected from a number of Chinese official sources.

APPENDIX 'B'

Production of major agricultural crops in China
(In thousand metric-tons)

| Crops | 1949 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 (Target) | 1957 (Actual) | 1958 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Food crops | 108095 | 154393 | 156901 | 160433 | 174812 | 182743 | 181593 | 185387 | 375784 |
| (a) Paddy | 48645 | 68425 | 71272 | 70851 | 78024 | 82694 | 81768 | 86956 | 150313 |
| (b) Wheat | 13803 | 18125 | 18281 | 23332 | 22965 | 24854 | 23725 | 23689 | 80084 |
| (c) Potatoes* and sweet potatoes | 9843 | 16326 | 16653 | 16981 | 18897 | 21851 | 21300 | 21964 | 95198 |
| (d) Other grains | 35799 | 51519 | 50695 | 49269 | 54926 | 53341 | 54800 | 52778 | 90189 |
| Soyabeans | ..... | 9519 | 9931 | 9080 | 9121 | 10223 | 11220 | 10070 | 12025 |
| Cotton | 444 | 1034 | 1175 | 1065 | 1518 | 1443 | 1635 | 1643 | 3357 |
| Jute | 31 | 191 | .... | .... | .... | .. | .... | 296 | about 351 |
| Cured tobacco | 43 | 222 | 213 | 232 | 298 | 399 | 390 | 257 | approx. 701 |
| Sugarcane | 2642 | 7116 | 7209 | 8592 | 8110 | 8666 | 13180 | 10414 | about 21044 |
| Sugarbeets | 191 | 479 | 505 | 989 | 1598 | 1650 | 2135 | 1504 | about 40084 |
| Peanuts | 1268 | 2316 | 2127 | 2767 | 2926 | 3335 | n.a. | 2576 | about 5010 |
| Rapeseed | 734 | 932 | 879 | 878 | 969 | 925 | n.a. | 889 | about 1388 |
| Tea | 41 | 83 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 112 | about 125 |

* Production in equivalent cereals weight calculated at the rate of 0.25 tons per 1 ton of tuber in green weight.

Source : Chao, Ku-Chun, *op. cit.*, 1957 and 1958, data as in Appendix 'A'

APPENDIX 'C'

Yield of major agricultural crops in China
(In lbs. per acre)

| Crops | 1949 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 (Target) | 1957 (Actual) | 1958 |
|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------------|------------------|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Paddy | 1688 | 2147 | 2241 | 2197 | 2382 | 2204 | 2454 | 2420 | 3937 |
| Wheat | 573 | 651 | 635 | 771 | 765 | 810 | 792 | 766 | 1339 |
| Potatoes and sweet potatoes | 1250 | 1674 | 1645 | 1546 | 1676 | 1768 | 1929 | 1864 | 5354 |
| Other grains | 673 | 910 | 880 | 863 | 933 | 903 | 1000 | 940 | 1772 |
| Soyabeans | 545 | 726 | 716 | 639 | 710 | 755 | 788 | 703 | 1138 |
| Cotton | 143 | 208 | 202 | 174 | 234 | 204 | 222 | 254 | about 535 |
| Jute | 628 | 1064 | 993 | 949 | 1054 | 923 | 1253 | 650 | 1695 |
| Cured tobacco | 21786 | 34838 | 33459 | 34940 | 35401 | 34860 | 43535 | 34713 | 60876 |
| Sugarcane | 10638 | 12253 | 9182 | 12088 | 12379 | 9787 | 13515 | 8707 | 107542 |
| Sugarbeets | 901 | 1143 | 1067 | 1175 | 1149 | 1153 | n.a. | 903 | 1807 |
| Peanuts | 432 | 446 | 470 | 458 | 369 | 380 | n.a. | 343 | 489 |
| Rapeseed | | | | | | | | | |

Source : Appendices 'A' and 'B'.

APPENDIX 'D'

Figures within brackets are percentages of geographical area.

| Land utilisation in China | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| | (Thousand acres) | |
| | 1949-50 | 1955-56 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Geographical area (1) | 2381142 | 2381142 |
| Forests | 181625 | 187802 |
| Permanent meadows and pastures | 420085 (17.6) | 420085 (17.6) |
| Cultivated land (including fallows (2)) | 241920 (10.2) | 272314 (11.4) |
| Built-on-area, culturable and unculturable waste and other | 1537512 (64.6) | 1500940 (63.1) |

(1) According to one estimate, nearly 247109 thousand acres of culturable wastes in this group can be reclaimed.

(2) Fallows in China are comparatively little because cultivation had not extended to submarginal lands on any substantial scale, and thus there was practically no need to retire some lands from cropping for a year or two.

Source: The Eastern Economist, Annual Number, 1957.

APPENDIX 'E'

Estimated number of livestock on farm in various provinces of China exclusive of Sikong, Tibet, Sinkiang, Outer Mongolia, and Manchuria, March, 1937

(In thousand)

| Province | Type of animal | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|---------|-------|--------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|---------|------|-------|
| | horses | donkeys | mules | cattle | water buffalo | sheep | goats | swine | chicken | duck | goose |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| Chahar | 45 | 104 | 46 | 59 | — | 444 | 169 | 129 | 793 | 24 | 5 |
| Suiyuan | 151 | 112 | 41 | 301 | — | 1411 | 539 | 282 | 1040 | 2 | 1 |
| Ningsia | 17 | 44 | 8 | 39 | — | 739 | 225 | 52 | 186 | 6 | 2 |
| Chinghai | 50 | 79 | 26 | 89 | — | 359 | 150 | 74 | 312 | 3 | 2 |
| Kansu | 151 | 681 | 160 | 802 | 1 | 2625 | 1646 | 984 | 3212 | 229 | 53 |
| Shensi | 128 | 359 | 131 | 914 | 7 | 375 | 657 | 967 | 2747 | 99 | 7 |
| Hopeh | 317 | 1194 | 763 | 1167 | 15 | 789 | 1052 | 3742 | 13480 | 480 | 50 |
| Shantung | 325 | 2026 | 744 | 2580 | 11 | 1089 | 969 | 3506 | 21355 | 2298 | 355 |
| Kiangsu | 109 | 712 | 99 | 1267 | 906 | 329 | 1235 | 5018 | 18394 | 6190 | 709 |
| Anhwei | 203 | 653 | 178 | 1037 | 792 | 135 | 407 | 2802 | 15832 | 3574 | 1447 |
| Honan | 487 | 1900 | 876 | 3139 | 192 | 889 | 1529 | 3187 | 18370 | 2263 | 262 |
| Hupei | 245 | 428 | 153 | 1875 | 924 | 59 | 986 | 3931 | 21458 | 2481 | 309 |
| Szechwan | 89 | 31 | 67 | 824 | 1999 | 110 | 1482 | 8177 | 15858 | 5304 | 757 |
| Yunnan | 342 | 88 | 202 | 485 | 542 | 184 | 611 | 2761 | 5882 | 844 | 163 |
| Kweichew | 188 | 6 | 28 | 568 | 601 | 32 | 245 | 1422 | 3748 | 874 | 112 |
| Hunan | 37 | 10 | 12 | 1369 | 1482 | 9 | 387 | 5030 | 16310 | 6568 | 396 |
| Kiangsi | 53 | 12 | 14 | 1746 | 827 | 3 | 157 | 3800 | 17526 | 4685 | 1028 |
| Chekiang | 3 | 4 | 5 | 890 | 314 | 613* | 739 | 2718 | 16444 | 3344 | 879 |
| Fukien | 6 | 6 | 2 | 354 | 276 | 8 | 286 | 1757 | 6002 | 2321 | 369 |
| Kwangtung | 45 | 2 | 4 | 1579 | 1299 | 11 | 439 | 5187 | 22059 | 7424 | 2203 |
| Shansi | 118 | 562 | 263 | 513 | 3 | 2198 | 1660 | 528 | 3874 | 45 | 5 |

* Probably too high.

Sources: The Livestock of China by Phillips, Johnson and Mayer.

APPENDIX 'F'

Average yield of certain crops in various countries

Yield in pounds per acre

| Country | Paddy | Wheat | Sugar-cane | Cotton |
|-------------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Netherlands | — | 3505 | — | — |
| Japan | 4291 | — | — | — |

| | | | | |
|---------------|------|------|--------|-----|
| Belgium | — | 3309 | — | — |
| Germany West | — | 2396 | — | — |
| U.K. | — | 2787 | — | — |
| France | 3693 | 1897 | — | — |
| Italy | 4549 | 1631 | — | — |
| U.S.A. | 3060 | 1106 | 48439 | 391 |
| Hawaii | — | — | 177515 | — |
| Egypt | 4638 | 1889 | 78341 | 366 |
| India | 1173 | 940 | 29113 | 79 |
| China (1958)* | 3937 | 1339 | 50867 | 535 |

Source :—Fertiliser News, October, 1958.

* Figures for China are based in Appendix 'C'.

ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE LALIT-KALA AKADAMI, DELHI

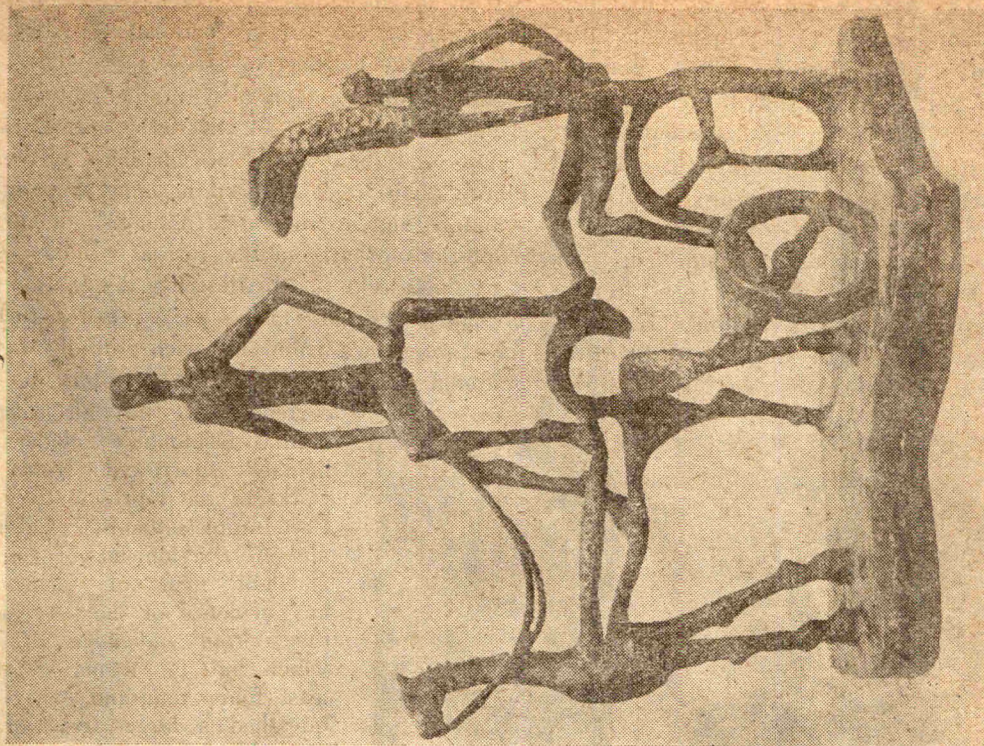
By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

has been the fashion amongst critics and laymen to assert that since the advent of independence, India is not producing outstanding original works in the field of literature, music, architecture, sculpture or painting. Even our loquacious Prime Minister, who is called upon to make all sorts of comments in and outside Parliament, has several times expressed the opinion that Free and Independent India is not producing great works of artistic values in any sphere of creative activity. It is part of the fine work of state patronage to award prizes every year, with much fan-fare and publicity, to the best literary artist, the best musician, the best cinema artist, and the bestponents of the art of painting and sculpture. For a curious reason, the outstanding production in the field of Architecture is never judged specially, though this form of Art is the acknowledged "Mother of all the other forms of visual Arts", a form of art which in its interplay of lights and shadows on a variety of planes challenges the composition of music.

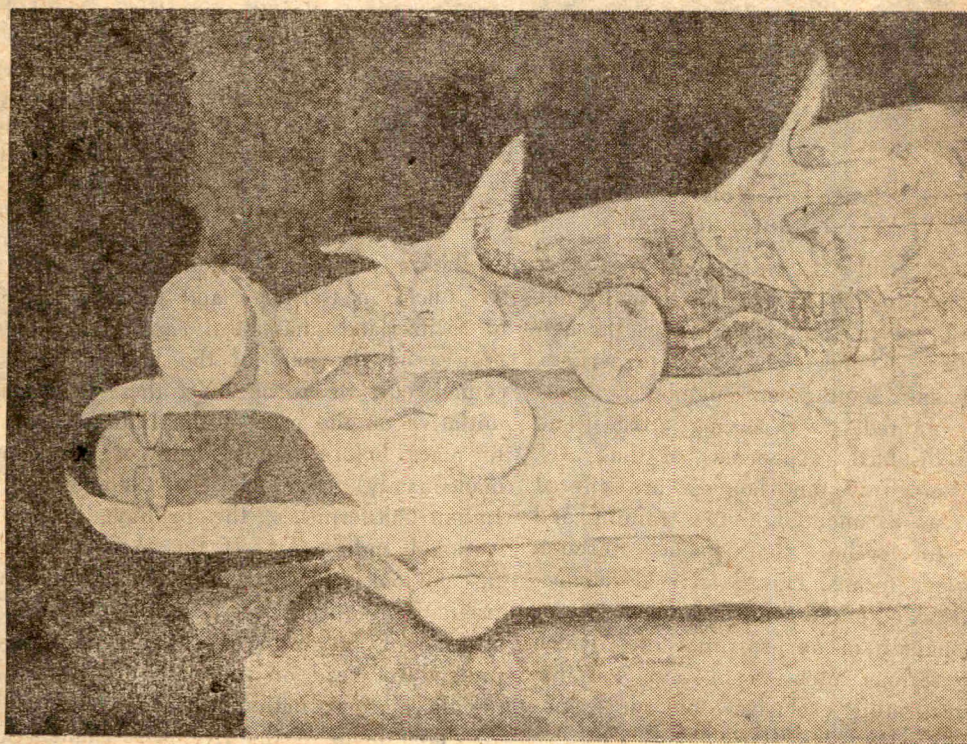
It is very well-known that during the British dominion in India our national genius, in spite of a tragic spiritual inhibition by theocracy of a foreign dominion, has admittedly produced distinguished works of art in different spheres of our national life. Why the dawn of freedom, which one expected to fertilize our intellectual and spiritual thinking, should



Family (cement sculpture)
M. Dharmani

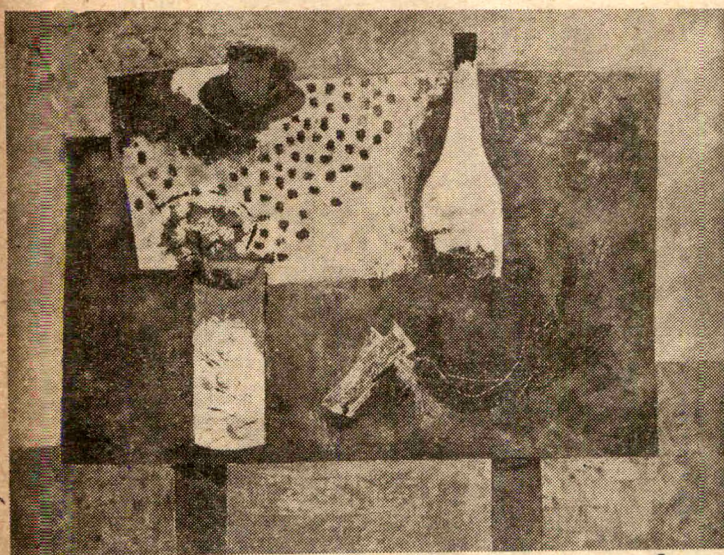


Tonga (bronze sculpture)
R. R. Panchal



Companion (oil painting)
Somenath Hore

synchronize with a period of sterility in aesthetic output is an enigma to be explained. It is one of the paradoxes of history that political freedom has not always inspired great eras of art or literature. The truth of this assertion can be demonstrated by many citations from the history of Art. In Free India we are *not* producing outstanding talents even in the fields of politics, industry, economics, engineering, or agriculture, not to speak of great poets, dramatists, painters, or builders. Mother India is certainly showing signs of spiritual exhaustion, a deliberate unwillingness to give birth to great



Still Life (oil painting)
Himat Lal Shah

geniuses in any field of national activity. Yet enormous sums of money are being spent by our states to encourage the production of art through official patronage and state aids to writers, artists, musicians, actors, and painters. Apart from prizes offered to deserving artists and pensions to disabled exponents of the arts, scholarships and travelling bourses are offered to young artists to undergo higher training and opportunity to develop their talents through diverse ways and means. This poverty of intellectual and artistic output in our national activities is a tragic malady in our spiritual life which deserves the serious attention of our national leaders—concentrating exclusively on our economic problems.

In the meantime, the commentator on and appraiser of our various national activities has an embarrassing task to assess the values and merits of our contemporary productions. In the field of Visual Arts, for the last few years a group of Indian artists are deliberately repudiating their great national heritage in painting, sculpture and architecture. In almost all current exhibitions of art—in the various Indian cities—we meet with a bewildering domination of foreign and alien modes of expression which have not grown from the rich soil of Indian National Art. Most of the exhibits in our current shows are “all executed in the fashionable modernistic manners borrowed from the works of the representatives of Post-Impressionisms, Cubisms, and Abstractionisms of Europe, and not many of them offer any evidence of the survival of the *Indian Language of Art*, which has for a period of at least four thousand years bequeathed a large array of remarkable masterpieces which have illuminated the well-known Schools of Buddhist, Guzerati, Rajasthani, Pala, Mughal and Pahari phases, the products of which have exhorted a chorus of admiration from European critics when they were presented in the famous Exhibition of Indian Art held in London in 1918, under the auspices of the London Royal Academy. Even the recent

exhibition of “Two Thousand Years Indian Art” held in Germany and recently transferred to Switzerland has been earning choruses of praises on the part of the famous critics and connoisseurs of Europe. Yet there is no lack of initiative on the part of the Indian Government to place before our students of art (however inadequately) the chosen examples of old Indian masterpieces, the brilliant heritage of National Indian Art. If the modern artists refuse to look at them it is nobody’s fault but the tragic consequence of perverse de-nationalized attitude of a group of art-practitioners who pretend to tread on the path of “progress” by repudiating our national heritage.

That none of the five prize-winners in this

year's Annual Exhibition of the Lalit Kala Akadami at New Delhi, provides evidence of the study of the language of Indian Art is a tragic demonstration of the malady that has beset the expressions of Art in India under the enervating dominance of the "Ism" doctrines of Modern Europe.* It may be said that there must have been numerous exhibits in the Delhi show which carried the smell of Indian soil and the fragrance of national expressions, but by reason of the fact that the Executive Committee deliberately chose—as judges, a group of so-called critics with a pronounced anti-national bias—the claims of the nationalist artists who had the courage to work in the Indian tradition were passed over as "traditionalists" and "reactionerists" "who are retarding the progress of art in modern India"! It was the practice in former years for the Lalita Kala Akadami to provide one prize, at least, for pictures painted in the Indian manner. We are informed that the prize has been withdrawn this year so that the artist using the national language of Indian Art has been deprived of the chance to demonstrate what high work of merit he could produce in the Indian manner. As we have seen in our review of the last Exhibition of the Indian Academy of Art, (*The Modern Review* for March 1960, p. 212), equal chance was provided to the Indian artists along with the "Modernists" working in the foreign techniques of the "Ism"—painters. But the Delhi show, this year, appears to have altogether ignored the merits of the national Indian artists. The Delhi Akadami financed by our National Government claims to provide encouragement to the best productions of art in the new national era. But it is a paradox that in this so-called national enterprise the truly national artist has been suppressed by a policy of prejudice against Indian manners of expression. We are left to judge the best products of the year in the exhibits which have deliberately eschewed the national language of art.

We shall close our review by commenting on the five Prize-winners.

*These doctrines have been analysed by the writer in his illustrated booklet: *Europe Adhunik Chitra Kalar Pragati*, Grantha Jagat, 6, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.

"Companions" by Somenath Hore, an oil-piece is a composition in the manner of Pablo Picasso. It is a convincing presen-



Figures (wood sculpture)
Narendra K. Patel

tation in modernistic technique of an Indian Gopini carrying a pail of milk (?) in her left hand and a bunch of flowers in her right. A cow, and her calf very dramatically

placed against the human figure builds up skillfully a very concentrated composition of a lyrical appeal with some memory of the Gopini pictures of Indian tradition. We are reminded of the great masterpiece of Prof. Bireswar Sen (Lucknow) which won high praise in a London Exhibition (London *Studio*, 1925).

The second prize-winner is a "Still-Life" essay—trying to weave out a picture out of several units on a breakfast table, a cup of tea, a wine bottle, a cylindrical glass, and some apology for vegetable pieces. The table cloth, hardly covering a fraction of the table, with its dotted design is intended to redeem a cheerless composition from an obvious disaster. Numerous successful masterpieces depicting this theme by Van Gogh, Matisse, and others put to shade this halting effort to imitate modern masters of Europe.

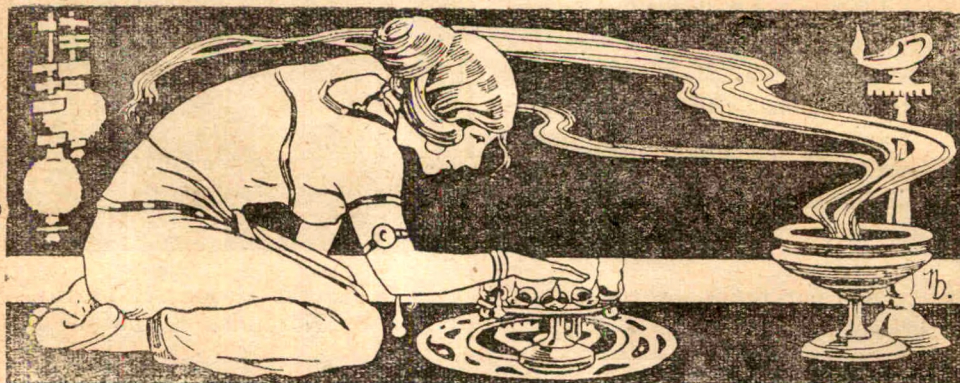
Three sculptural pieces which won prizes appear to be the best exhibits of the show.

"Family" a piece of cement sculpture by M. Dharmani is a very creditable composition of five haunting figures in a tense pose of highly emotional significance, crowned by the shadow of the mother of the family, carrying a child. Here, deliberate omission of irrelevant details and emphasis—expressed in the tall symbolistic figures—do not prevent the easy realization of the fundamental theme, inci-

dentally contradicting the modernistic canon that 'a work of art need not have a subject-matter.'

The second piece of sculpture in bronze, is the picture of a "Tonga", by R. R. Ponchal visualized in tall slim figures of the driver, the rider, and the horse, through skilful elimination and emphatic exaggeration. The trick is a well-known one—successfully practised by many modern masters whom our Indian imitator has copied to perfection.

But we have nothing but high praise for the last item "Figures" rendered in the medium of wood by Narendra K. Patel. It is a haunting study of a 'Man and Woman', the traditional Mithuna in Indian Art. The highly skilful and delicate manipulation of the muscles of the anatomy helps to catch the reflection of lights—in a dynamic series of waves—which impart a mystery and grandeur to the figures. Though lacking in the simplicity of Archipenko, the pair of wood echoes the monumental manners of Henry Moore. Incidentally, the composition illustrates another of the modernistic canons that 'an artist must not suppress or cover the fundamental nature of the stuff of his material.' Here the grains of the wood make a distinct contribution to the eloquence of the composition.



HINDUSTAN ANTIBIOTICS LIMITED, PIMPRI

Pimpri : At a turn of the Bombay-Poona highway—110 miles from Bombay and nine miles from Poona—bright neon signs announce the location of the Penicillin Factory of the Hindustan Antibiotics Limited, a Government of India enterprise.

It is ideally located on 200 acres of rolling upland on both sides of the banyan-lined road. Pimpri is known for its salubrious climate, moderate rainfall, easy availability of rail and road transport, electricity and water.

Working round the clock in three shifts, the Factory—barring China the biggest in Asia—is producing penicillin at the rate of 40 million mega units per year since last July. This is more than four times the production rate during 1956-57, the first year of production. With the present demand in India estimated at 65 million mega units, the Hindustan Antibiotics is already in a position to meet about two-thirds of it.

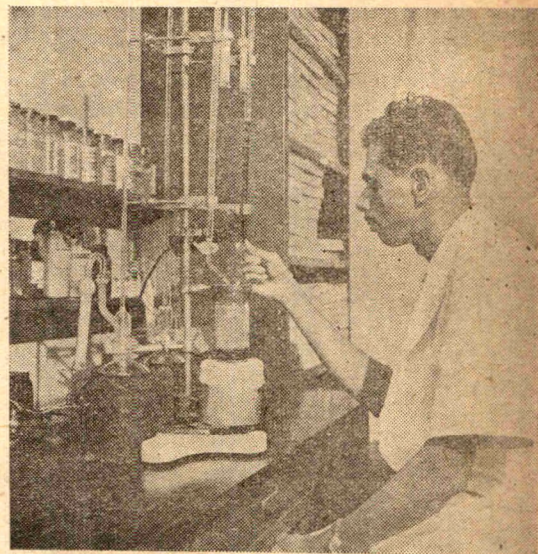
For setting up of this Factory, UNICEF came forward with a generous help of 850,000 dollars for the purchase of plant and equipment. Similarly, the W.H.O. and later the United Nations Technical Assistance Board offered a further sum of 350,000 dollars for technical assistance in terms of furnishing technicians from other countries and for the training of Indian personnel abroad.

The foundation-stone was laid in March 1952, and most of the work was completed by August 1954. The Company was registered as a private limited company with an authorised share capital of Rs. 4 crores. All the shares are held in the name of the President of India and his nominees. The Company also took a loan of Rs. 70 lakhs from the Government of India at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent rate of interest for working and other expenses. This loan was repayable in fourteen equal half-yearly instalments of Rs. 5 lakhs each. As a result of the excellent progress made, Rs. 40 lakhs out of the principal and Rs. 6.88 lakhs by way of interest were paid during 1958-59, and the balance cleared in May 1959.

The Factory was planned on the basis of an initial production of 3.6 million mega units and a target of 9 million mega units (one mega unit is equal to one million units). This rated capa-

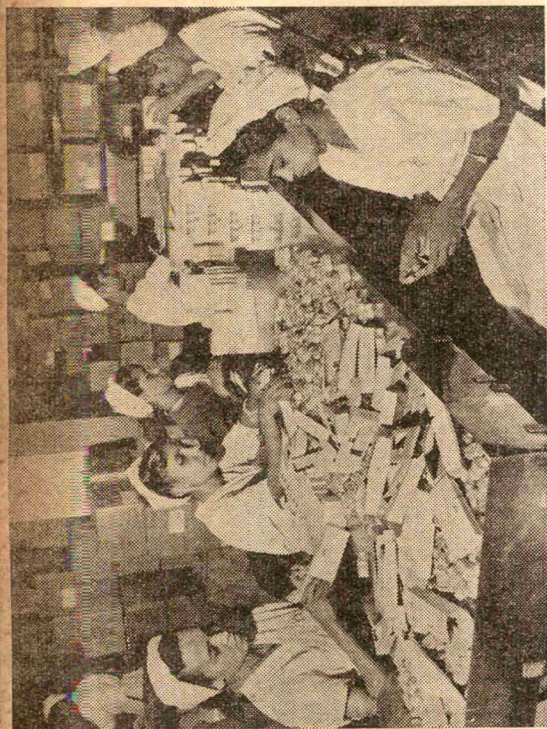
city was subsequently revised to 25 million mega units with the same machines as a result of technological improvements carried out in the manufacturing processes.

Trial runs began in December 1954 and went on till March 1956. Therefore, very small quantities of finished penicillin were available for putting in the market during 1955-56. The first normal year of production was thus 1956-57, when 9.89 million mega units of penicillin were produced. Production increased by nearly 120 per cent in 1957-58 (21.43 m.m.u.). Production of 29.03 m.m.u. was achieved during 1958-59. The phenomenal increase in production during this year, even above the rated capacity, was due to the imports of certain quantities of first crystals of penicillin G to augment the penicillin supplies from indigenous sources.

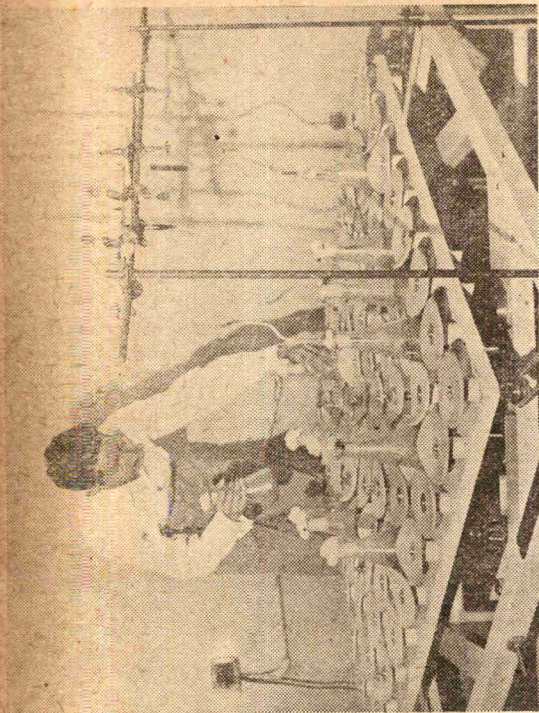


A research worker busy in the laboratory

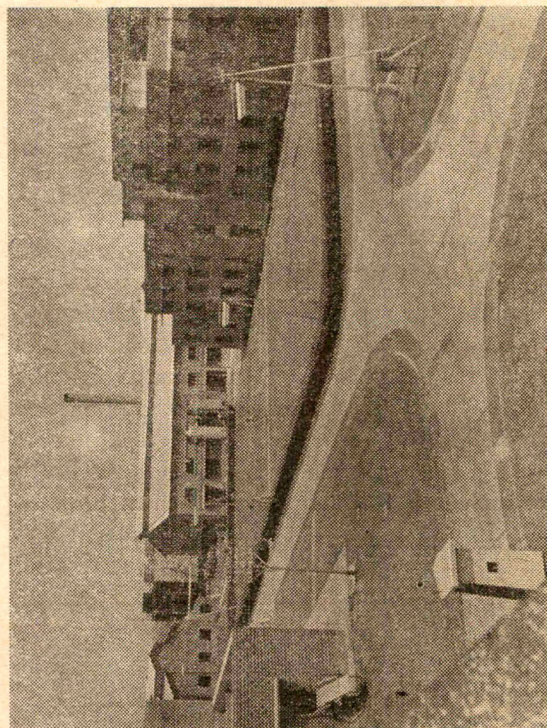
The demand for penicillin has gone up so rapidly that it is now a continuous race between demand and indigenous supplies. The Hindustan Antibiotics, therefore, planned further extension of its production capacity by 60 per cent. This involved erection and installation of more machinery as well as extension of buildings. This additional capacity went into production last July and the yearly production will now be 40 million mega units.



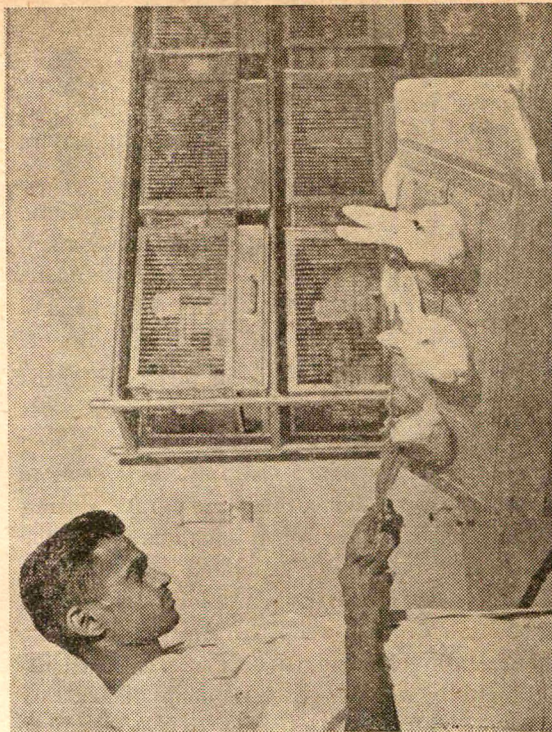
Packing Section of the Factory



Factory's spaker room

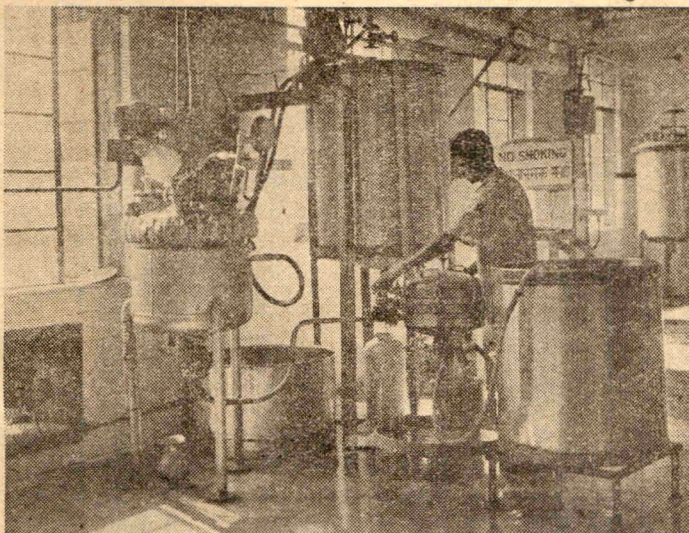


The neatly laid out factory



Animal house in the quality control department

An interesting feature of this tremendous increase in production is that the percentage of staff expenditure in relation to production was brought down from 38.61 per cent in 1955-56 to 5.7 per cent by the end of the last financial year.



Purification and Isolation Unit of the Penicillian Factory

to 5.7 per cent by the end of the last financial year.

The value of turnover stood at Rs. 34.49 lakhs in 1955-56 and Rs. 57.80 lakhs in 1956-57. It shot up to 321.07 lakhs in the year 1958-59.

In terms of profit and loss, during the initial period of experimentation and usual teething troubles, the Company suffered a loss of about Rs. 10 lakhs up to March 1956. Next year it made a nominal profit of Rs. 57,000. During 1957-58, the excess of income over expenditure amounted to Rs. 33.43 lakhs after providing for depreciation and other expenses.

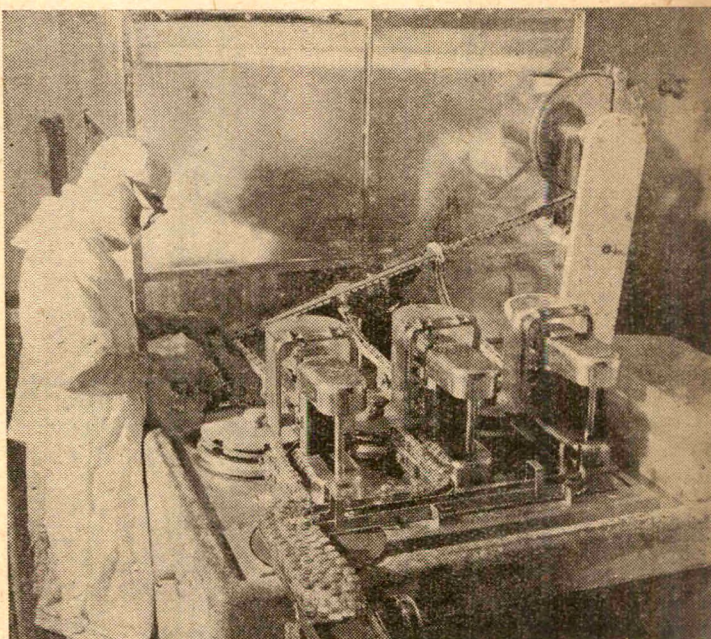
For the year 1958-59, it is estimated that the surplus would be well over Rs. 1 crore. After making allowance for certain permissible deductions, the amount payable by way of income-tax for this year may be over Rs. 30 and the lower cost of production made it

lakhs. Even then the Company will be left with a sizeable surplus for meeting the expenditure on programmes of expansion and development. This, by all standards, is excellent going.

Pricing Policy

"The policy of the Company on pricing," said Shri S. T. Raja, the Managing Director, "is to bring price reduction in such a way that the benefit is passed on to the consumer directly and at the same time to enable the Company to build up sufficient reserves for financing its plans for production of other antibiotics at Pimpri."

"When the project for penicillin production was prepared," Shri Raja explained, "it was estimated that it would be possible to sell penicillin at a price of Rs. 1.25 per mega unit in bulk. At that time this price was lower than the prevailing international price."



Bottling Section of the Factory

"Subsequent technological improvements

possible to bring down the selling price of bulk penicillin to 11 annas (Re. 0.69) per mega unit, there is no reason why India cannot

compete in the international market in the same manner as other surplus countries."

Penicillin produced at Pimpri is sold both in vials and in bulk. Vialled penicillin is sold to Government and semi-Government hospitals, institutions and State medical depots direct at a discount of 10 per cent below the list price. It used to be 5 per cent before 1st April, 1959.

Highest Standards of Quality

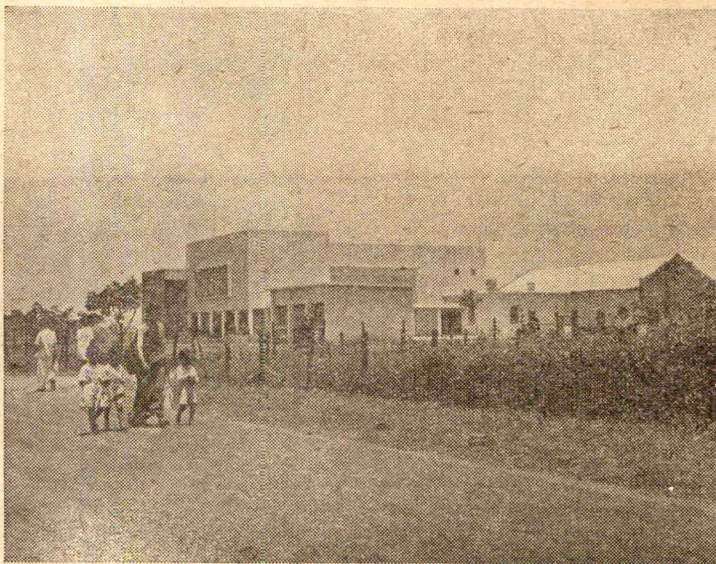
"The standards of quality maintained by Hindustan Antibiotics," said Dr. P. D. Kulkarni, Assistant Superintendent In-charge of Quality Control, "are the best in the world. They are the stiffest laid down in the well-known British and United States Pharmacopoeias."



Quantities of bulk penicillin being despatched for supply

unit. The indigenous price of vialled penicillin has also been kept as low as possible and compares favourably with the prices prevailing in various exporting countries. The international price, however, has come down steeply from more than Rs. 1.25 in 1952 to about Re. 0.30 per mega unit C & F Bombay.

"One reason is that foreign manufacturers went into production many years ago and have written down the value of their plant and, secondly, they have a large indigenous production and consumption. Having earned their required margin in the past years from exports as well as from the local market, their policy is to stimulate exports even at abnormally low prices to earn foreign exchange. India has not yet attained the position of the exporting country but if production expands in future



The Welfare and Cultural Centre of the workers' colony

Simultaneously with the quality control carried out by this Department of the Company

directly under the control of the Managing Director, samples are drawn by the Drug Controller for India and tests carried out by him in other outside institutions. Occasionally samples are also sent to various foreign testing organisations for checking the report of the Quality Control Department. All these agencies have invariably confirmed that the penicillin produced at Hindustan Antibiotics is of highest international standards. Another additional check on the quality of Hindustan Antibiotics penicillin is that large quantities of bulk penicillin are supplied to bottlers like Glaxo Laboratories, Dumex India Private Ltd., Sarabhai Chemicals (Squibbs) and Alembic Chemicals. Along with the bulk supplies test reports are furnished to each of these bottlers. They get them tested in their own quality control departments and accept them only after verifying the test reports furnished to them. There has hardly been a case, Dr. Kulkarni claims, where such bulk supplies made to bottlers had to be returned because of inferior quality.

Fundamental and applied research, both so essential, go on at the Factory side by side with production. This Research Department of the Hindustan Antibiotics is under the internationally-known Dr. M. G. Thirumalachar. This Department not only handles all current problems of development and production but also does fundamental research in the discovery of newer antibiotics. The Department has a well-equipped building and library of its own and it is known to be the best Antibiotics Research Centre in the country. It also trains university post-graduate students for Doctorate and six of its staff members are recognised as Guides for Ph.D. degrees. For salaries the staff is placed at par with scientists in the National Laboratories.

Workers' Welfare

Workers' welfare is another aspect in which Hindustan Antibiotics has an excellent record. The Factory has about 900 employees. Half of these employees are housed in a modern residential colony having its own hospital, primary school, auditorium, library, recreation club,

bank, post office and a consumers' co-operative store. Each employee gets 30 days' earned leave, 10 days' casual leave, 15 days' half pay leave on medical grounds and 12 fully paid festival holidays. Free medical aid is provided to every employee and the members of his family. Concessional transport facility is also provided to employees and their school and college-going children. Six annual awards of Rs. 100 each are given to the best worker of the year in each of the six departments. The canteen for the workers provides wholesome food at very cheap rates including a full lunch for six annas. An *ex gratia* award of one month's pay and dearness allowance was paid for the first time in October 1958 to all employees of the Company drawing a basic pay up to Rs. 500 per month. A "works committee" consisting of five representatives from workers and five from the officers has been functioning for over a year and making useful suggestions for welfare of the workers and more efficient functioning of the plant.

Future Developments

With the programme for expansion of penicillin production going ahead in full swing, the Company is now planning manufacture of other important antibiotics like Streptomycin and Dihydrostreptomycin which have proved effective in the fight against tuberculosis. About 60,000 k.g., of these two drugs, costing about Rs. 1.2 crores, are at present imported every year. A plant for the production of 40,000 to 45,000 k.g., of these two antibiotics is being set-up at Pimpri at an estimated cost of Rs. 1.7 crores. A consultant service agreement has been signed with Messrs. Merck and Company of U.S.A., who have held a comprehensive range of patents for the manufacture of these drugs. It is expected that production will start in 1961. It will effect an annual saving of about Rs. 1 crore in foreign exchange.

A project for the production of 25 tons of broad-spectrum antibiotics of the Tetracycline group at an estimated cost of Rs. 1.3 crores is also under consideration and it may be possible to start the manufacture of some of these drugs also at Pimpri on a pilot plant scale within the Second Five-Year Plan period. Processes for this project have been worked out by scientists

at Pimpri without any foreign collaboration. Factory will be producing about Rs. 4 crores and it would be possible to meet the entire worth of antibiotics every year, and would demand of the country for these drugs. rank among the big antibiotics-producing centres of the world.--PIB.

HONOLULU ACADEMY MIRRORS ISLAND CULTURES

THE Honolulu Academy of Arts in America's 50th State is a cross-road of world art. It reflects the character of Hawaii, where East and West meet in a harmony of diverse cultures which is exemplary for the world today. Dedicated to community education, it is a focal point of cultural activities in the Islands.

deep intuitions common to all, may perceive a foundation on which a new culture, enriched by all the old strains, may be built in these Islands."

The late Mrs. Charles Montague and her family of Honolulu founded the Academy in 1927. At first associated with this family, the Academy has long since become a public insti-



Egyptian art to a school class

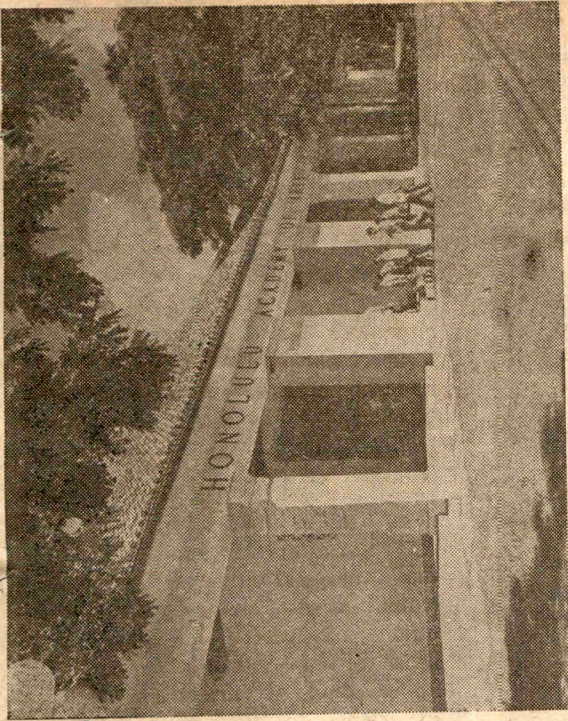
The Academy was first opened to the public in 1927. The founders explained its purpose in these words:

"That Hawaiians, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, North Europeans, South Europeans, and all other people living here, contacting through the channel of art those

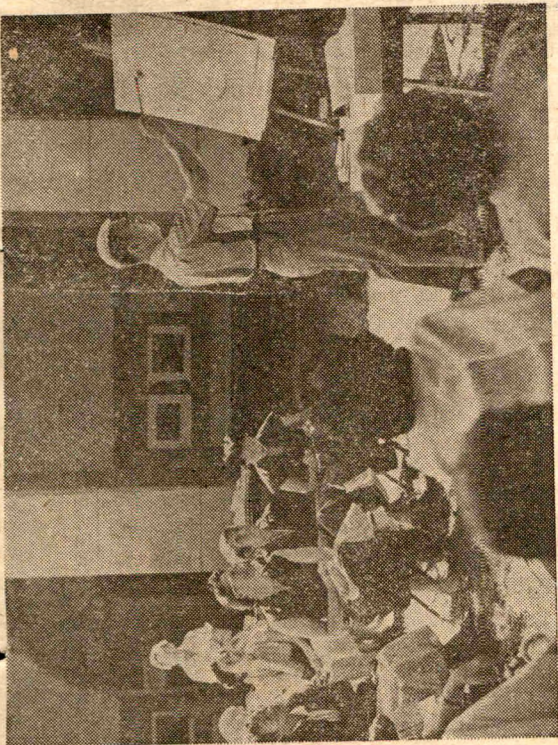
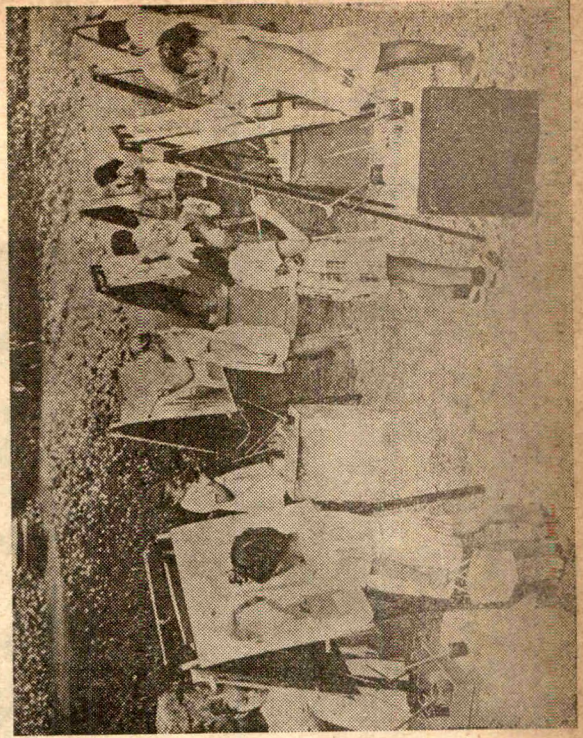


Linoleum block printing

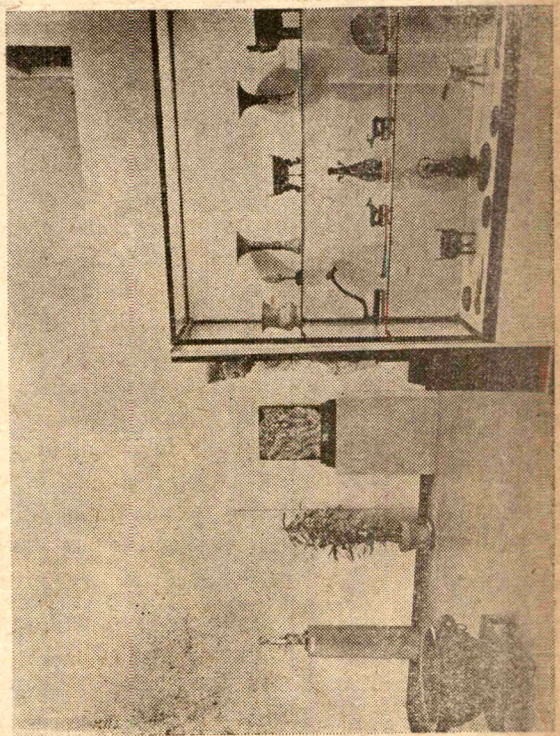
tution. It belongs to the people who use it, and it depends upon the entire community for support. The generosity of its patrons and an active membership of more than 1,800 persons has enabled it to develop from the nucleus collection of its founders into a rich treasure house of art.



Entrance to the Academy



Lectures are part of the education programme



Its use of the name Academy, rather than Museum or Gallery, indicates its original purpose as a "living museum." This is no musty repository for relics and rarities. The Honolulu Academy of Arts is a busy, active institution, serving the people as a source of knowledge, inspiration and understanding.



A very young artist concentrates on a sculpture project

More than three million persons have passed through its doors. They have viewed some of its art objects, attended art classes, listened to a thousand free lectures, visited almost 2,000 exhibitions, heard music from all over the world, and studied in its library of some 15,000 volumes. Travellers crossing the Pacific pause there, seeking understanding of the new cultures and new lands they will visit.

Visitors have called the Honolulu Academy of Arts one of the most beautiful museum buildings in the world. There is tranquillity in its cool, green courts. In its long, rambling structure there is the perfect setting for art of all ages.

The unique architectural style provides an atmosphere suggestive of the environment in which the art objects originally were created and enjoyed. Surrounding a Spanish courtyard are galleries for displays of European and American art. Galleries around the Oriental

Court are devoted to Asian art. Four galleries opening on a Central Court are for temporary and loan collections.

The building is set within a garden area. Potted tropical plants and expert flower arrangements are an integral part of all installations and form individual exhibits in themselves in the corridors and courtyards.

The Academy's twenty-three galleries and seven lecture rooms and studios cover most of a city block. The original building design allowed for expansion, and the latest addition is a proposed education wing planned to meet the growing need for enlarged facilities.

A limited number of works are shown at the Academy at one time, and the gallery installations are changed at frequent intervals. This gives a sense of spaciousness in the galleries and a variety of visual experience to the public. Large parts of the Academy's collections remain in storage-study rooms, which are used by students and designers and also can be visited by appointment.

The Academy's collections, numbering some 20,000 individual art items, illuminate a Hawaii enriched by the cultures which surround it.

In the western art galleries a visitor can trace the history of art from an Egyptian limestone portrait group dating from 2,500 B.C. through Greek and Roman art, master works of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, down to the work of contemporary European and American artists.

The Academy has the only pair of 4th Century B.C. Egyptian ibis in any museum, and highly prizes its collection of Greek vases. A Flemish millefleur tapestry in its collection is known throughout the art world. Paintings include work by such artists as Botticini, Camille, Cezanne, Gauguin, Matisse, Picasso, Pissarro, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Ricci, Van Gogh, Vivarani and Grandma Moses.

A print gallery exhibits work dating from the Middle Ages to the 20th Century, and there

is modern sculpture by Epstein, Despiau, Maillol and Noguchi as well as fine pieces by contemporary artists in Hawaii.

The Academy's collections of art indigenous to Hawaii and the Pacific is unsurpassed. There also are special annual exhibitions of "Artists of Hawaii" and by the Honolulu Printmakers, who maintain a print shop in the Academy's Department of Graphic Arts.

The Asian art collections are among the finest anywhere. This includes one of the world's great masterpieces, "One Hundred Geese," a scroll by the 12th Century painter Ma Fen. The extensive Chinese painting and decorative arts collections also include the famous Bromberger Collection of Chinese Ceramics.

The Academy claims to have one of the two most important collections of Korean ceramics in the world, and has more than three galleries devoted to its collection of Japanese art, one of the most comprehensive outside Japan.

Almost continuous showings of temporary and loan exhibits follow the Academy's effort to keep a balance between eastern and western art. Typical recent showings have been "Buddhist Art," "American Painting Today," "Oriental Folk Art," "400 Years of European Art," "Life and Art in Micronesia," and a collection of 18th and 19th Century Thai paintings.

Extension activities bring the Honolulu Academy's fine collections to the people in the

other Islands, through circulating exhibitions, instructions and lectures.

All education activities of the Academy stimulate among Hawaiian residents a sense of identification with their own cultural heritage, whether it is Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Hawaiian, Filipino, American or European. It strengthens mutual respect among them through the arts.

Educational activities include art classes for children and adults, music and dance concerts, film programs, lectures and demonstrations. Working with Hawaii's schools, the Education Department is host to some 46,000 visiting students in a typical year, holds exhibitions to coincide with subjects under study in the schools, and sponsors tours, demonstrations, plays and festivals for the children, and conferences and workshops for their teachers. Emphasis is on the importance of creative thought and work to the progress of civilization.

The Academy's role, according to its director, Robert P. Griffing, Jr., is to "act as a mirror of the socio-cultural atmosphere of Hawaii," and "to serve as a visual interpreter of western ideas and ideals for our visitors from Asia, and of Asian concepts for our visitors from the other side of the Pacific. We can contribute to the state of mind needed for the formation of knowledge and mutual respect."—*USIS*.

INDIA'S NEIGHBOUR : SIKKIM

By HEM CHANDRA HALDER

Anyone visiting Darjeeling has a glimpse of the magnificent beauty of Kunchanjunga towering high a little distance away (45 miles in a bird's eye view), a dazzling mass of snowy peaks with fleecy clouds hovering over its head, intercepted by blue glaciers gleaming in the rising sun which fills everyone with a sublime feeling of wonder and amazement. As one looks beyond from the Tiger Hills—the highest peak in Darjeeling—one sees a succession of mountains—of consecutive parallel ridges and deep gorges—all belonging to Sikkim. The stupendous wonder of Nature, that is Himalayas, is brought forth to us in pristine and majestic glory.

Sikkim (Denjong in Tibetan—a valley of rice) is essentially a mountainous country without a flat piece of land of any extent anywhere. The mountains rise in elevation northward with Kunchanjunga, the highest peak (28,178 ft); Singalehah ranges on the Nepal border and the Chola ranges on the Bhutan border. These ranges encompass the three sides of the territories of Sikkim which slope down on the South towards the plains of India. The tract of

mountainous country thus enclosed consists of a series of interlacing ridges, rising range above range to the foot of the wall of the highest peaks which are abodes of perpetual snow. The snow-capped ridges on the north send down glaciers which come down and form the stream of the Lachen and Lachung rivers which pass through precipitous valleys to unite in the Teesta. The Teesta and the Rungeet are the principal channels of drainage.

The valleys cut by these rivers and their chief feeders are very deep. All the Monasteries and principal villages are situated in these valleys.

The country is rich in rainfall; rice, apples, oranges and other fruits grow in plenty and there are ample deposits of copper and other ores which are yet to be fully tapped.

Dr. Joseph Dalton Hooker, the celebrated Botanist (who in later life became President of the Royal Society in London) was the first Englishman to make an extensive tour into the interiors of Sikkim in 1847. He has given us certain glimpses about the country in his book—*Himalayan Journals*, published in 1854.

Here is a description of the country :

"In the early morning, the view of the mountains is one of astonishing grandeur. Kinchinjunga bore nearly due north, from this the sweep of snowed mountains to the eastward was almost continuous as far as Chola (bearing east-north-east), following a curve of 150 miles, and enclosing the whole of the northern part of Sikkim, which appeared a billowy mass of forest-clad mountains. On the north-east horizon rose the Donka mountain (23,176 ft) and Chumulari (23,929), rearing their gigantic heads higher." (Page 128).

A view from Choonjerma Pass :

"Looking north, the conical head of Junnoo was just scattering the mists from its snowy shoulders, and standing forth to view, the most magnificent spectacle I ever beheld.

"Looking south, another wonderful spectacle presented itself. I saw a sea of mist floating beneath me, just below the upper level of the black pines; the magnificent spurs of the snowy range which I had

crossed rising out of it in rugged grandeur as promontories and peninsulas, between which the misty ocean seemed to finger up like the fords of Norway, or the salt-water lochs of the west of Scotland.

"I have never before or since seen anything, which for sublimity, beauty, and marvellous effects could compare with what I gazed on that evening from Choonjerma pass. My combination of science and art can no more recall the scene, than it can the feelings of awe that crept over me, during the hour I spent in solitude amongst these stupendous mountains." (Page 187).

Such examples can be multiplied from other parts of the book about the wonderful landscape and scenery, climatic condition and other beauties that lie submerged from human eyes in the heart of Himalayas. While a part of these things has given rise to the wonderful Hill-station of Darjeeling, it can be easily conceived what the whole is likely to be, when fully developed and brought within easy reach of human enjoyment.

The People

Of the early history of the people of Sikkim, very little is known. It is generally believed that the people belong to three distinct stocks—

- (1) the original inhabitants "Rong" or "Lepchas";
- (2) the "Khampas", or immigrants from Tibet; and
- (3) the "Limbus" or Murmis who are also believed to have hailed from Tibet.

All the families in Sikkim belong to one or other of these strains, or to an admixture of them. Of them, the Lepchas may be called the earliest settlers of Sikkim. Their physical characteristics stamp them as members of the Mongolian race, and certain peculiarities of language and religion render it probable that the tribe also hailed from Tibet. Their knowledge of the hills and woods, birds and beasts gave them courage to venture into these hills and build up small colonies for settlement which progressed very slowly, through centuries.

A census taken in 1891 gave the population as 30,458 which was found to have increased to 137,158 according to the 1951 Census. The country has an area of 2,818 sq. miles.

Founding of Sikkim Raj

The legendary account of the founding of the Sikkim Raj in the middle of the 17th century is connected with the arrival of a Lama named Lhatsun Chhembo (the great reverend god) from Tibet. Having spent many years in various Monasteries and in travelling throughout Tibet and Sikkim, he ultimately in the year 1641 arrived in Sikkim at Yoksum at the foot of the Kunchanjunga. Simultaneously, two other Lamas belonging to other sects named Sempah Chhembo and Rigdsin Chhembo joined him.

The three Lamas held a council at which Lhatsun Chhembo said, "Here are we three Lamas in a new and irreligious country. We must have a 'dispenser of gifts' (i.e., a King) to rule the country on our behalf." He further added, "We are three who come from the north, west and south and towards the east, it is written, there is at this epoch a man named Phuntshog, a descendant of brave ancestors of Kham in Eastern Tibet. According, therefore, to the prophesy of the *Guru*, we should invite him."

Two messengers were then despatched in search of this Phuntshog. Going towards the East near Gangtok, they discovered this Phuntshog, and brought him down to visit the Lamas.

The Lamas then placed the holy water vase on his head, anointed him with its water and thus crowned him King. They exhorted him to rule the country religiously, gave him Lhatsun's own surname of Namgye. Phuntshog Namgye thus became the first Raja of Sikkim in the year 1641 A.D.

Thus began the institution of the Sikkim Raj, surely a peculiar way of investiture of a King and for anyone to win a Kingdom. But when it is remembered that all subsequent Rulers of Sikkim have descended down from this first King, Phuntshog Namgye, the state of affairs of these countries and the influence

which Lamaism has exerted over the minds of the people will have some introduction to us.

Along with crowning the first King in Sikkim, Lhatsun Chhembo became instrumental in introducing Lamaism as the dominant religion in Sikkim. The people were quick converts. Monasteries began to be built up. The people based in Monasteries, not only embraced Lamaism as a religion, but social practices, daily-life and customs became so much wedded to it that it is difficult to understand the people without an understanding of what Lamaism is and how far it has regulated the life of these people through centuries.

Lamaism in Sikkim

Lamaism as a distinct school of Buddhism with a prepondering amount of mythology, mysticism and magic was first introduced in Tibet by Padma Sambhava (Guru Rimboche in Tibetan), an Indian monk from Nalanda in the middle of the 8th century.

It was brought to Sikkim by Lhatsun Chhembo (referred to before) whose image is now worshipped along with other deities in the Monasteries in Sikkim. He was a native of Kongbu in the lower valley of Tibet, and before entry to Sikkim obtained great repute by his learning, and was a favourite of Dalai Lama. On arrival into Sikkim, he was very warmly received by the people who earlier believed in demon and fairy worship. He went on quickly converting the people with the help of the first King whom he crowned. A Monastery at Dubde was built and that at Sangachelling commenced under his direction, which was completed during the period of the second King (Tensung Namgye) who was to his credit also the building of the Pemiongchi Monastery, the most famous in Sikkim. During the reign of subsequent Rulers, Monasteries, one after another, began to be built up which became not only the place of worship, but also the abode of the people who took to Lamaism and became a monk.

Monasteries

Monasteries in Sikkim are of three kinds—

- (1) Tak-phu or cave-hermitage,
- (2) Gompa or a solitary place of worship,

(3) Gompas or village temples.

The site occupied by a Monastery is usually commanding and picturesque. The monastic buildings cluster round the Temple. There are also other outer buildings for the residence of the monks.

Lining the approaches to the Monasteries are rows of tall "prayer flags", and several large "chhortens" (receptacle for offerings).

The main Temple is the chief and most conspicuous building in a Monastery. It is normally of a squarish base, stone walls and thatched roofs surmounted with one or two domes. At the base are placed several "prayer-barrels" which are turned by the visitor as he proceeds.

On entering the vestibule to the Temple, the gateway is guarded by several figures of Demons. The Temple is a large hall with a double row of pillars, terminated by the altar. The walls are lined with frescoes of deities, saints and demons.

Above the altar are placed three colossal images of Shakyamuni in the centre with Guru Rinpoche and Cheresi (Padmapani, patron God of Lamaism) on the sides. Ranged on either sides are the other images of the Temple. In some of the larger Monasteries, there are side-chapels. A lamp is lighted in the Temple with melted butter placed in a big bowl. The cymbals are placed on the inner platform.

Daily Prayer

The routine of daily prayer by the Lamas in these Monasteries is interesting.

In the morning, after offering the sacred food, incense, and butter incense, a conch-shell is blown by which all the Lamas congregate in the Assembly Hall and seat themselves in Buddha fashion in solemn silence. Then tea is served and before tea is drunk, a prayer is uttered by all as follows:

"We humbly beseech Thee! that we and our relations throughout all of our life-cycles may never be separated from the Three Holy Ones! May the blessings of the Trinity enter into this drink."

Then sprinkling a few drops on the ground, the tea is drunk.

Then the Magic Circle (a graphic depiction on paper of the Universe according to the belief of the Lamas) is inspected by the Head Lama and he commences celebration of the Mass as "We—all beings—through the intercession of the Lama, go for refuge to Buddha, to *Dharma*, to Shakyamuni, to Vajrapani, etc., etc.", the rest of the congregation repeating each word by word. For repeating all these prayers and invocations, more than an hour passes. Here ends the morning prayer.

At 8 A.M. the conch-shell again blows summoning the Lamas to the Assembly. Now a full course of prayer begins which consist of (1) presentation of offerings and (2) the Mandala service.

In presentation of offerings, the Lamas in a melodious voice utter in unison, "Come! Come! Om! Bajra! Partake of these offerings! Excellent drinking river water, cool water for washing your feet, flowers for decking your hair, pleasing incense fumes, lamp for lighting the darkness, perfumed water for anointing your body, sacred food, the music of cymbals."

Then the Mandala service begins with the words, "I offer you all these constituent parts of the Universe all complete; the four continents adorned with the sun and moon; the whole assembly of accomplished Supreme Beings of the outside, inside and hidden regions, the entire wealth and body of all these mythical regions etc., etc."

This full course of prayer is repeated several times in a day and in the evening intermingled with refreshments which are served in these Assembly Halls.

The same practice, but in a less rigorous form, is followed in other places of worship, in villages or in hermitages of solitary monks.

Dolma (Tara) is one of the most popular of the deities. It is said that "if you chant her hymn two or three times a day, your desire for a son will be realised, or should you wish wealth, you will obtain it, and all other wishes will be gratified." A few lines of the hymn uttered in her praises read as follows:

"We hail Thee! O Rever'd and Sublime
Dolma!

Who are adorned by all the Kings and
princes

Of the ten directions and of the present,
past and future.

Hail! The mighty Gods adore Thee—
Indra, Agni, Brahma and the Lord of
the Winds;

Hail! Oh! Owner of all the earth
Thou maketh the mighty bend their head
And quake beneath Thy angry frown,
While all the poor Thou cherisheth.

Now! O! The Great Worker!
Thou quick soother and gracious Mother,
Holding the utpal flower,
Let thy glory come!

The above is the daily routine to which a Lama is wedded in life and this life continues endlessly throughout the year. Thus Lamaic life and practices cast a continuous spell over the life of the people, either based in Monasteries or in villages who are found to be muttering prayers to the Lord Buddha in a continuous buzz all throughout their lives.

Rulers of Sikkim

This gives us in short a glimpse of the ways of life the people have lived through centuries and the part religion has played in moulding their character. The hills have all through been very sparsely populated and so dwelling in the Monasteries and in small villages in the valleys round about a village Priest, they have faced the rigours of climate and material wants in a stoic manner. Recoiling in the inner world, in the sub-conscious, wearing 'Amulet-charms' which are believed to give protection against every form of disease, accident and ill-fortune and with 'Rosaries' in hand telling in each bead "Om! Mani Padma Hum!", they have retreated from the affairs of the outer world. Life flowed in even tenor with very few sparks illumining the course.

The life of the Rulers was also a dedication to the dominant religion and except for occasional interlude in State affairs when there was some disturbance from outside, or some intrigue at home, it was spent in comparative idleness and very few spells remain to be recorded. As there were no laws guiding the life of the people, religious hierarchy and Rulers

exercised absolute domination over them. Polygamy and polyandry were prevalent behind the facade of a life of celibacy and abstinence to which the Lamas were wedded.

The Rulers were also in the habit of marrying a number of girls. So at the time of succession, there were great troubles which were smoothened out with great difficulties.

The second Raja in succession, Tensung Namgye ascended the throne in 1670. He had to his credit the building of several Monasteries which have become famous.

His son Chakdor Namgye ascended the throne about 1700. His reign was full of troubles.

His half-sister Pende Amo claimed the throne as she was elder. When refused, she invited the Bhutanese to invade the country. War ensued, Bhutanese occupied the country and Raja Chakdor fled to Tibet. With Tibetan help, the Bhutanese were compelled to leave the country, but they retained Dumsong Fort and the territories surrounding it (which now comprise the Kalimpong sub-division of Darjeeling district.)

During the period of his stay in Tibet, Raja Chakdor studied hard and became a scholar and on his return was much respected by the people. But his sister was not prepared to forgive him and caused his murder in 1717.

His son Gyurme Namgye ascended the throne in 1717. He married a lady who was not to his liking. So he refused to live with her and had no issue. During his time, Sikkim lost some of her territories to Nepal. In 1734 the Raja was taken dangerously ill, and when he was asked to name his heir, he said, "His ministers need have no anxiety on the point, as they would find a young nun tending cattle near Singjyang, the girl is a daughter of Neergahden of the Takchungtar family, and she has had a son by me." The Raja died shortly afterwards.

So this son Namgye Pencho wanted to ascend the throne in 1734. But there was revolt against him by the Kazis or Jungpens (local Governors) who were not prepared to allow an illegitimate son to ascend the throne. The dispute was finally settled by an emissary from Lhasa and Namgye Pencho ruled till 1780.

His son Tenzing Namgye became Raja in 1730. During his reign, at first the Bhutanese and then the Goorkhas from Nepal attacked Sikkim. The Raja with Tibetan help was able to repulse both the attacks.

His son Chophoe Namgye succeeded the throne in 1790. His reign was eventful in many ways.

In 1791, the Goorkhas of Nepal made war with Tibet but were defeated. But in the peace treaty that followed, Tibet considered that the Sikkimese had not rendered them sufficient assistance, and a portion of territory belonging to Sikkim was allowed to remain under the occupation of Nepal. For sometime Pemooingchi and all the South Teesta areas paid rents to Nepal.

But at the close of the Goorkha war, the Nepalese were expelled by the British rulers in India, and by the Treaty of 1817 all these territories were restored to the Sikkim Raja. During his reign, which lasted till 1861, closer relations developed with the British rulers in India and the cessation of Darjeeling district obtained.

Cessation of Darjeeling

The first notice of these hills suitable as an attractive Hill-station was made by Captain Lloyd, Indian Agent in Nepal, who accompanied by Mr. J. W. Grant, visited these hills in connection with settlement of a dispute between Sikkim and Nepal. They made a report about the desirability of obtaining these hills as a good Health Resort to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. The Governor-General, made a request to the Sikkim Raja, who already benefited by earlier British help in restoration of his territory from Nepal, gladly acceded to the proposal and the Maharaja unconditionally ceded the Darjeeling tract of territories by a Decree of Grant dated February, 1835.

In 1841, the Government granted an allowance of Rs. 3000/- per annum to the Maharaja as compensation for the cessation of Darjeeling, and in 1846, a further sum of Rs. 3000/- in all Rs. 6000/- was sanctioned.

But the quick development of Darjeeling under the British rule became a source of anxiety and jealousy of the Dewan of the Maha-

raja who was the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim. A friction developed when some of the slaves of Sikkim Dewan crossed over and began to live in Darjeeling. When in 1849, Dr. Hooker and Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling, were travelling in Sikkim, they were made prisoners, and were ultimately released under a serious threat by the Governor-General. A further portion of Sikkim territories, Sikkim Terai, and hills bounded by the Rungeet and Teesta on Nepal frontier were annexed and made a part of Darjeeling district. A further slice of territories was subsequently taken possession of.

By a Treaty signed in March 1861, the Sikkimese agreed to the cessation of these territories and the Darjeeling district was finally constituted. (The Kalimpong part of the territories was received from Bhutan.)

Relations with India

Sikhyong Namgye succeeded his father Chophoe Namgye and became Raja in 1861.

The annual subsidy of Rs. 6000/- forfeited in 1850, was restored in 1862. It was increased to Rs. 9000/- in 1868 and to Rs. 12000/- in 1873.

Sikhyong Namgye died in 1874 and was succeeded by his half-brother Thothub Namgye who married his widow and had three children by her. She died in 1880.

In the meantime, an attempt was made to place Tinle Namgyal (son of his half-brother Dewan Changzed Karpo who married the widow named Menchi, fifth wife of his father Raja Chophoe Namgyal) into the throne by a sort of conspiracy against him. But this was frustrated by the intervention of the Government of India.

In March, 1888, the Tibetans sent an army and occupied Lingtu, a point about 12 miles to the Sikkim side of the frontier, on the top of a high peak on the road to Jelap, one of the passes of the Chola range. The Raja remained at Chumbi, notwithstanding the request of the Government of India to return. His allowance was therefore stopped. A British Expeditionary Force was then sent against Lingtu and the Tibetans were forced to evacuate.

In December, 1888, negotiations were started with the Chinese Resident with a view to settlement of the Sikkim-Tibetan dispute, but it was then unsuccessful. Finally, as a result of fresh negotiations, at a Convention with China in 1890, a Treaty was signed. By this Treaty British protectorate over Sikkim was acknowledged and the boundary between the two States defined. In 1893, a supplementary Agreement relating to trade and domestic matters was signed. A British Political Officer was appointed to assist the Maharaja in the administration of the country with the help of a Durbar composed of Chief Civil Officers and Lamas.

In March 1892, the Maharaja secretly left Pemiongchi where he was staying with the intention of proceeding to Tibet. He was not agreeable to the terms of the above Treaty. On entering Nepal, he was stopped and the Nepal Durbar escorted him and his party back to British territory. Government of India wanted to put him under surveillance. As however, he expressed his regret, he was allowed to return to Gangtok in 1895.

The Younghusband Mission of 1903 to Tibet finally settled the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet.

Raja Thothub Namgyal died in 1914, and was succeeded by his son Sidkeong Namgyal. He died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his half-brother Tashi Namgyal, the present Maharaja, in April, 1918. The subsidy of Rs. 12000/- withheld since 1889 was restored to him.

Present Position

After India attained independence, an Indo-Sikkimese Treaty was signed in 1950 which replaced the old Treaty of the Lhasa Convention of 1890. By this, Sikkim continues to be a protectorate of the Government of India, which

have special responsibilities in respect of her defence and external relations.

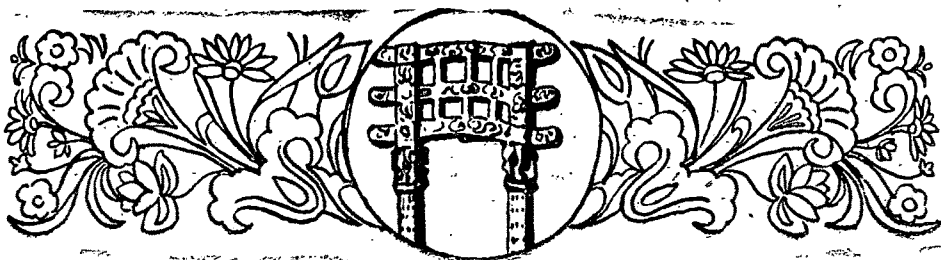
In 1949, at the request of the Maharaja, the Government of India made available the services of an officer for appointment as Dewan of Sikkim.

Currently a 7-Year Development Plan is in progress with the assistance of the Government of India. For this purpose, India has made gift of Rs. 3 crores to Sikkim. There were already good roads connecting India with Sikkim, viz., Kalimpong Nathu La, Jelap La and other roads. Some 100 miles of motorable road, 25 miles of Jeepable road and 350 miles of village roads have been laid. Some 60 schools, 3 hospitals and several dispensaries have been opened.

The people have also become politically conscious. The Maharaja held an election in November, 1959 for a 14-member State council. The State Congress won 8 seats while 2 factions of the Nationalist Party took 2 seats and Swatantra Party one seat and one Lama won an independent seat. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the State Congress wants accession to India.

Sikkim is therefore on the road to progress. Popular consciousness have gained strength and the close proximity of Darjeeling district and frequent inter-communication between the two have worked in heightening that consciousness. Education is spreading. A new people with a different culture is bound to emerge out of this communion with a lasting benefit to both. China has declared that she has no border dispute with Sikkim.

- Reference :—(i) Dr. Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, 1854.
(ii) *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894.
(iii) *Asian Recorder*, 1959.



TOLSTOY THE NOVELIST

By NARAYANI BASU, M.A., D. Phil

SINCE the death of Goethe in 1832, if anybody was asked the question in the eighties who was the greatest writer in the world after him? The answer must have been Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Tolstoy died on the 22nd November, 1910. In the kingdom of classical fiction he was still the tsar of the world. Although he was thoroughly Russian in birth, ancestry and environment he belongs to the world as truly as Tagore. Tolstoy amazingly captured the imagination of millions of foreigners. The literary giants of his own homeland had forecast the arrival of an author of incomparable genius. Dostoevski after reading a review of his *Childhood and Boyhood* enquired from Siberia of one of his friends, 'Who is this mysterious L.N.T.?' Turgenev said of him, 'When this wine is ripened there will be a drink fit for the gods.' His next best work after *Childhood and Boyhood* is *Sevastopol Sketches*.

Tolstoy's stories and sketches, particularly his *Childhood and Boyhood* and the *Sevastopol Sketches* are wonderful writings and unparalleled but they are merely 'trials of the pen' as he calls them. The author is preparing himself, testing his own ability so that he can proceed for the pyramid he is going to construct. Prince Mirsky has rightly divided his early works covering the period of 1852-1877 into two clear-cut periods—the first period is the preparatory period and the second period is the period of fulfilment. *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* are the products of the second period.

Tolstoy's genius has found better expression in novels than in short stories. This is because a true novel cannot be created without a positive philosophy of life. Nothingness can never be the basis of a novel. The novels find refuge in a definite philosophy, that can guide the life through its troubles and tempests. Tolstoy had this philosophy which ultimately matured into his Christian conviction and gave

him a meaning of life. This conviction is the spiritual source of Tolstoy's novels.

Tolstoy can be credited with introducing a new method in Russian literature. This is his analytic-retrospective, otherwise known as the direct method. This method of Tolstoy was completely different from the dramatic method followed by Dostoevski. The peculiarity of it is that the characters always offer an explanation of their activities. Dostoevski's characters do not offer any such explanation—that is the most important thing and an explanation always precedes the activity of each character.

The theme that occupied Tolstoy before he wrote *War and Peace* is the mental striving of a young Russian to free himself from the artificialities of life and to find out the truth. The search is continued in his *War and Peace*. He wrote it in the early years of his shamelessly happy married life. Hence he was more content with himself and his life and his attitude towards things was more tolerant than ever. In his opinion the novel was intended to please the readers. But that is only the face-value of the book and one has to go through the book to see his strivings and yearnings, his hopes and fears. In his *What is Art* Tolstoy of course characterized his novels as examples of bad art and saw it harmful for society. One of Professor Zaharin's daughters had told him that she began to love the balls and the parties after reading *War and Peace*. It happened at a time when he had already denounced the modern society. The real cause of his condemnation of the novel seems to be elsewhere. *War and Peace* is a novel which is so big in size that it is a pastime for the leisure class only and is not accessible to the peasants and the working class. It can please the rich and the aristocrats who have nothing to do except to squander away the money wrung from the peasants. So, this is an example of bad art.

War and Peace is a chronicle of Russian families. There are two families in it—the Rostovs and the Bolkonskys as they are affected by Napoleon's invasion. Besides recording simply the historic events Tolstoy here gives us a philosophy of history. The philosophy is that the prime mover of history is the people. The so-called great men of the world are the most significant tools of history. One such typical great man in history is Napoleon. The whole of the European sky is overcast with the ominous shadow of his invasion but the man himself does not know what is in store for him.

Under the main current of the book is still flowing his old searching. He implicitly asks: what is good and what is bad? With what should we sympathize and what should we reject? The answer is evident: the simple, sincere and the meek are to be adored and the predatory, artificial and insincere should be abhorred.

While Tolstoy wrote his novel he was convinced that war is inevitable. The idea that war is an evil should not be resisted by violent means is the effect of his later realization. About *War and Peace* he writes in 1868:

Why did millions of people kill one another, when since the foundation of the world it has been known that this is both physically and morally bad?

Because it was so inevitably necessary, that even when doing it they fulfilled the elemental zoological law bees fulfil when they kill one another in autumn, and male animals fulfil when they destroy one another. No other reply can be given to that dreadful law.

So war is inevitable although cruel and it is condemned by Tolstoy who once witnessed its horror. *War and Peace* is one of the most powerful indictments of war ever made.

A few charges have been made against this classic of Tolstoy. It is said that he neglects the evils of serfdom, the brutality, cruelty, the immurement of women, the torture of the serf girls by their mistresses. But Tolstoy who has studied that period through and through from the historic records, from the diaries of the Tolstoy and the Volkonskys (his mother's family), found out that the people of that period also were per-

meated with love and hatred, jealousy and anger, that they sought the truth and the virtue as we do now. Sometimes they were finer and even nobler than the people of our age which, in his opinion, was the worst period in history.

Another defect Tolstoy was conscious of is the intrusion of philosophic arguments into the novel. Later on he says that his novels could have been a better one without these philosophic discourses. Yet the philosophy does not spoil the novel. In *War and Peace* he has combined realism with philosophy, imagination with life. The main interest of the book is in life and its continuity and if man has any obligation at all it must be in tune with life itself. This is the message of *War and Peace*.

The novel covers a wide range of his experience. Here one can see the aristocracy and the peasants, the country life and the town life, the army comrades and the soldiers, diplomats, courtiers, flirtation and love, balls, parties; even hunting expeditions have not been excluded from the book. He vividly describes the Russian society he lives in. The only class left out of the novel is the middle-class. An aristocrat by birth Tolstoy had no acquaintance with them. Like a bountiful giver he distributes his wealth of experience among the people but does not pose to give what he himself does not possess.

Tolstoy's next best work is *Anna Karenina*. It is the story of an unlawful love. In the literature of the nineteenth century unlawful love played a very important role but perhaps none have succeeded like Tolstoy in depicting it with so much tact, intelligence, goodness and truth.

Like Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* Tolstoy for his *Anna Karenina* received both condemnation and praise—condemnation from the progressive group and praise from the aristocrats and the orthodox. But outside Russia *Anna Karenina's* popularity seems to have been greater than that of *War and Peace*. The reason is that *Anna Karenina* is a novel the Western world is accustomed to although there are two pairs of lovers instead of one.

Prince Stepan Arkadevich Oblonski had a family trouble. He made a liaison with the French Governess of his children. So, his wife Darya Aleksandrovna found it impossible to live with her husband. *Anna Karenina* the sister of

Stepan Arkadevich was destined to arrive at Moscow to reconcile her brother and sister-in-law. She was a very beautiful, charming lady of Petersburg society.

Vronsky was a very handsome, very rich, gay, brilliant young man, in a word, the hero of the ladies. It was generally believed that he would marry Kitty, the youngest sister of Darya Aleksandrovna. Kitty had another proposal also. This proposal came from Levin. But Kitty's mother's choice fell upon Vronsky because she desired as all mothers of good society do to have a brilliant match for their daughters. Kitty also took it for certain that the offer would come from Vronsky and under this expectation she refused Levin.

Anna and Vronsky's mother were travelling by the same train. Anna had a son. The two proud mothers talked of their sons while in the train. Vronsky came to receive his mother and met Anna in the platform. Anna had already heard a lot about him and having seen him she felt a very peculiar feeling in her heart. Was it love or infatuation? She tried to dispel that evil feeling which was troubling her so much. But it was hard, very hard to overcome this unknown passion for the young people who did not know what love is.

Anna was married to a distinguished man without either fully understanding the other. The husband was a very remarkable, excellent man but was a little cold and was much older than her. He had gone far beyond her in the striving of the Christian ideal while she was still left in the world of balls and parties. The flesh of the body had its own demands. Naturally Anna quickly yielded to the gay, brilliant, very rich and handsome Vronsky. They began to meet secretly. Rumours were reaching Aleksyey—Anna's husband. At first he did not suspect anything but Anna who was always ruthless and hated to lead a deceptive life full of lies confessed her guilt. A few months later she expected a baby whose father was Vronsky. Aleksyey was very much disturbed in his soul but all that he wanted was decency and lie. He did not want to express his unhappiness to others. Life went on in Karenin's family as before.

Anna got her second baby. It was a

daughter named Annie. Soon after Annie's birth Anna fell very ill. While hovering between life and death she realized a new truth, i.e., the Christian truth of love and forgiveness. Anna called her husband and requested him to forgive Vronsky. Vronsky felt so much humiliated, so low before the magnanimity of Aleksyey that he tried to commit suicide. But this was an unsuccessful attempt and Vronsky decided to leave Petersburg for ever.

Anna did not die as she expected. She recovered from her illness and all her spiritual realization disappeared as soon as she saw Vronsky. Vronsky's desire also to go elsewhere vanished. The two lovers now found out that the life they were living was unbearable. Anna at last left her husband's house with Vronsky and her daughter. Her son stayed behind with the father. Kitty by this time had understood her folly and married Levin.

Anna left her husband's house but could not enter into a new wedlock with Vronsky without a divorce from her husband. Aleksyey also thought over the issue but divorce appeared to him impossible. According to Christian religion the wife is not allowed to marry the second time during the lifetime of the husband. How could Aleksyey lead Anna to commit adultery and cause the ruin of his beloved wife and the son? These thoughts were oppressing Aleksyey. He refused to send her a letter of divorce. But the divorce was very essential for Anna and Vronsky. They wanted the social sanction of their love and without divorce this sanction could not be obtained. The result was that even the most corrupt ladies like Betsey who were intriguing with society dandies and thereby deceiving their husbands refused to call on Anna and her lover. Vronsky also was becoming a little cold towards her. Had all their love been exhausted? Anna could not decide anything. At last she committed suicide.

In *Anna Karenina* Tolstoy poses a problem before the readers—is separation inevitable when both husband and wife find the continuity of such life unbearable? Most of the Westerners and the best of Tolstoy's Russia answered the question in the affirmative. In Kropotkin's opinion Tolstoy himself fully sympathized with the love of Anna and Vronsky

and yet Anna had to die because neither Anna nor Vronsky had the courage to break off the society and both valued the opinion of the Betsies who had no right to cast the stone at her. Hence suicide was caused by the opinion of the Betsies and was not the consequence of any Superhuman Justice.

Anna's suicide seems to be better understood by Dostoevski.

In *Anna Karenina* a view of human guilt and criminality is presented. In Europe the question of crime and therefore of punishment is solved in either of two ways. The first way is that the law is given, written, formulated by society. Evil and good are clearly defined. He who does not obey it pays literally and inhumanly. The other way is that the society is abnormally arranged. So it is impossible to hold the individual responsible for the consequences. To have done with crime and human guilt we must end the abnormality of society.

But the Russian author's (Tolstoy's) view is that no abolition of poverty, no arrangement of human society will save humanity from abnormalities and from guilt. Evil lies deeper in humanity than our socialist physicians conceive, abnormality and sin proceed from human mind and finally the human mind is so undefined, so mysterious that there are as yet no final or ultimate judges but there is only: He who says 'Vengeance is mine and I will repay!' to him alone the secrets of the world and of human mind are known. And that he may not perish in despair through failing to understand his path and destiny, man is shown the way of escape. This path was shown to Anna when she was in death's door and the culprits—her husband and Vronsky—were transformed into higher beings who freed themselves from falsehood, crime and guilt by mutual love and forgiveness. But gradually in the last part of the novel in that terrible picture of the fall of human soul there is so much instruction for a human judge and also for him who holds the scale and weighs that he exclaims in fear and amazement: No, vengeance is not always mine and I cannot always repay! And he does not inhumanly hold a fallen offender guilty for rejecting the path shown to her long before.

Anna Karenina is the Parliament, the pulpit and the bar of Tolstoy. Through it the author has despised the modern society, pleaded for the sacred family life and preached the new principles of rational Christianity. The social and religious message the novel contains can hardly be overlooked. Tolstoy tells the people—resist not the evil, love your enemy and do not commit adultery. Side by side he depicts the beauty of country life, the charm of a sacred family life of Levin and Kitty. The beautiful Anna and her lover the handsome Vronsky eclipse the more serious, silent Levin. But it is Levin who stands for Tolstoy's soul—a soul that has not yet fully discovered itself.

Tolstoy finished *Anna Karenina* in 1879. His conversion to new philosophy was almost complete in 1880. The essence of this philosophy consisted in the denial of church, of state and the practice of fivefold principles of Christ—Resist not the evil, do not commit adultery, love your enemy, do not take any oath, do not get angry. This philosophy of life began to reflect on his writings also. In 1883 Tolstoy appeared before the public with his *Kruetzer Sonata* with a new problem—the problem of sex.

In most of the European countries marriage is based upon a false conception of love. What really exists behind marriage is physical attachment and not love. People contract matrimonial unions in marriage and do not see anything sacramental. The result is deceit. Pozdnischeff, the hero of the *Kruetzer Sonata* was a victim of such marriage. For thirty years he lived a loose life, visited the brothels, drank liquors and saw the society girls without giving up his intention of getting married and leading an ideal family life. At last he discovered his lady love in the beautiful daughter of Penza, a landowner. Once they went out boating together. Under the spell of the bright moonlit sky the young man touched by the bewitching glamour of the girl thought that he had found out the purest, immaculate lady he was searching ever since. What a strange illusion! The young man took beauty for goodness and returned home in ecstasies deciding that she was the pink of moral perfection and worthy to be his wife. Soon they got married and then began the period of honeymoon.

Honeymoon! what pathos is contained in the very word! While in honeymoon they felt that the love which was so ardently desired by them was not love but the very opposite of it. In place of love hatred developed, tenderness appeared to be an empty feeling and marriage became a burden very hard to bear. In the third or fourth day of marriage they quarrelled but soon they made peace. They were living alternately under the spell of love and of hatred. Gradually the children appeared. In eight years they got five children. Children were god-sent angels who saved the parents from immediate disaster. But the happiness did not last long. The children instead of being a source of joy were the sources of new anxiety and trouble. Nursing and caressing the children were very much hated by the mother. She became very thin. The doctors forbade her ever again to become a mother, and taught her the means of executing their command. In spite of her husband's insistence she stubbornly refused to bear children. Two years rolled by and the doctors' advice acted like a magic upon her. Her appearance improved and she grew more attractive than ever. "A pretty woman of thirty, well-fed, irritable and no longer fatigued by the cares and responsibilities of motherhood" she now resembled a "well-fed, wanton, harnessed horse that has long stood inactive in the stables and from whom the bridle has been suddenly removed." The husband looked at her beauty with horror and anxiety.

Of late they were feeling that their love was completely exhausted. Should they make a new love and try their luck elsewhere once more? But the husband subdued his passion for family happiness and love for the children were too dear to him to be easily forsaken. At this stage an elegant young musician Trookhatschevsky by name with all the show of an outward dignity and a sensitive character appeared on the scene. The wife had a strong passion for music and being free from all motherly cares and responsibilities she again set herself to practise music. Music now became a plea for the musician to come to Pozdnischeff's house.

Pozdnischeff was absent from the house for three days. Having returned home he found the musician and his wife in a closed room play-

ing music. The husband though burning with jealousy and anger behaved very naturally. At night the wife apprehending her husband's annoyance came to make peace with him but he was about to kill her. Next morning they were reconciled under the influence of what we call 'love'.

A dinner was arranged on the following day. The guests came to attend the dinner at Pozdnischeff's house. The musician also was among the invited guests. When the dinner was off, the two—the musician and Pozdnischeff's wife performed the *Kruezer Sonata* of Beethoven. Music had a terrible effect upon him. Everything seemed to him to be very beautiful and charming. Even musician appeared to be very noble. All the hatred and contempt of his heart vanished. The soiree was a grand success. The musician took leave of him impressing upon his mind the idea that he would soon leave Moscow and would not visit his house in his absence.

Pozdnischeff's heart was so full that he left Moscow for the country without any suspicion in his mind. In the country he had plenty of work awaiting him. But he received a note from his wife containing at the fag end of the letter, "Trookhatscheffsky has called and brought the music that he promised me and offered to play again but I declined." But did he really promise her any music? Pozdnischeff could not recollect. Had she started intriguing with the musician? Horror and rage crushed his soul. Life in the country became unbearable to him. He immediately hired a *tarantass* and left for Moscow. But in the midway the *tarantass* broke down and so he could not catch the express train. Pozdnischeff had to come by passenger train reaching his Moscow house towards one o'clock and not at 5 o'clock in the evening as he intended.

A terrible scene though not unexpected was awaiting him. At that midnight when everybody ought to be asleep the wife and the musician were eating. With a dagger in his hand to kill his wife Pozdnischeff entered the room where they were amusing and enjoying themselves. The musician noticed the dagger and slipped away. Pozdnischeff then fell upon his wife and plunged the dagger into her heart.

The wife was dying in her bed. Pozdnischeff went to her. He expected that she would confess her guilt, her faithlessness. But instead the old, familiar, cold, animal hatred appeared on her face. He realized his own fault. But everything was finished then. Pozdnischeff was sent to the prison and spent there eleven months awaiting his trial. He was finally acquitted but did not get the charge of children although he gave them his whole fortune. Children were taken by their maternal aunt as was desired by their mother.

In *Kruetzer Sonata* Tolstoy preached his new faith in celibacy and chastity. Chastity is an ideal not merely for the unmarried people, it is an ideal for the married couples also. *Kruetzer Sonata* is a stumbling block to them who do not want to understand Tolstoy. Many of his readers actually read into the story an advocacy for free love. Some of them accused him of preaching immorality and the Archbishop of Kherson depicted him as a 'wolf in sheep's clothing'. To dispel the misunderstanding Tolstoy wrote an afterword to the *Kruetzer Sonata* but the didactic purpose was not achieved.

The last work is *Resurrection*. As a work of art it is inferior to *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. But it gives us the complete idea of the new philosophy he lately developed. Tolstoy got the plot of the novel from a story given by the eminent jurist A. F. Koni.

Once a young man came to Koni and sought his aid in conveying a letter to a girl who was sent to prison. He promised to help him and came to know that the girl as an orphan child was adopted by a rich lady who gave her some education also but she was brought up as a servant of the house. The young man while he was sixteen seduced her. On seeing her pregnancy the benefactor drove her out of the house. The girl then put her baby in an asylum and herself finding no honest means of earning her livelihood became a prostitute. Then she was arrested for having stolen the purse of one of her drunken visitors in the brothel. The young man, the seducer of the girl, happened to be in the jury of her trial. He was deeply impressed by the whole affair. Being conscious of the injustice done to her he decided to marry the girl. Ultimately they

were married but the girl died of typhus within a few months.

On the basis of this story supplied by Koni, Tolstoy wrote the *Resurrection*. Katyusha was the undesired child of an unmarried village woman. When the baby was only three years old her mother fell ill and died leaving behind the child a complete orphan. After the mother's death Sophia Ivanovna, a rich maiden of the village who stood god-mother to the girl took her to her home. Katyusha was brought up there as a half-servant and half-young lady. As she was illegitimate, she was called by her mother's surname Maslova.

Katyusha lived in this way till she was sixteen and grew very pretty and fascinating. Then a young Prince, Neklyudov by name who was the nephew of the rich lady, a university student, came to stay with his aunts. Katyusha without acknowledging her position fell in love with that young man. Two years later they met for the second time and Neklyudov who was once a young, self-sacrificing lad was now a depraved, refined egotist preparing his journey for the war. The night before he left his aunt's home to join his regiment he seduced Katyusha. The young man conscious of his own guilt gave her a one hundred rouble note perhaps as her price. After five months she came to know for certain that she had conceived.

Katyusha's benefactor now very much dissatisfied with her let her go. After some unsuccessful attempts to lead an honest life she got a place in this big world. It was a brothel house.

While staying there Katyusha was accused of causing the death of a man by poisoning and of stealing his money. The story behind this murder case is this. Smelkov was one of Katyusha's clients. He was staying at Hotel Mavritania and sent her to his hotel to fetch money for him. Katyusha came and took 10 roubles as she was instructed by Smelkov. Smelkov returned to the hotel accompanied by Katyusha. Katyusha then on the advice of one of the hotel valets mixed a white powder with brandy. The powder was supplied by the same valet and the brandy was given to Smelkov. Katyusha wanted to get rid of the man. The powder, she thought was an opiate. She was

eally ignorant of the fact that it was poison. Postmortem enquiry revealed that death had come as a result of poisoning and his money was found missing. So, she appeared before the court for the trial.

Prince Neklyudov, the seducer of Katyusha, was now in the jury. From the very beginning he recognised Katyusha and his past relation with that poor girl flashed in his mind. He now realized what he had done to her. In spite of his best efforts he could not save Katyusha who was found guilty and was condemned to hard labour. A feeling of shame and loathing seized Neklyudov's mind. His whole life which was lying before him so prospective and easy now seemed to be shameful and horrid. He to atone for his sin offered to marry Katyusha. Katyusha was very happy at this proposal but refused to accept the prince's sacrifice. But Neklyudov felt that he was ever bound to Katyusha and resolved to follow her to Siberia.

On their way Katyusha met two political prisoners—Maria Pavlovna and Simonson. The only ideal of Maria Pavlovna was the service of humanity. These two—Maria and Katyusha were united by their aversion to sexual love. Simonson also had as if thrown himself to the spirit of philanthropy. Simonson was very much attracted by Katyusha. Katyusha though in deep, pure, love—devoid of all sensuality, with Neklyudov did not want to spoil his life and accepted the offer of Simonson. Her sentence to hard labour was commuted by the Tsar to one of exile to the less distant districts of Siberia. They were now free to live together. Nekhlyu-

dov also was reborn. The commandments of Christ revealed a new life before him. Now his only task was to tread on that path.

Tolstoy's own past is peeping through the episodes of *Ressurrection*. Sonya told her husband that an old man like him should be ashamed of writing such filthy stuff like the fornication of Maslova. Tolstoy did not make any protest against this accusation but pathetically reported to Marya Alexandrovna Schmidt that only at the age of fourteen he went to a brothel and after the first sexual intercourse with a poor girl he wept standing beside her bed. *Ressurrection* is not autobiographical in nature but here one can see what Tolstoy is going to be. His own passions and sins, his irresistible struggles with life have been reflected in the nature and actions of Nekhlyudov. The chief aim of the novel is to expose the fraud of judicial punishment, the evil consequences of the violence of Government and the hypocrisy of the Church. This is the negative lesson of the book but it contains more positive ideals to be followed—the ideal of brotherhood and of moral perfection through the service of others. The anarchist tendency was already casting its shadow in his literary works and a critic like Mikhaylovsky had already discovered the essentially revolutionary foundation of Tolstoy's attitude. But here the views have fully matured and *Resurrection* is an unforgiving impeachment of modern society. After *Resurrection* Tolstoy did not write anything serious. The only task before him was like Nekhlyudov to tread the path showed to him by Christ.





Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE SUPREME COURT IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: By Sri Ram Sharma. Rajpal and Sons. Delhi. 1959. Pp. 356. 36 shillings.

This is a thoroughly well-digested, erudite and comprehensive monograph on the working of the Supreme Court in India in different spheres from the time of its creation in 1950, down to the end of 1958. It is based on a painstaking study of an enormous mass of judgments of the Court during those years. A preliminary account of the Constitution, jurisdiction and functions of the Court is followed by a detailed study of its activities in regard to the interpretation of the Constitution and the law, judicial control, fundamental rights, the public services, and the Parliament. Interspersed are notices of its work in commenting on administrations, legislation and Courts, and in re-thinking its interpretation of the Constitution and the laws. The author shows throughout a striking independence of judgment in the light of his study of the best foreign authorities on law and Constitution as well as on the working of parallel institutions in Australia, Canada and U.S.A. His conclusions are admirably summed up in the concluding chapter where after referring to some of the shortcomings of the Court, he makes the striking observation (p. 307): "The Constitution and the Supreme Court between them have done a splendid job in infusing the spirit of constitutionalism in the country despite heavy odds." Other sound features of the work are the full notes and appendices at the end of the chapters, a very useful bibliography, two tables of cases and statutes (Indian and foreign) cited, and two indexes (index of names and subjects). Sri Mehr Chand Mahajan, retired Chief Justice of India, contributes an appreciative Foreword.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

THE REVOLT IN TIBET: By Frank Moaraes. Published by The Macmillan Co., 60, Fifth Avenue, New York 11. 26th January, 1960. Pp. 223. Price \$1.50 paper-bound.

China's seizure of Tibet is a coup of brutal treachery. It once again demonstrates that mankind with all its vaunt of civilization and a composite conscience has not much advanced beyond the stage of untutored savages flying at the throat of a neighbour only because he is not strong enough to strike back on equal terms. The author's monograph under notice adds one more feather to his cap of achievements in dealing with contemporary political studies. The book in eight chapters gives us a brief survey of Tibet's history and people floating down the mists of antiquity to the events, which led to Dalai Lama's flight to India in March 1959. The author's assessment of the impact of this episode on India, as discussed in Chapter V, is brilliant for its close delineation of relevant facts and circumstances. Our political wiseacres would do well to read and mark in order to take stock of the situation.

Moaraes in his biography of Nehru steers clear of idolatry but reveals himself as one of his inspired admirers. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that in the light of shattering realities of history it is for Moaraes to indicate, between the lines, that Tibet may not prove the burial ground of Nehru's political sagacity and foresight.

Joges C. Bose

INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND THOUGHT: By Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvanshi. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra. Price Rs. 10/-

The story of India's struggle for independence is a romantic Saga extending over decades and generations. It has been

marked by feats of unparalleled bravery, heroism, loyalty to the cause and self-sacrifice. Many who joined the struggle fell back. None of those who began the struggle lived to see the end when a nation of close upon four hundred million humanity awoke "to life and freedom" in mid-August, 1947.

Freedom's battle, once launched, continued till the goal was reached. Leadership changed. So did the strategy and tactics of the struggle. An alien ruling race—rather the representatives thereof on the spot—and its stooges and proteges left no stone unturned to browbeat, to demoralise and to crush the fighters for freedom. But ideas die hard. Occasional setbacks notwithstanding, the valiant fighters for freedom did not lose heart. There were enemies—alien as well as indigenous—imperialism, casteism, communalism, opportunism, vested interests and the whole gamut of them, and freedom's fight had to be carried on in the teeth of keen opposition from all of them. Partition of the country was Imperialism's parting kick to Indian nationalism and its farewell gift to Muslim communalism.

The attempt to tell the story of the Indian national struggle with so many vicissitudes and so many currents and cross-currents is a bold one. The ability to tell the story is commendable and to tell it well is no mean achievement. The author has done his job well and richly deserves our congratulations.

Dr. Raghuvanshi rightly points out at the outset that the history of Indian nationalism and that of the Indian National Congress are not one and the same thing. "The nationalist movement," he observes, "began to shape earlier" than the foundation of the Congress in 1885. Yet the story of the Indian national struggle is, by and large, the story of the Indian National Congress and its activities. So the volume under review is. The revolutionary and the terrorist movements deserved a more detailed treatment. So also did the I.N.A. movement, which brought Indian independence "miles nearer."

To err is human and the learned author, in industry and scholarship notwithstanding, is no exception to the rule. It is the reviewer's unpleasant duty to point them out. Here are some of them—"Swaraj" and passive resistance "were really the invention of his (Tilak's) brain" (p. 124;

Aurobindo, though successful in the I.C.S. examination "was rejected for his failure at the riding test" (p. 124—he did not actually take the test); the passengers of the Komagata Maru "were welcomed by the police and the military" on their landing at Budge-Budge in September, 1914 (p. 141); "There were outbreaks . . . of serious disturbances affecting the production of munitions from mills such as the Buckingham and Carnatic" (p. 147); ". . . on 11th April, 1925 at Calcutta the Hindu Mahasabha was duly inaugurated" (p. 171); "On 6th April the day of Jallianwallah massacre" (p. 209); the Tory Government of England was "worried about the Lancashire (cotton textiles) trade which was now threatened with extinction" as a result of the Second Civil Disobedience Movement, 1932-34 (p. 214-20); "the Bengal famine of 1943-44 . . . resulted in the deaths (sic.) of 15 to 20 lakhs of people" (p. 242). Instances may be multiplied. The mistakes should be corrected in the next edition.

All in all, Dr. Raghuvanshi's "Indian National Movement and Thought" is a remarkable treatise, an honest and unbiased work on what is certainly one of the most important topics of modern Indian history. Full of useful information, it is a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject. Two editions for a learned treatise in less than 10 years speak for themselves. We eagerly await a third.

Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji

THE GOLDEN BOAT: By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated by Bhabani Bhattacharya. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1958. Pp. 114. Rs. 1.50.

The enterprising men of the Jaico publishing House have resurrected, after a lay-off of nearly a quarter of a century, a modestly priced concise anthology of Tagore's short stories. Bhabani Bhattacharya on his part has done a good job of his work, his selection and presentation of pieces are quietly competent and brings out the rare quality of mystic lyricism of Tagore's thought. It is to be hoped that in the general morass of inane writing that encounters one at every step today, this modest little collection of Tagore short stories will bring some solace to the tormented and much-wronged reader.

Ramesh Ghoshal

PAKISTAN : Its Genesis and Parentage: By Bimalacharan Deb. Published by Das Gupta & Co. Private Ltd., Calcutta-12. Pages 31. Price Re. 1.

This is a reprint of press cuttings from "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and "Hindusthan Standard" between March 2, 1940 and July 25, 1944 without any comment from Mr. Deb to show how the idea of Pakistan originated and the political parties, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, in spite of their differences, worked in a manner to bring about the inevitability of partition of India into two sovereign States on communal basis. Mahatma Gandhi who was against vivisection of the country became a supporter of partition as the activities of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari (during the latter part of 1944) working on behalf of Gandhiji conclusively proves.

These few pages, in a nut-shell, present to the public, the irrefutable facts regarding the manipulations of the Congress and the League leaders in their dealings with the then British Government for the transfer of power.

We congratulate Mr. Deb for his very careful compilations and hope the 'truth' he has presented will 'triumph' in the minds of his countrymen.

A. B. Dutta

ENGLISH-FRENCH

TRISTES TROPIQUES: By C. Levi-Strauss. With 53 illustrations, map, 62 photographs. Librairie Plon, Paris. 1958 edition. Pp. 462. Price 1350 frs.

"What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?" There is no shortage to-day of the fruits of civilisation. Material advancement has been stupendous. There are enough cultural riches to fill the life-time of the most ardent sybarite. Never before were there so many political, social and scientific problems and so few to study them. Paradoxically, therefore, it is the man who is in love with society who turns out to be a rebel. The higher the civilisation, the more seductive the fruits, the greater is the nausea, and more acute, the sense of betrayal.

It is the man who could lose himself in the manifold intellectual preoccupations of the West to-day who finds consummate interest in pondering whether in the highly stylized geometrical face tatoos of the

Caduveo there may have been perpetuated the artistic traditions of certain ancient civilisations of North Peru, wheher there is a connection between the arrangement of habitations in the Borero villages and the pre-Inca remains of Upper Bolivia. It is only thus that orthodox history has saved itself from the guilt of losing the perspective of pre-Columbian history.

He might meditate as to what extent the very form of man's existence gives meaning to his beliefs. He might wonder whether there would have been a pre-occupation in, say, Asia, with problems of devising social relationships but for the comparative overpopulation which brings in its train fear, suffering and hunger—"becoming too numerous . . . a society preserves itself only by secreting slavery." Is it not true that in Europe as a whole there is still reciprocity between man and Nature, in tropical America Nature is dominating man but in Asia man is exhausting Nature? He might argue that it is not the political system which determines the form of social existence but the forms of social existence which shape the political system just as liberty is not a juridical invention nor a philosophical treasure but the objective relationship between the individual and the space he occupies, between the consumer and the resources available. He may even speculate on the course which Western civilisation might have taken, had not Islam cut in two the civilised world and insulated Christianity from the influences of Buddhism.

These are some of the problems which Professor Levi-Strauss discusses in his book. He has travelled widely and observed minutely. The impressions of his travels in South America and the Indian continent are highly interesting in themselves (he made a special study of a Mogh village) but his speculations on man and society coming as they do from an original and reflective mind are highly provocative. He is a leading French anthropologist and now holds a Chair in Comparative Religion at the Sorbonne. For many years he was a professor of sociology in the University of Sao Paulo and during the war held academic posts in America.

An anthropologist seemingly condemns evils at home only to condone them abroad. Professor Levi-Strauss is a living answer to the question why do anthropologists suffer

hardship, disease, loneliness, the boring routine of field-work in order to study the last few survivors of a dying culture. His compensation comes from the belief that the deeper waters of his own society can be fathomed adequately only by the knowledge of man as he lived or lives today in primitive society.

That however is not the only compensation as the book shows. The Professor made his particular field of study a number of the most primitive and remote Indian tribes of South America—the Caduveo, the Borero, the Nambikwara and the Tupi-Kayahib tribes who live in the dense jungles of the Amazon and about whom little was known until his detailed studies. How fortunate that he did make a study of them. The Oxford and Cambridge Expedition to South America who were there not long ago, found the tribes almost extinct, degenerate and dying from the effects of disease and the breakdown of their traditional skills and beliefs, the results of civilisation and proselytism. How sad the fate of these survivors of a stone-age culture, how fortunate, indeed, that their

not so distant life when it was still full of vitality has been deposited in these pages.

Margaret Basu

HINDI

JEEVANLEELA : By Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Translated by Ravindra Kalelkar. Navajiban Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. February, 1958. Price Rs. 3.

Kakasaheb Kalelkar, a prominent associate of Mahatma Gandhi, continues to explain and keep alive his doctrines of **ahimsa** and social reform. But here is literature of another sort. Kakasaheb has been also a great traveller. In the volume under review he has confined himself to the life dynamic—the life that is in the moving waters—the rivers, the lakes, the famous water-falls of India. His love of India and his love of travel have combined to give all his descriptions a peculiar savour.

The present volume is a Hindi translation rendered under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi, which has arranged for the translation of the good books of one Indian language into another, for the promotion of mutual understanding and goodwill.

P. R. Sen

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Indian Periodicals

Indian Architecture

Revival and Restoration Yet Possible In Independent India

By Prof. O. C. Gangoly

the building of the New Delhi under the of two foreign architects failed to genuine types of Indian Architecture, in employing a large number of and craftsmen proved the —at least in North India, and stone-masons, carvers, and various other men, able to co-operate architecture on ambitious. These minor craftsmen and crafts do not develop their skill and ancient tradition, as cannot afford to decorative craftsmen, so point of view—of keeping heritages—the State highly skilled craftsmen to ambitious building opera-

community was lost—in neglecting highly trained skilful carvers of Orissa, when the new city was built, a few years ago, after her independence. It was a more than the great building in Delhi that no attempt was made to restore the great architectural, Puri, and Bhubaneswar of Orissa.

Not Dead

national building activities. The Cathedral cities and traditions of temple-mining religious practices kept alive—until quite practising architects building new temples and additions to existing for the patronage of the

Deva-sathanam trustees and the devout *Nat Chetties*, the rich hereditary bankers south.

Even during the Victorian Era, in the of Madras and other centres several important buildings were put up in beautiful Indianescent and quasi-Mughal style. The University Buildings, the Connemara building are outstanding monuments in the Indian if not of the Dravidian order. Curiously the Victoria Memorial Hall (now used as National Gallery of Art, Madras) erected after 1904, to commemorate the reign of Victoria, was built in the Moghul style, and one of the finest buildings of the twentieth century. It has demonstrated, if demonstration was necessary, that it is still possible to build beautiful buildings, in Moghul or other style, and the old schools of architecture and their building traditions are not yet dead and are capable of further development and tension. In fact, if we study the history of Indian Architecture, we are surprised to find that at all stages of its history Indian architecture from time to time responded to the demands of new forces, new aspirations and new needs and had always modulated their fundamental principles and designs to interpret new religious and spiritual demands of the people and those of her invaders.

The Adaptability

During the reign of the Slave-kings (1246) and the Khiliji dynasty (1290) (when Persian architects were not introduced into India), the Indian architects carried out the architectural demand of their new masters by adapting and changing their traditional architectural idioms to the demands of the new form of culture. The Qutub Minar (C. 1390) is a magnificent illustration of the adaptability of the native Indian builders to carry out new forms of edifices, using Hindu motifs and principles to interpret the needs of Islamic architecture. In fact, the famous *Arai-din-ka* Jhompra at Ajmir in 1205 was built by re-adjusting the materials of an old Hindu temple. The *Aud-din's* Mosque (1229), close to the

nar is also built by utilising the pillars and walls of the old temple of Rai Pithura, and it contains many reliefs and decorative devices of Hindu Architecture. In the Moghul school also we find numerous Hindu architectural elements adapted to the needs and requirements of Mughal culture. The point is that the traditions of Indian Architecture do not consist of a bundle of dead formulas and stereotyped designs and inflexible patterns, incapable of adaptations to new uses, new requirements, and new applications to new social and spiritual needs.

Government's New Policy

Since the achievement of Independence (1947) the Union Government has taken a decisive resolution to revive and restore, if possible, and develop the old archaic Hindi Language used by Tulsidas, Kabir and Mirabai. Pandit Nehru has banned the use of European Dress and has recommended the use of Indian Dress for his officers in India and in the Indian embassies abroad. Our Indian nationals are demanding the removal of the monumental statues of Europeans in the Indian cities (e.g., the tram Statue, Park Street corner) and some of the States are taking steps to remove them from public places to the obscurity of the corridors of museums. Names of public streets (Clive Street, Hastings Street, Prinsep Street) are being replaced by names of Indian leaders. But the Government of India has not yet declared its policy as to what should be the Language of Indian Public Buildings, in the new era of Freedom.

No Deviation

Already various public buildings have gone in Calcutta (New Secretariat Buildings in Hastings Street, Gandhi Ghat, Barrackpore) in forms of architecture which have no shadow of similarity with any of the great schools of Indian National Architecture. When the now defunct British administration had opted for the Indian school of Architecture for the buildings of New Delhi, our National Union Government and the citizens of Free India (anxious to eschew English language, English Dress, street names and memorial monuments) cannot with national self-respect continue to employ the forms of imported European Architecture for our public and private buildings. We may transform and modify the outlines of our traditional national architecture to suit our modern needs, our changed social and psychological outlook, without deviat-

ing from the basic foundations and principles of Indian Architecture as we have done again and again in the course of developments of Indian Architecture in significant stages of our national history.

Leaders' Duty

But consistent with our national honour, we could not think of repudiating the language of our National Architecture just as Rabindranath Tagore, in giving a new shape and a new tone to Bengali Literature, never thought of abandoning the old vernacular language of Bengali, coming down from the ninth century, but enriching our native tongue with a new flexion, with a new vocabulary, with a new grandeur. Our poet wrote out all his new thoughts in the vernacular language of Bengal, not in French, or German. It is expected that in India, our nationalist Government and the Government of nationalist India will go on and help the restoration of Indian Architecture considering the British Government's policy of having Indian Architecture in New Delhi.

But in the new set of policies likely to be adopted by engineers, town-planners, and some sections of our Indian population, who have been conditioned by centuries of British domination to the pernicious habit of imitating foreign buildings, private and public, the architects and the architects of architecture never think of reviving our old Indian build-

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context of our new ways of life and of the needs and requirements of our new social life. Our native Indian engineers and builders have been taught to turn away from a truly national outlook and have been tutored by foreign architects to grow up in the superstition that (1) Indian Architecture is more expensive than the adaptation of Renaissance Architecture that (2) Indian Architecture is equivalent to "Temple Architecture"—and as in modern India, nobody is building any temples or places of worship (except, very rarely, as the Birla Temples at New Delhi and in Patna) there is no scope for using the mediaeval styles of Indian Architecture, that the old traditions of Indian Architecture are dead and have not survived, so that to revive these old traditions in modern times is not a practical proposition.

Not Unpractical

The answer to some of these objections have been provided by an expert British architect, Mr. John Begg, F.R.I.B.A., the then Consulting Architect to the Government of India (1912). In an elaborate Note appended to the Report of Mr. Gordon-Sanderson, Mr. John Begg had said :

"Can a developed Indian Architecture provide us with buildings that are modern, convenient, economical? I think so. Will they not rather be unpractical and over-ornate? *I think not.* All depends on the handling of the ~~material or rather on the architects~~ who handle it. There is nothing really inherent in Indian Art that demands over-elaboration or unpracticality and inconvenience, even in the light of the most diverse and exacting modern requirements. *There is no element calling for lavish expenditure that is not fortuitous, or that is not as capable as corresponding elements in other modes of architectural expression of being overcome by skill on the part of the designer.*" "There is nothing, as I have said, in an Indian manner of design that makes it costly, indeed, my own experience goes to prove that the costliest manner for building in India is a Renaissance or classical one."

Flexible Enough

On the so-called restricted scope and capacity of the Indian style of architecture said to be suitable only for the building of Temples and sacred edifices the history of Indian Architecture has repeatedly illustrated that it

is flexible enough for application to secular buildings and non-religious monuments. And this is no-where better illustrated than in the long career of the Moghul school in which numerous elements of the earlier forms of Hindu architecture were used, adapted and assimilated to spell out the brilliant monuments of the Moghul period consisting of a long series of royal palaces, civic structures, forts and battlements erected for the use of the Moghul Emperors. As Havell has pointed out :

"Even in the Taj Mahal, the typical masterpiece of what we call Moghul art, many of the principal craftsmen were Hindus or of Hindu descent; and how much Persian art owed to the frequent importation of Indian artists and craftsmen is never understood by European critics. The splendid Muhammadan architecture of Bijapur derived much of its grandeur and beauty from the skilful adaptation of Hindu principles of construction and design. All the great monuments of Saracenic art in India surpass those of Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and Spain, in the exact measure by which they were indebted to Hindu craftsmanship and inspired by Hindu idealism. The mosque of Cairo and Constantinople seem almost insignificant in design and feeble in construction compared with those of Bijapur, Delhi, Fatehpursikri, and Ahmedabad. The painted stucco and the geometric ingenuity of the Alhambra are cold and monotonous beside the consummate craft and imagination of the Moghul palaces in India."

At any rate the Moghul monuments of Agra and Delhi provide irrefutable evidence of the marvellous capacity of the Hindu "Temple-builders" to transform and modulate their principles of design to any manner of secular application, and to adapt their building principles to any types of construction to suit the ideas, ideals, temper, and temperament of any new social, or political conditions. When the Indian builders were taken to new regions of Greater India—across the Bay of Bengal—they devised new facades, invented new architectural motives, and designed monuments on gigantic scales surpassing any architectural operations set up in India proper. The whole history of Indian Architecture in the mainland as well as in the colonies of Cambodia, Siam, Champa and Java illustrates the inexhaustible energy and vitality of Indian building traditions, repeatedly adapting themselves to the demands of new ages and

ew crises in Indian culture-history. They will ever fail in serving and interpreting the demands of Modern India, however exacting and complicated.

Capable of Revival

And lastly, the question remains, if a school of Architecture is dead can it be revived and restored to a new life? It may be pointed out at the outset that Indian Architecture was never dead and has lived right up to our times in significant and energetic activities throughout the centuries. And, even after the date of the Report of Mr. Gordon-Sanderson (1913), numerous buildings and monuments in Indian style have been set up bringing the history of modern Indian buildings right up to our time.

"If Indian architecture is not dead, but only in a moribund condition, then certainly it is capable of revival and restora-

tion. The most illustrious example of architectural revival has been the Revival of Gothic Architecture during the 19th century. The intellectuals of Oxford led by the Camden Society gave a new life to Gothic Architecture with such inspiring slogans, "You must adapt Gothic to modern life," "You must change modern life to produce true Gothic." The best spirits of the Gothic Revival—Pugin, Ruskin, William Morris—turned from the reform of art to the reform of society, from the advocacy of 'dead' decorative forms to that of undying principles of social order. Who knows the Revival of Indian Architecture may inspire a new way of life, a new pattern of social order? Should the nationalists in Free India elect to repudiate their great architectural heritage or lead the great architectural traditions on the paths of higher glories, to new heights, to new achievements?



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tagore and Poland

The following is taken from the *News bulletin* of the Polish Embassy :

It is surprising to know that Rabindranath Tagore never visited Poland, although there is a common impression to the contrary. Yet his inability to visit Poland has never stood in the way of his popularity with the Polish intelligentsia nor his love for the Polish people.

Tagore has had deep sympathy with the Polish people for the sufferings the Polish people had faced for the sake of their ideals, their freedom and had expressed the hope that their idealism would ultimately overcome all hurdles.

The beginning of this century was a period of flourishing development of literary life in Poland. But this interest was, at the time, confined to the civilization of old India. Till 1913 Tagore was quite unknown in Poland. The award of Nobel Prize to Tagore drew the attention of literary circles. Polish intelligentsia's acquaintance with Tagore was made through translations, for there were few people acquainted with the Bengali language.

It was during his tour of the United States of America, in 1916, when he went there to raise funds for his international university at *Santiniketan*, that Tagore met a famous Pole, Paderewski, the Prince of Pianists and the first premier of free Poland. At the end of this meeting the pianist played a musical farewell to the Indian poet. Another Pole to leave a deep impression on him was Stanislaw Szukalski, a sculptor. Tagore referred to him as a "Sculptor of extra-ordinary talents."

Intended Visit

After the First World War Tagore went to Europe and it was then that he intended to visit Poland. There his arrival was awaited with immense excitement. The Polish poet Antoni Lange even wrote a Sanskrit poem of welcome for the occasion. At the eleventh hour Tagore had to put off his visit.

Even before his intended visit to Poland Tagore's name had appeared in Polish literary periodicals. The first mention came perhaps in 1914 along with translations of excerpts from *Gitanjali*. The same year the first fragments of his poems were published. The full text translated by poet Kasproicz was published in 1918. The journal *Pro Arte and Studio* published in 1917 the first extensive essay

dealing with the poet's work available at that time in English. Next year saw the publication of a joint volume consisting of *Gitanjali*, *The Crescent Moon*, and *The Gardener*, under the title *Gitanjali*. This translation is in prose, as is Tagore's English version, but it is rhythmical prose and conveys an impression of purest poetry.

This translation helped to consolidate Tagore's fame in Poland as chiefly a lyrical poet with strong mystic colouring but other characteristic features of his literary activity remained unknown in Poland. Many essays on Tagore followed. One of the most important contributions was an article by Henryk Elzenberg, himself a philosopher specializing in problems of aesthetics. He made a thorough study of his work available in Europe stressing above all the ethical element apparent in all his poems.

A further growth of interest in Tagore's works was recorded in 1902. In that year Leopold Staff published the complete text of his translation of *Fruit Gathering* written in Poetic prose, *The King of the Dark Chamber* and Tagore's article on *Nationalism*. The article aroused a wave of protest among the Polish intelligentsia. His views, taken literally, meant a blow at the very foundations of the existence of Polish nation—a mortal blow to their newly won independence. To another Polish version of the article Tagore wrote a short foreword in which he emphasised the necessity to observe the principles of ethics not only within a community but also in international relations.

However, in the following years, 1922-23, Tagore's popularity in Poland reached a culminating point. Seven volumes of Tagore's works were brought out in the series "Nobel Laureate Library." In 1922, a collection of his short stories *Night of Fulfilment* was published, followed in 1923 by a new edition with some more stories added to it. The volume was reprinted in 1928. During this period *The Wreck*, *Sadhana*, *Whispers of the Soul* and *Stray Birds* were made available to the Polish readers. In 1923 was also published a collection of short stories under the title *Hungry Stones*. The dramas *Chitra* and *Malini* translated by Roman Fajans and lyrical poems *Lover's Gift* and *Crossing* and another version of *The Crescent Moon* also appeared in the same period.

Tagore's popularity in Poland had been so great that frequently more than one translations of single works appeared at the same time.

Tagore himself displayed keen interest on Poland. When shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War an Indo-Polish Association was formed in Calcutta and Tagore consented to be its first Honorary Chairman. The association developed a lively activity during the war and rendered valuable assistance to Polish refugees in India. In his last message which he sent to the Association on the 150th anniversary of Poland's May Constitution he wrote:

"I warmly associate myself with the 150th anniversary of the May Constitution of Poland—may justice and humanity prevail in a peaceful reconstruction of civilization."

People's Poland, after its inception in 1945, is taking all the more interest in studies on and about India and Tagore has his due place in the hearts of the Polish people. His works are appearing in new editions. They are making appearance on the television. *Red Oleander* has already been translated into Polish and is to appear soon on the bookshops. Many articles on Tagore have appeared in the literary magazine, *Oriental Review*. One of the new streets in Warsaw and some streets in the towns of Lodz and Zielona Gora were named after the great Indian poet during the *Oriental Nations Week* celebrated during October 1958.

Tagore is a golden link in the friendship of the two great nations—India and Poland—and his name will always remain dear to the hearts of the Polish people.

Chessman Case

William R. Vizzard writes in the *New Leader*, March, 1960:

California Governor Edmund G. Brown's last-minute 60-day delay of execution for Caryl Chessman raises again the issue of capital punishment in America. Not only adding fuel to the fires of the "pro-" and "anti-" Chessmanites, the action also opens Brown to attack (and defense) by political partisans. Ostensibly, the issue no longer is one of the convict's guilt—this seems to have been admitted even by the most rabid "pro" forces—nor, after the seemingly interminable court appeals and legal maneuvers, is it one of due processes Chessman himself throws the gauntlet down on the grounds of the capital punishment issue.

The usual argument against capital punishment includes both the reasonable element of post-execution evidence reopening the case, as well as the claim that the threat of capital punishment does not in fact deter crimes. The opposing

view, labelled "retribution" or "vengeance" the "anti's," seems to rest on grounds hearken back to Mosaic Law: an eye for eye. Statistics from various states in the U. and from foreign lands are marshalled to support each stand; neither can "prove" the points alleged, for there is, after all, no way to count *uncommitted* crimes and link these to the nature of the punishment. I submit that *both these arguments miss the point entirely*. Punishment for a criminal act may be viewed, much more functionally as action designed to preclude repetition of the crime by the same person. Put in another way, the punishment is the *cost of the delict*, the "moral cost," if we wish to extrapolate from the "social cost" concept.

In Chessman's case, this "moral cost" aspect is especially pertinent. His crimes were, after all, not acts against certain, pre-selected individuals, but "random" choices, thus unquestionably crimes against *society* as distinguished from premeditated crimes against a definite person. This holds whether the "passion" element, with all its intricacies of definition, enters or not. The press has already pointed out *ad nauseam* that Chessman's crimes did not include murder. This, some maintain, should in itself except him from the death penalty. We may, for the sake of argument, grant that society might well decide (as we have, long since) that the murderer's life should assuredly not be worth more than that of his victim. Chessman's crime was "only" kidnapping, with sex perversion added. But can we not make a case that, whatever one's view on **LTD** punishment, kidnapping is a more heinous than murder? Murder (or illegal killing, at least) need not be *always* "planned"—it may be sudden, very concentrated in time. But kidnapping is not by its very nature concentrated; on the contrary, it is a continuing act, spread in time, and necessarily includes *other* criminal actions, e.g., extortion, sex crimes, etc., even possibly murder. On this basis, we must conclude that it is unreasonable to claim that the more serious crime should entail the *lesser* punishment.

To turn to the capital punishment issue, aside from Chessman. With a *very* few exceptions, the consensus of human society upholds the right of the individual to defend himself against injury, even given certain conditions to the degree of killing his adversary. Among these conditions is the clear threat of death. Only a fool will argue that the hostile display of a deadly weapon is not a "clear threat of death."

monopolizes the "self-help" is a few citizens of any state capable of effective self-help. If a man is authorized to kill in his own defense, should society acting "re-stricted" be restricted to less? If we claim that society should under no circumstances snuff out the life of a criminal, whatever his crime, we in effect undermine the basic concept of equal protection of the laws—we afford the criminal protections which we do not afford his victims and his victims are society, writ large.

The counter-argument to this view is simple: There are other alternatives to capital punishment. And indeed there are. Life imprisonment, for one. Let us not prattle about life imprisonment being "more humane" than execution—an equally strong (and equally inconclusive) case may be made on either side. Do we claim that the criminal is due considerations of humaneness that society *denies* to his victims? Ah, but our criminal need not be incarcerated *for life*—perhaps he will "reform," he will be paroled, or even pardoned. True, this is possible. But should society gamble on the already known loser, gambling *against* the victims (society), with the dice loaded *in favor of the criminal*? No smart gambler consistently bets against himself, and this is precisely the import of the anti-capital punishment argument.

Both sides in the Chessman case maintain that the issue carries implications far beyond that of one wretched convict. (One locally held view holds that Chessman's self-taught legal maneuvers prove clearly that the profession's "self-generated" "pomposity" and "humbug" are really not so very hard to penetrate.) Perhaps the most obvious implication of the Chessman case pertains to Governor Brown and his own political aspirations. It would be cruel to suggest that Brown's pusillanimous abdication of clearly *executive* responsibility (for a definitive decision, one way or the other) in the 60-day reprieve, and his reliance upon the California legislature to decide for him, indicate Brown's basic unfitness for the gubernatorial (or Presidential!) office. The California legislator reportedly is considering possible impeachment proceedings against Brown. But it is unquestionably more cruel to exploit Chessman's plight for Brown's political grandizement. Dandy publicity for a Presidential aspirant! Anti-Brown forces should find no difficulty in undercutting a man who has traded on a criminal's notoriety!

But the important implication of the Chessman case has received little attention throughout the entire affair. This is the true moral issue involved, and no mere matter of criminal punishment standards. The basic issue cuts to the very core of U.S. moral structure: Do we *have one*? Do we *know* what it is? Do we *understand* it? The fact that Brown seemed relieved to exonerate himself in his 60-day stay of execution by depending upon the suggestion from Foggy Bottom stands as a symbol of the moral apathy, the "lost-ness" of U.S. society. To be sure, the U.S. lives on this planet with many other people, and it is desirable not to irritate them needlessly. But, in the long run, will we find ourselves any less irritating if we remain indecisive, unable to make up our minds *for ourselves*—after taking into account, naturally, such advice from others as we find pertinent and useful? Will not our foreign neighbors respect us for *decisive* (even if unpleasant) *action*, rather than for slovenly indecision?

The views and attitudes of foreign neighbors are theirs, reflected against their social values and judgments. We should certainly respect them. But our views are *ours*. Not that we should disregard and discard out of hand such views, not at all. We may, and throughout our history we *have*, accepted, adapted and internalized the suggestions and lessons we have learned from others. But these have become *ours*, and the process is *internal*. The inescapable fact that we cannot, or will not, face this issue squarely portends evil for the moral fiber of U.S. society.

And this is but a small symptom of the sickness which faces us today in our world setting. We may consider that the U.S. is not so much in the position of contending for world *leadership* as it is for retaining a place in world society at all. The enemy has pushed upon us, in a categorical imperative as it were, the issue of sheer *survival*. Sidney Hook's rejoinder to Bertrand Russell's "surrender" proposals focuses the issue sharply: Is life worth living without liberty? Is life without liberty *meaningful*? In its microcosm, this applies directly to the Chessman case; in its macrocosm, to U.S. society. Our apparent "lost-ness," our slipping away from being "sure" (in one way or the other) of "what to do about Chessman," slices to the bone. It asks questions which we *must* answer if we are to find moral certainty, and a hope for survival.

A Senior Journalist

In the course of an article *German News*, April 1960, states :

Mr. Ernst Shaffer, a well-known German journalist and the first European Press correspondent to cover an annual session of the Indian National Congress, is leaving India after over 26 years' stay here. Having taken up journalism as his career, Mr. Shaffer was, for 12 years, a member of the editorial staff of *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, the oldest German newspaper which, founded in 1704, used to be compared to the *Manchester Guardian* of England for its liberal views and high standards of journalism. He arrived in India in 1933, and worked as correspondent for several foreign newspapers for a few years till, the events in Europe having become more important than those in Asia, the coverage of Indian news in European newspapers was much reduced. Mr. Shaffer had by now developed a special interest in photography and in the techniques of production, and his abilities in this field were utilised by an advertising agency where he worked for three years. Later on, he was, for over a decade, Assistant Manager of the Oxford University Press, Bombay. On retirement from the latter position, he resumed his activities as a foreign correspondent, reporting first from Bombay and, since the beginning of 1958 from New Delhi, to various West-German and other newspapers in the free countries of Europe.

Mr. Shaffer has had interviews with prominent Indian political leaders, including Prime Minister Nehru. As far back as in 1934, he had interviewed Mahatma Gandhi and the late Aga Khan. He was the only European correspondent to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress in 1934, at Bombay. At that session he took a photograph of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, then popularly known as Rajen Babu and as one of the lieutenants of Gandhiji. Mr. Shaffer discovered this photo when he came over to Delhi and gave an enlargement of it to Dr. Rajendra Prasad when Mr. Shaffer was received by the President of India. He has travelled throughout India, literally from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas where he trekked through Ladakh before the Second World War. His only regret, however, is that he has not been to Assam.

Looking back on her experiences in my life, I told the *German News* that, having experienced in my life the transition from a monarchy into a Republic, the first in Germany and the second in India in 1950, I have seen in both cases political rights cannot be guaranteed until the people found it difficult to adjust themselves on stable ground. I personally think that the progress which I have made, especially in her villages, which have had the chance to visit quite frequently, is really remarkable."

Speaking of journalism in India, Mr. Shaffer remarked that the Indian newspapers reached a very high standard in regard to editorial comments and reporting of news. "I have added, "I wish more newspapers had their own correspondents in foreign countries, rather than rely upon foreign news agencies, for enlightening despatches on the situation in the West."

Mr. Shaffer is leaving India early next month, and is planning to settle down in the Federal Republic of Germany.

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